

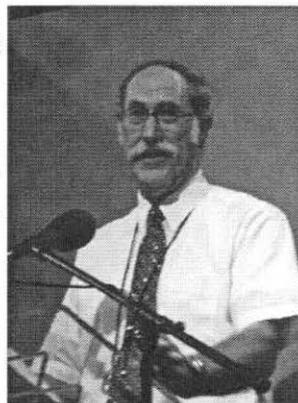
Thomas Merton, Gandhi, the “Uprising” of Youth in the ‘60s, and Building Non-violent Movements Today

By Paul R. Dekar

Suddenly, in the United States of 1960, as the end of the Eisenhower era loomed and John F. Kennedy’s presidential campaign moved into high gear, the mood of young people shifted. In coffee houses and student unions scattered across the country, we gathered, buzzed of change and dreamed of living lives in which personal action mattered. How was it, before our present era of television, computers, iPods, text messages and movies on a scale like Richard Attenborough’s *Gandhi* (1982), that Gandhi inspired the idealism and activism and waves of protest by youth in the 1960s?

David McReynolds of the War Resisters League stated that the emerging activist generation could understand Gandhi better than Franklin D. Roosevelt, Martin Luther King, Jr. better than Hubert Humphrey, the Hungarian workers better than the old labor movement.¹ So inspired, four African American students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, wearing jackets and ties, sat down at a Woolworth’s whites-only lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960. They asserted their right to be served. When they were not, they refused to leave. Like Rosa Parks before them, and contrary to post-event legend, these four – Ezell Blair, Jr., Franklin McCain, Joseph McNeil and David Richmond – did not spring full-blown from some abstract idea of the Beloved Community, a phrase associated with Martin Luther King, Jr. They belonged to the Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). They harkened back to Thoreau’s idea of civil disobedience and Tolstoyan utopianism. They knew of resistance to segregation such as the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation and the earlier sit-ins in Durham, North Carolina and elsewhere. They received the help of black churches, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and its leader Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. They had seen a television documentary about Gandhi and, in strict Gandhian fashion, threw the burden of disruption onto the upholders of white supremacy (Gitlin 82, 85).²

And so the spirit of non-violent direct action entered the 1960s. Small knots of pacifists began sitting in and sometimes getting arrested at demonstrations against civil defense drills and bomb tests.



Paul R. Dekar

Paul R. Dekar teaches at Memphis Theological Seminary in Tennessee. Recipient of a Shannon Fellowship in 2002, he continues research, teaching and writing on Merton and technology. Most recently, he is the author of *Creating the Beloved Community, A Journey with the Fellowship of Reconciliation* (2005). An earlier version of this article was presented at the Third Annual Gandhi Conference, Christian Brothers University, Memphis, TN, October 13-14, 2006.

Others were active in the civil rights movement, in defense of the earth and the rights of women, in the counterculture, in literary and other emerging movements at the edge. It was one of those rare periods in which we believed we could make a difference, and did. I include myself in the “we”: in the fall of 1961, I enrolled as a freshman at the University of California Berkeley and dutifully signed up for a required Reserve Officers Training Corps course. Preferring to build houses for the poor rather than to train for war I joined in petitioning for an end of mandatory military training. One action led to another: protests against construction of bomb shelters on campus; a campaign for a ban on nuclear weapons; community organizing; voter registration; and the Free Speech Movement. While the latter situation grew out of private business interests rather than unjust actions of the State, we held up Gandhi as the most exacting theorist of non-violent civil disobedience and celebrated him as a saint in our covenant of peace.³

Before we knew anything about Gandhi, many of us were reading Thomas Merton, arguably the most successful religious author in North America or perhaps the world. Merton shaped my formation as an activist in two ways. I first read Merton’s essays “The Root of War Is Fear” in the October 1961 issue of *The Catholic Worker* and “The Shelter Ethic” in the November 1961 issue of *The Catholic Worker*⁴ and his poem *Original Child Bomb*, the literal translation of one of the “poetic” names the Japanese found for the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima on August 6, 1945.⁵ Merton subtitled the poem, “Points for meditation to be scratched on the walls of a cave,” presumably the one in which any survivors of atomic war would live. This introduction to Merton fueled my passion for victims of war and injustice. Significant for me as well, Merton discerned non-violence as the way to establish God’s peace in a world of violence. This commitment was evident especially in *Gandhi on Non-Violence*, a compilation of texts in five sections, with an introduction, notes and index.⁶ This book in turn led me to read a sourcebook on Gandhi’s life and Louis Fischer’s biography of Gandhi.⁷

Merton’s interest in Gandhi went back to the London Round Table Conference in November and December 1931. Merton was then a high school student in Britain. In his dorm, Merton insisted Gandhi was right in championing India’s independence from Britain. Someone rebutted that British rule was a purely benevolent, civilizing enterprise for which the Indians were not suitably grateful. Infuriated at the complacent idiocy of this line of reasoning, Merton persuaded no one.⁸

Merton expressed no further active interest in Gandhi until the late 1950s when he resumed reading widely in Eastern religion. His interest in Asia led him to write four books on the subject in addition to the Gandhi anthology.⁹ Merton was about to assume a new calling, that of nurturing a new world into being, one free of bombs, racism, the worst effects of technology, media, big business, intolerance and other evils. Though his order attempted to silence Merton, who had come to believe a contemplative monk must be relevant to the issues of the day, Merton found a way to circumvent the ban. “The contemplative life is not, and cannot be, a mere withdrawal, a pure negation, a turning of one’s back on the world with its sufferings, its crises, its confusions and its errors” (*SD* xiii).

Merton’s prophetic writings spoke to a new generation of youth. Gandhi was the only practitioner of non-violence that Merton read in detail; Merton concluded Gandhi spoke more to situations he faced than anyone else.¹⁰ Merton’s “A Tribute to Gandhi” first appeared in the radical journal *Ramparts* and then in *Seeds of Destruction*. For Merton, Gandhi was unlike all other

world leaders of his time. His life was marked by wholeness and wisdom, integrity and spiritual consistency that the others lacked, or manifested only in reverse, in consistent fidelity to a dynamism of evil and destruction (see *SD* 225).

“What has Gandhi to do with Christianity?” Merton asked. Gandhi esteemed Jesus and understood that for a Christian, problems of political and social existence are *inseparably* religious and political at the same time (*SD* 225-26). Merton compared Christian and Hindu terms such as *leitourgia* (liturgy; public service) and *dharma* (action); *agapé* (love) and *satyagraha* (truth force). For Merton, Gandhi was more Christian than many Christians. “Gandhi remains in our time as a sign of the genuine union of spiritual fervor and social action in the midst of a hundred pseudo-spiritual crypto-fascist, or communist movements in which the capacity for creative and spontaneous dedication is captured, debased and exploited by false prophets” (*SD* 229).

For Merton, the power of Gandhian non-violence grew from its religious underpinnings; that is, for Gandhi, non-violence was a way of life and not merely a strategy. Gandhi knew the value of solitude. He fasted, observed days of silence, did retreats and was generous in listening to and communicating with others. For Merton, Gandhi “recognized the impossibility of being a peaceful, nonviolent [person] if one submits passively to the insatiable requirements of a society maddened by overstimulation and obsessed with the demons of noise, voyeurism and speed” (*SD* 232).

Reviewing Merton’s *Seeds of Destruction in Book Week*,¹¹ Martin E. Marty of the University of Chicago noted that Merton contributed nothing to help solve a problem pointed to by so many students of Christian non-violence, despite his admiration for Gandhi and King. How does one relate justice to love, King’s Jesus to King’s Gandhi? In “Negro Violence and White Non-Violence,” Merton defended his “pessimistic prophecy.” Marty later reversed himself in a public letter to Merton published in the *National Catholic Reporter* and acknowledged the need for non-violence.¹² In a review in another Catholic periodical, Richard Horchler observed that Merton was trying almost desperately to say *something*, anything, to initiate a dialogue with the world outside the monastery. Seen in that light, Merton’s essay on Gandhi seems an expression of responsibility, part of its love and anguish.¹³

Merton’s second essay, “Gandhi and the One-Eyed Giant,” originally appeared in another progressive journal, *Jubilee*, and subsequently served to introduce his anthology on Gandhian non-violence. For Merton, one of the significant aspects of the life and vocation of Gandhi was his discovery of the East through the West. Like so many other educated Indians, Gandhi received a completely Western education. He was an “alienated Asian” and thought of himself as a white man without ceasing to be a “Nigger” (*GNV* 3). But, Merton continued, Gandhi was unusual in that, rather than being fooled by the West, he found something good in the West that was also of the East, so universal that Gandhi could draw from his acquaintance with writers like Thoreau, Tolstoy and Jesus and make connections to his own tradition and his Hindu *dharma* (duty).

According to Merton, Gandhi came to believe that the central issue of the time was acceptance or rejection of a basic law, the law of love, the truth of which had been made known to the world in traditional religions. Seeking to build a more peaceful and just world struggling through love in action, Gandhi committed his whole life to this: “If love or non-violence be not the law of our being, the whole of my argument falls to pieces” (*GNV* 25 [I.172]; *SD* 234). For Gandhi, *ahimsa* (non-violence) was a way not to seize power but to transform relationships “so as to bring

about a peaceful transfer of power, effected freely and without compulsion by all concerned, because all have come to recognize it as right" (*GNV* 23). Leading the non-violent movement by which India gained independence from the United Kingdom, Gandhi maintained that power of *ahimsa* exercised through *satyagraha* (love or soul-force) was not merely a matter of techniques, but a way of life. Refuting those who saw non-violent action only as a means by which the weak come to power, Gandhi saw non-violence not as a policy of passive protest or cloak for impotent hatred which does not dare to use force. Rather, non-violence must express love and strength, a noble and effective way of defending one's rights. Not merely a private affair, *ahimsa* required that means of all political action coincide with desired end results.

The first section of *Gandhi on Non-Violence* presents "Principles of Non-Violence." Non-violence is the basic and universal law of our being, a creed which embraces all of life in a consistent and logical network of obligations. Use of *himsa* (violence) degrades and corrupts; to meet force with force and hatred with hatred only hastens one's personal degeneration. By contrast *ahimsa* is in deep accord with the truth of human nature and corresponds to an innate desire for peace, justice, order, freedom and personal dignity and can be learned by all. Gandhi did not expect everyone to practice non-violence perfectly. However, he did believe that, if people are willing to risk engaging violence non-violently, it can be the most effective basis for social action. "During my half a century of experience I have not yet come across a situation when I had to say that I was helpless, that I had no remedy in terms of non-violence" (*GNV* 25 [I.172]).

Gandhi was a realist. One need not depend on the goodwill of dictators; rather, a non-violent resister depends on the unfailing assistance of God which sustains him throughout difficulties which would otherwise be considered insurmountable (*GNV* 26 [I.175]). Having lived under British rule most of his life, including three years in London, Gandhi was not impressed by so-called Western democracy, which, as it functioned, was nothing short of diluted Nazism or fascism. Gandhi offered Jesus as the model of non-violent resistance: "Jesus lived and died in vain if He did not teach us to regulate the whole of life by the eternal law of love" (*GNV* 26 [I.181]).

In the second section titled "Non-Violence: True and False," Gandhi teaches that the extraordinary difficulty of non-violence requires a supernatural valor obtainable only by spiritual practices such as prayer. Courage demands nothing short of the ability to face death with complete fearlessness and to suffer without retaliation. Such a program is meaningless and impossible without belief in God and spiritual practices described in the third section, "The Spiritual Dimensions of Non-Violence." In Section Four, "The Political Scope of Non-Violence," Merton returned to the theme that Gandhi did not envisage a tactical non-violence confined to one area of life or to an isolated moment. Gandhi's non-violence was a creed which embraced all of life in a consistent and logical network of obligations. Merton saw Gandhian non-violent direct action as a way to address specific issues of the mid-1960s in the United States: its growing involvement in Vietnam, the issue of the draft and the threat of nuclear annihilation. Merton highlighted passages such as these: "I know that war is wrong, is an unmitigated evil. I know too that it has got to go. I firmly believe that freedom won through bloodshed or fraud is no freedom" (*GNV* 52 [I.75]). "Non-cooperation in military service and service in non-military matters are not compatible" (*GNV* 52 [I.108]). "Peace will never come until the great powers courageously decide to disarm themselves" (*GNV* 53 [I.176]).

In the final section, "The Purity of Non-Violence," Merton summarized five essential ele-

ments of how to act non-violently:

- 1) It implies not wishing ill;
- 2) It includes total refusal to cooperate with or participate in activities of the unjust group, even to eating food that comes from them [for example, Gandhi's 1930 salt campaign];
- 3) It is of no avail to those without living faith in the God of love and love for all [persons];
- 4) [One] who practices [non-violence] must be ready to sacrifice everything except [one's] honor;
- 5) It must pervade *everything* and not be applied merely to isolated acts (*GNV* 64 [I.119]; see also "Rules for peace brigades" [71]).

Merton picked up Gandhi's call for formation of peace brigades to interpose in situations of violent conflict. There were antecedents. One was Latin America. In 1927, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Religious Society of Friends [Quakers] sent a delegation to meet guerrilla leader Augusto Sandino in Nicaragua. The International Fellowship of Reconciliation also sponsored an Ambassadors of Reconciliation program through which traveling secretary Muriel Lester, a friend of Gandhi who had hosted his 1931 stay in London, toured China and Japan. On one occasion, Lester and Toyohiko Kagawa of Japan sought to make Japanese aware of the impact of the "Rape of Nanking" and other war crimes.

Seeking to encourage such non-violent initiatives with reference to such issues as war, human rights violations and the impact of cybernetics fueled by technology, Merton convened in 1964 at the Abbey of Gethsemani in Kentucky a gathering of activists to discuss the spiritual roots of protest. Merton's anthology of Gandhi's writings served in part as a basis for reflection. Among those who met at Merton's hermitage from November 17-19, 1964 were W. H. "Ping" Ferry of the Center for Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, California, Fellowship of Reconciliation leader A. J. Muste, Mennonite theologian John Howard Yoder, and several Catholics: Daniel and Philip Berrigan, John Peter Grady, Jim Forest and Tom Cornell who formed the Catholic Peace Fellowship. Merton had invited Martin Luther King, Jr. but on the eve of leaving for Oslo, Norway where he was to receive the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize, King could not participate.

In his formal comments at the opening of the retreat, Merton began by asking, "*Quo warranto?* By what right do we protest? We protest because we have to, for *within me there is something like a burning fire shut up in my bones; I am weary with holding it in, and I cannot.* (Jer 20:9)" Merton further asked whether technological society by its very nature is oriented to self-destruction or whether it can on the contrary be regarded as a source of hope for a new sacral order, a millennial city in which God will be manifested and praised. At the time, Merton did not believe that technology was either morally, or religiously promising. "Does this call for reaction and protest; if so, what kind? What can we really do about it?"¹⁴

As a partial response to these questions Merton called for *metanoia*. By this Greek word he did not mean conversion, as translators often mistake. Rather Merton had in mind total personal transformation. Merton believed that a radical turn was needed to the Gospel of peace, sacrifice and suffering in redemptive non-violent protest. Other participants responded to the challenge of practicing non-violence. John Howard Yoder commented that Christians must live the Gospel, pure and simple. Yoder proclaimed the Cross, the unique element that Christianity brings to the

mystery of the pursuit of peace and justice in a world ruled by perverse power. The retreat proved to be “near legendary,” “a watershed,” a “memorable experience.” While Muste looked on in bewilderment, the Catholics swilled down beer, laughed and ran from the hermitage for relief. The retreat did not shape the specific ways Catholic resistance to the culture of technology would subsequently take. Still, at some point in their lives most would serve time in prison for protests against the war in Vietnam and for nuclear disarmament. Merton was the exception. For Merton, the retreat was in some sense a “last fling.” His superiors were not favorable to his continuing to address social issues (*HGL* 417).

In the sense that he did not join movements or take to the streets, Merton did not become an activist. This was not simply a matter of obedience. Merton believed in the need, ethically and evangelically, to define his limits. In a letter dated October 10, 1967, he wrote Dan Berrigan, “In my opinion the job of the Christian is to try to give an example of sanity, independence, human integrity, good sense, as well as Christian love and wisdom, against all establishments and all mass movements and all current fashions which are merely mindless and hysterical. . . . The most popular and exciting thing at the moment is not necessarily the best choice” (*HGL* 98).

Merton and his fellow retreatants believed that humanity was at a historic moment. A fundamental reexamination of existing values and radical action were needed. Though Merton declined to participate in person in the revolutionary forces at work in the world, he continued to encourage Gandhian non-violent action. Activists such as the musician Joan Baez, high school and college students involved in varied groups including Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, Students for a Democratic Society and the Black Power movement and many others visited and corresponded with Merton. For example, he sent a copy of his Gandhi book to James Douglass (*HGL* 163), then a young Catholic active in the anti-nuclear movement and later author of several books that drew on Merton and Gandhi’s writings.¹⁵ He sent a copy of his Gandhi article in *Seeds of Destruction* to Sister M. Emmanuel de Souza e Silva, who had worked in the slums of Rio de Janeiro and translated the essay and other books by Merton into Portuguese (*HGL* 192). He encouraged Leilani Bentley, a college freshman from Mulliken, Michigan, to read *Gandhi on Non-Violence*, even though he was aware that non-violence was no panacea, even in India.¹⁶ In 1968, Merton sought to meet disciples of Gandhi during his pilgrimage to India (*AJ* 35 and *passim*).

I have characterized events of the 1960s as an uprising, a term used by Free Speech Movement supporters.¹⁷ The means of change were not always non-violent, with consequences that spilled over to the seventies,¹⁸ and have continued to trouble the body politic. Thomas Merton was pivotal. Never mind that a list of his writings is as long as a short book, and that writing about him is an industry. Merton was a pathfinder and exemplar who made footprints in which an entire generation walked.¹⁹ Though not himself a street activist, Merton helped form the people who made up the initial, organizing cadres of the non-violent movements of the 1960s and contributed to the process by which Gandhian ideas generated collective action. Merton sought to ensure that the motivations or ideologies of young activists were compatible with Gandhi’s legacy.

Allowing that Thomas Merton helped make Gandhi accessible to youth in the 1960s to act for social change non-violently, do Gandhi and Merton still have anything to contribute to building non-violent movements today? To what extent can the legacies of Gandhi and Merton help youth today in the face of environmental crisis, the growing gap between rich and poor, war and other issues? In the 1960s, the power brokers of the United States lost connection with the depths

of popular culture and resisted the reform impulse of young activists. Converging with parallel risings of young people around the world, the uprising of youth challenged illegitimate authority and groped toward new codes of common life and new principles by which to transform society. Though much has changed, much remains the same. If humanity is to survive, we must become the change we want to see in the world, as Gandhi wrote.²⁰ We are ready for a new generation of Gandhi's successors bridging east and west, as did Thomas Merton.²¹

1. Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties, Years of Hope, Days of Rage*, rev. ed. (New York: Bantam, 1993) 54; subsequent references will be cited as "Gitlin" parenthetically in the text.
2. I have not been able to identify the documentary about Gandhi. For King, see Paul R. Dekar, *For the Healing of the Nations: Baptist Peacemakers* (Macon: Smyth and Helwys, 1993) and *Creating the Beloved Community, A Journey with the Fellowship of Reconciliation* (Telford, PA: Cascadia, and Scottsdale, PA: Herald, 2005); also Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Free Press, 1984).
3. Jo Freeman, *At Berkeley in the 60s: The Education of an Activist 1961-1965* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004) 109; Free Church of Berkeley, *The Covenant of Peace: A Liberation Prayer Book* (New York: Morehouse-Barlow, 1971).
4. For the *Catholic Worker* essays, see Thomas Merton, *Passion for Peace: The Social Essays*, ed. William H. Shannon (New York: Crossroad, 1995) 11-26. In *The Power of the People: Active Nonviolence in the United States* (Philadelphia: New Society, 1987), Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski note the influence of the Catholic Worker movement on Merton (87).
5. Though the poem originally appeared in Robert Lax's magazine *Pax* in 1961, I bought *Original Child Bomb* (New York: New Directions, 1962) at Lawrence Ferlinghetti's City Lights Booksellers in San Francisco. The poem appears in *Collected Poems* (New York: New Directions, 1977) 291-302 and Ann Charters, ed., *The Portable Sixties Reader* (New York: Penguin, 2003) 108-18. See Patrick O'Connell's entry in William H. Shannon, Christine M. Bochen and Patrick F. O'Connell, *The Thomas Merton Encyclopedia* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2002) 342-45.
6. Thomas Merton, ed., *Gandhi on Non-Violence: Selected Texts from Mohandas K. Gandhi's Non-Violence in Peace and War* (New York: New Directions, 1965); subsequent references will be cited as "GNV" parenthetically in the text. Narajivan Publishing House in Ahmedabad released Gandhi's original book in 1948. In his essay "Gandhi in the Mind of America," in *Gandhi's Experiments with Truth: Essential Writings by and about Mahatma Gandhi*, ed. Richard L. Johnson (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2006), Lloyd I. Rudolph cites Merton's role incorporating in religious circles the idea of Gandhi as *homo religiosus*, a teacher of transcendent ethics (281). William H. Shannon's entry in *The Thomas Merton Encyclopedia* (168-69) explores Merton on Gandhi.
7. Homer A. Jack, *The Gandhi Reader: A Source Book of His Life and Writings* (New York: Grove Press, 1956; paperback, 1961); Louis Fischer, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi* (1950; New York: Harper & Row, 1983).
8. Thomas Merton, "A Tribute to Gandhi," in *Seeds of Destruction* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1964) 222-23; subsequent references will be cited as "SD" parenthetically in the text. In *The Seven Storey Mountain* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1948) 269, Merton only mentions Gandhi in reference to prayer.
9. Thomas Merton, *The Way of Chuang Tzu* (New York: New Directions, 1965); Thomas Merton, *Mystics and Zen Masters* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1967); Thomas Merton, *Zen and the Birds of Appetite* (New York: New Directions, 1968); Thomas Merton, *The Asian Journal*, ed. Naomi Burton Stone, Brother Patrick Hart and James Laughlin (New York: New Directions, 1973); subsequent references will be cited as "AJ" parenthetically in the text.
10. See Thomas Merton, *The Hidden Ground of Love of Love: Letters on Religious Experience and Social Concerns*, ed. William H. Shannon (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1985) 143 [Cold War Letter 11, December 20, 1961 to Dorothy Day] (subsequent references will be cited as "HGL" parenthetically in the text); Thomas Merton, *A Search for Solitude: Pursuing the Monk's True Life. Journals, vol. 3: 1952-1960*, ed. Lawrence S. Cunningham (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996) 156 [January 16, 1958] and *passim*; Thomas Merton, *Turning toward the World: The Pivotal Years. Journals, vol. 4: 1960-1963*, ed. Victor A. Kramer (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996) 69 [October 12, 1960]. See also Michael Mott, *The Seven Mountains of Thomas Merton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984) 290.
11. *Book Week* (January 17, 1965) 4.
12. Thomas Merton, "Negro Violence and White Non-Violence," *National Catholic Reporter* 3 (September 6, 1967) 10-11; Martin E. Marty, "To Thomas Merton; Re: Your Prophecy," *National Catholic Reporter* 3 (August 30, 1967) 6; see also

- Thomas Merton, *Learning to Love: Exploring Solitude and Freedom. Journals, vol. 6: 1966-1967*, ed. Christine M. Bochen (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1997) 283 [August 30, 1967]; personal talk with Martin E. Marty, October 5, 2006.
13. *Commonweal* 81 (March 12, 1965) 766.
 14. Thomas Merton "Retreat, November, 1964: Spiritual Roots of Protest," Thomas Merton, *The Nonviolent Alternative*, ed. Gordon Zahn (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1980) 259-60. Merton wrote of the retreat to John C. Heidbrink, the FOR coordinator for religious groups, who was unable to attend because of illness, in a letter dated November 26, 1964 (HGL 417). See also Tom Cornell, *Fellowship* 40.1 (January 1974) 23; Jim Forest, "A Great Lake of Beer," *Apostle of Peace: Essays in Honor of Daniel Berrigan*, ed. John Dear (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996); Murray Polner and Jim O'Grady, *Disarmed and Dangerous. The Radical Lives and Times of Daniel and Philip Berrigan* (New York: Basic Books, 1997) 106-108; Mott 406-407.
 15. Among his books are *The Non-Violent Cross: A Theology of Revolution and Peace* (New York: Macmillan, 1968); *Lightning East to West: Jesus, Gandhi, and the Nuclear Age* (New York: Crossroad, 1984).
 16. Thomas Merton, *The Road to Joy: Letters to New and Old Friends*, ed. Robert E. Daggy (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1989) 252 [letter to Therese Lentfoehr, September 28, 1965], 346 [letter to Leilani Bentley, March 20, 1967].
 17. Appalled observers spoke of a revolt or revolution: see Hal Draper, *Berkeley: The New Student Revolt*, intro. by Mario Savio (New York: Grove, 1965) 63. For a sociological analysis, see Jo Freeman and Victoria Johnson, eds., *Waves of Protest: Social Movements since the Sixties* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999).
 18. While Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton defend Gandhian tactics in *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Vintage, 1967) 183, the civil rights movement was divided on the issue. Graeme MacQueen, ed., *Unarmed Forces* (Toronto: Science for Peace, Samuel Stevens, 1992) gives varied views.
 19. Martin E. Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984) 437.
 20. In "Gandhi Shares Family Legacy," Amy McCluskey reports this quotation in a speech by Arun Gandhi at Virginia Wesleyan College, February 8, 2000 (http://student.vwc.edu/~chronicle/2_11_00/index.htm).
 21. Mark Shepard, *Gandhi Today. A Report on Mahatma Gandhi's Successors*, foreword by Arun Gandhi (Arcata: Simple, 1987).