

## Chapter V

# Racism and Violence

The two social issues which Thomas Merton considered most urgent to Americans during the 1960s were war and racism. He applied his ethic of nonviolence to both these pressing social problems along with his insightful analysis. He had long been aware of the tragedy of the racial situation in the United States. As far back as the 1930s he saw the potential explosiveness of the Black ghettos, which he said were clearly the creation of the dominant white society.<sup>1</sup>

Twenty years ahead of the times, Merton realized that the Black people were hostile to white society and culture. He was certain that there was “. . . not a Negro in the whole place (Harlem) who can fail to know, in the marrow of his bones that the white man's culture is not worth the jetsam in the Harlem River.”<sup>2</sup>

Merton himself worked in Harlem for a short time, where he joined Catherine de Hueck, foundress of Friendship House. One of his earliest commentaries on the dangers of segregating the worlds of Black and white America was a poem written in the 1950s and dedicated to Baroness de Hueck. A poem of keen social protest, it vividly describes Merton's insight into the conditions that led to racial revolution twenty years later. The poem reads:

Across the cages of the keyless aviaries,  
The lines and wires, the gallows of the broken kites,  
Crucify, against the fearful light,  
The rugged dresses of the little children.

Soon, in the sterile jungles of the waterpipes  
 and ladders,  
 The bleeding sun, a bird of prey, will terrify the poor,  
 Who will forget the unbelievable moon. . .  
 The white men's wives, like Pilate's,  
 Cry in the peril of their frozen dreams:  
 "Daylight has driven iron spikes,  
 into the flesh of Jesus' hands and feet:  
 Four flowers of blood have nailed Him to the walls  
 of Harlem."<sup>3</sup>

Merton's sensitive description of Harlem in *The Seven Storey Mountain* so impressed Eldridge Cleaver, the Black spokesman and author, that he copied it out in longhand and kept it with him at all times. Cleaver recounts in one of his own books that he would refer to these notes when giving Black Muslim lectures.<sup>4</sup>

The terrible racial crisis which exploded in the United States in the 1960s was the inevitable coming to a head of a long, immoral subjection of the Black people by the whites. In the early days of the Civil Rights Movement the Black man thought that the white man could be trusted. But after the enactment of the Civil Rights Bill in 1964, with no subsequent action or implementation following from it, the Black man gradually became more frustrated and inclined to violence. At that point it ceased to be a 'movement' and became a "revolution."<sup>5</sup>

Baker accurately observes about Merton that throughout his career ". . . from the early responses to Harlem through the discussion of Gandhi and Martin Luther King to his late poetry of universal scope, Merton consistently and insistently blamed the racial crisis in America on the white man."<sup>6</sup>

Merton discussed the tendency on the part of the white man in every age and all over the world to make slaves of darker races. White men have permitted darker peoples to have an identity only if it corresponded with their own concept of them as darker and inferior people. In keeping with his emphasis on personal identity, Merton wrote that the ultimate violence which one man can do to another is to impose upon him an

invented identity. This in turn puts him into a position of servitude and helplessness in which he finally accepts the imposed identity as substantially true. Merton charged that this is what white men have done around the world, including the United States.<sup>7</sup>

## The White Liberal's Sin

Aside from several articles and reviews, Merton's main writing on racism is contained in two books. The first is *The Seeds of Destruction*, written during 1963-64. In Part One, entitled "Black Revolution," Merton wrote several "Letters to a White Liberal." In these letters he asserted that the white liberal was largely responsible for the racial conflict in the United States.<sup>8</sup>

Most white liberals, he contended, were basically ignorant of the racial situation, of the Black man's true motives and feelings. Although he might be well-meaning, the average white liberal would sell the Black man down the river in order to protect himself. Thus, many liberals get involved in roles of leadership in the Civil Rights Movement not so much to help the Black people attain their full stature as persons and citizens, but to control their fight for rights. In this way white liberals can apply the brakes when they feel it is necessary.<sup>9</sup>

White liberals really confused the racial situation by giving the impression that Blacks have a place in white society, when the majority do not want or accept Blacks. Merton actually felt that the presence of white people at the famous march on Washington in 1963 hurt the cause of the Blacks since it created the illusion that the Black man had a place waiting for him in white America. Since the purpose of the Washington march was to demonstrate that the Black is an outcast from American society, white liberals actually distorted its whole meaning and made the issue ambiguous.<sup>10</sup>

Merton believed that all hope for really constructive and positive results in the Civil Rights Movement should be placed squarely in the hands of the Christian, nonviolent Black leaders. But, at the same time,

he expressed his fear that leaders, such as Martin Luther King, would lose their power when more Blacks realized that the majority of white Americans in spite of the Civil Rights Bill had no intention of allowing them a role in society. Merton feared that the courageous struggle of moderate leaders, dedicated to nonviolence, would give way to proponents of violence and destruction. His fears in 1964, unfortunately, proved to be true. The mid-1960s witnessed the sad race riots and burning of homes in many American cities, under the leadership of the Black Muslims and Black Panther groups.

Merton chided white Americans and especially white liberals. He stated that where minds are full of hatred, and imaginations dwell on cruelty, torment, punishment, and revenge, inevitably violence and death will follow. The problem as he saw it was that if the Black man was to enter wholly into white society, "then that society is going to be radically changed."<sup>11</sup> This would be very demanding on the part of the white man psychologically, emotionally, and financially. Today, Merton shouted, is the time to acknowledge it and prepare for it. "We must dare to pay the dolorous price of change," he said, "to grow into a new society. Nothing else will suffice."<sup>12</sup>

From the sociological point of view, Merton's analysis of the racial situation in 1964 was not remarkably original, but his sense of urgency and foresight were incisive. He called upon all Americans, and white Christians, in particular to accept the difficulties and sacrifices involved in order to achieve an integrated society. Christianity is concerned with human crises, and Christians are called to manifest the mercy and truth of God in history. Surely the crisis and the time had come.

### ***Kairos: Hope of Unity***

The irony of the Civil Rights Movement was the fact that the hour of freedom for the Black people would also be the hour of freedom for the white people. The radical situation, as Merton saw it, was a *kairos*, a providential hour.<sup>13</sup> The Black man was offering the white man a "message of salvation," an occasion to enter with him into a providential

reciprocity willed by God. He was issuing an invitation for the white man to understand him as necessary for his own life, and as completing it. The Blacks were asking the whites to listen and pay some attention to what they had to say. The Black people seriously demanded that the white people learn something from them.

Merton warned the white man, blinded by his self-conceit and his illusion of self-sufficiency, that if he failed to heed the Black man's call, the Black man would cease to call and begin to burn and shoot.

Quite simply, Merton maintained that white society has sinned through injustices and cruelties to the Black man, sometimes unconsciously, but sometimes with malice of forethought. "The time has come," he wrote, ". . . when both white and Black have been granted by God, a unique and momentous opportunity to repair this injustice and to re-establish the violated moral and social order on a new plane."<sup>14</sup>

In keeping with his Christian interpretation of history, Merton advocated that the sin of the white man be expiated through a genuine response to the Black man. This atonement should consist of two things: (1) a complete reform of the social system which permits and breeds such injustices; (2) this work of reorganization must be carried out under the inspiration of the Black man whose providential time has now arrived. At this point in history the Black man has received from God enough light, ardor, and spiritual strength to free the white man in freeing himself from the white man.<sup>15</sup>

Merton completely endorsed leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr., who based his struggle upon the nonviolent philosophy of Gandhi. Such leadership accepted suffering, not only to gain freedom for the Black man but also to save the white man's soul by showing him his sin of injustice.<sup>16</sup>

Merton was pleased that the students and people involved in the Civil Rights Movement were convinced of nonviolence as their basic approach. This is borne out in such preambles as the "Statement of Purpose" adopted at the Atlanta, Georgia, meeting of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. The Statement, drawn up in 1966,

said in part: "We affirm the philosophy or religious ideal of non-violence as the fundamental of our purpose. The presupposition of our faith and the manner of our action, nonviolence as it grows from the Judaeo-Christian traditions, seeks a social order of justice permeated by love."<sup>17</sup>

The Civil Rights Movement was a real social issue in which the practice of the nonviolent way could bring about effective change and new attitudes. The white man, however, must respond to the *kairos* of the situation—or be damned. Christians, Black and white alike, must recall that they have been liberated and redeemed by an inner truth that should make them obey and listen to the Lord of History.

Merton often wrote in eschatological terms, stating that the survival of America was itself in question. He felt that the followers of Dr. Martin Luther King believed that the sin of white America had reached such a proportion that it might call down a dreadful judgment, "perhaps total destruction on the whole country, unless atonement is made."<sup>18</sup>

As in his analysis of nonviolence and war, Merton viewed the purpose of nonviolent protest and action in its deepest and most spiritual dimensions ". . . to awaken the conscience of the white man to the awful reality of his injustice and his sin, so that he will be able to see that the Negro problem is really a white problem: that the cancer of injustice and hate which is eating white society and is only partly manifested in racial segregation with all its consequences, is rooted in the heart of the white man himself."<sup>19</sup>

## White Society

The racial situation gave rise to some of Merton's most trenchant criticisms of American society. Black nonviolence as a radical challenge and source of uneasiness and fear, forced white society to admit that its prosperity was rooted, to some extent, in injustice and sin.

Questioning America's right to claim to be the only sincere defenders of the human person, of his rights, and of his dignity, Merton felt that

America had little genuine interest in human liberty and in the human person. The plight of the American black people was a prime example.

Americans, on the contrary, were more interested in the unlimited freedom of the corporation. Himself included, Merton said that when Americans talk about the "free world," they mean first of all the world in which business is free. The freedom of the person comes after that, and is dependent upon money. Without money, freedom would have no meaning. "And therefore the most basic freedom of all is the freedom to make money."<sup>20</sup> In other words, we are not so much interested in persons as profits. American society is organized first and foremost with a view to business: profit first, people afterward.

The Civil Rights Movement and the Black demonstrations were taken seriously only when they began to hurt business. It is not the life of the spirit that is real to most Americans, but the vitality of the market.

One of the major reasons why Merton viewed the racial conflict as a *kairos*, was that it afforded American society a chance for self-examination and self-evaluation. He believed that the entire Western culture of the United States and Europe was at stake, and that Western man must free himself from the tyranny of materialism and big business. The Black man was affording him the opportunity to do this. As we have already seen with regard to war, Merton believed that a permanent solution of the race problem was only possible if there was a widespread change, a real *metanoia*, within people's hearts. This is one of the great challenges Merton issued to modern, contemporary society, as true today as when he first issued it.

Merton thought one of the best expressions of the concept of *kairos* was in the novel *A Different Drummer* by William Melvin Kelly. It was a symbolic statement on the part of the Black people; it was a final rejection of the paternalism and servitude imposed upon them by a white society. It was the announcement that the hour of the Black man's destiny had arrived. It was a final and definite "No" to the white American's social order and cultural system.<sup>21</sup>

The Black novelist and essayist James Baldwin ranked with Martin

Luther King as one of the most influential Black spokesmen according to Merton. His novel *Go Tell It on the Mountain* had much to say about the motives and spirit of the Black Revolution in America.<sup>22</sup>

Martin Luther King did more than anyone through his writings and example to inspire the Civil Rights Movement with the spirit of Christian nonviolence. Merton never tired of praising King and encouraging white Americans to read and to ponder his words.<sup>23</sup>

Martin Luther King, the central figure in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, used techniques of nonviolence and of the Gandhian spirit in his search for relevant strategy in the struggle against racism. He himself fell victim to the violence he so abhorred. He was assassinated in 1968 believing to the end in the necessity and power of nonviolence in bringing about effective and lasting social change.

## From Nonviolence to Black Power

The second major book in which Merton discussed racism was *Faith and Violence*, published in 1968, after the previous summer's race riots and widespread violence across the United States. Merton largely attributed the transition from nonviolence to violent Black Power to the fact that integration was won on the law books but was lost in fact. The result was that nonviolence both "as a tactic and as a mystique has been largely rejected as irrelevant by the American Negro."<sup>24</sup>

Most Black Americans came to view the Black Power movement in the United States as more effective and more meaningful than Christian nonviolence. This failure of nonviolence to bring about social change demonstrated, according to Merton, the stark reality that American society was radically violent and that violence was built into its very structure.

The Vietnam war, Merton felt, had a great deal to do with the trend toward violence and Black Power. The Vietnam war was viewed by many as yet another manifestation of the white man's versatility in

beating down non-whites. An America that destroyed Vietnamese non-combatants with napalm has no right to object when Blacks at home burn down their slums or protest violently against real injustices.

Merton agreed with Black leader H. Rap Brown who said that violence was thoroughly American, in fact, was the real American language. Merton recognized that there was a great deal of truth to the accusation of white America in Brown's statement: "Violence is part of your culture."<sup>25</sup>

In Merton's assessment, the Black Power movement was directed specifically against the white liberals and their ambiguous consciences. The Black Power movement was not just racism in reverse, but had to appear racist; (1) to help the Black man consolidate his sense of identity; (2) to rebuff the sentimental and meddling integrationism of the white liberal; and (3) to get the liberals off the Black man's back, and to make it quite clear that the black man wanted to run his own liberation movement.<sup>26</sup>

The real thrust of the Black Power movement was toward the acquisition of a political power that would ensure real influence and a serious ability to participate in the economic life of the country on equal terms with white people. This legitimate and just aim was misrepresented by the white mass media and white society in general.

The Black Power movement was, in the opinion, of many identified with and involved in the global revolutionary ferment in the Third World—the liberation of oppressed people across the world. The Black Power movement was seen as part of a "... world movement of refusal and rejection of the value system we call Western culture. It is therefore at least implicitly critical of Christianity as white man's religion."<sup>27</sup>

## The Task of the Christian

Merton stated quite emphatically that he believed that the Christian was obligated, by his commitment to Christ, "to seek out effective and

authentic ways of peace in the midst of violence."<sup>28</sup> Merely demanding support and obedience to an established "disorder" which is essentially violent, did not qualify he said, as authentic "peace-making."

The only real solution, as Merton saw it, was to deal with the evil root of violence—the hatred, poison, cruelty and greed which are part of the system itself. The task of the white Christian was ". . . partly a job of diagnosis and criticism, a prophetic task of finding and identifying the injustice which is the cause of *all* the violence, both white and Black, which is also the root of war, and of the greed which keeps war going in order that some might make money out of it."<sup>29</sup>

Merton was fully cognizant that neither he nor any Christian had facile answers to such social problems. He advocated that the task of the Christian was to struggle along with the Black man in the difficult and frustrating task of seeking a solution to common problems. In this way the American racial crisis would offer the American Christian a chance to recover his fidelity to Christian truth and not to perpetuate the Christian failure in American racial justice. This failure, Merton contended, was largely due to the fact that ". . . so few Christians have been able to face the fact that nonviolence comes very close to the heart of the Gospel ethic, and is perhaps essential to it."<sup>30</sup>

## The Spiral of Violence

Dom Helder Camara, Archbishop of Olinda and Recife in the underdeveloped Northeast of Brazil, although using different terminology, has many points of similarity with Merton's analysis of violence in society. Dom Helder writes that the basic form of violence, which he calls Violence No. 1, is injustice. This form of violence in society, does not necessarily do direct physical harm, but is a "violation of personhood."<sup>31</sup> Like Merton, Dom Helder sees this structural violence as a subtle, institutionalized destruction of human possibilities.

When the injustice of society becomes too oppressive, Violence No. 2, which Dom Helder calls revolt, bursts forth. Like Merton's view of the 1967 race riots in the United States, Helder Camara maintains that

violence as revolt takes place when injustice has reached the place where a large group of people will no longer bear it passively or silently.<sup>32</sup>

Just as Violence No. 1 (injustice) leads to Violence No. 2 (revolt), so does Violence No. 2 lead to Violence No. 3, which Dom Helder terms repression. Confronted with revolt, those who hold power put down the revolt by whatever repressive means are necessary to ensure that their power is not threatened. Camara is in accord with Merton in the belief that violence attracts violence and is followed by repression. The presence of the National Guard and police dogs during the race riots of 1968 is an example of this. Merton compared that situation to a Nazi police state.<sup>33</sup>

Unlike other revolutionaries in South America, however, Helder Camara does not advocate violence but calls for radical nonviolence to effect social change. One biographer of Camara describes him in a fashion that Merton himself has often been characterized, ". . . a man of peace, forced to live in a world of conflict and violence. For him, the way of peace is not a mere political tactic: it is a way of life."<sup>34</sup>

Dom Helder Camara was a featured speaker in Philadelphia during the 41st International Eucharistic Congress, held in August 1976. His constant plea, which received a great deal of media attention, was for a nonviolent solution to the injustices in society. He denounced the "internal colonialism" in South America, where the rich hold onto their wealth, thereby forcing millions to live in a subhuman condition."<sup>35</sup>

Like Merton, Camara was very critical of "structural injustices" in society and constantly calls for the creation of a more human world open to the needs of all peoples. Camara espouses in the 1980s the same nonviolent alternatives to war and violence that Merton advocated in the late 1960s. Camara has called for the need to discover "new and different ways to fight communism . . . we must not fight a bad situation with another bad situation."<sup>36</sup>

Dom Helder Camara was the recipient of the Martin Luther King prize in 1975, for his work in the field of social justice. Like Merton, he urged a personal conversion and interior change of heart as the neces-

sary beginning for any really effective change in the structure of society. Again, echoing the sentiments of Merton, Dom Helder wrote: "I accuse the real authors of violence: all those who, whether on the right or on the left, weaken true justice and prevent lasting peace. For me, my own personal vocation is that of a pilgrim of peace, following the example of Paul VI; personally I would prefer a thousand times to be killed than to kill."<sup>37</sup>

## The Philosophy of Nonviolence

Merton did not hesitate to put forth his own solution to the race issue and all issues involving violence—Christian nonviolence. He saw nonviolence *not* as a way of avoiding conflict (as it is frequently caricatured) but as a particular technique and positive force for dealing with conflict. It proceeds from a conviction that violence is both morally evil and tactically counterproductive. It stems from the belief that nonviolence is both morally correct and pragmatically effective in the long run and the only really Christian solution.

Although Merton died before he was able to delineate more specifically the ways the philosophy of nonviolence would help to solve the racial crisis, he did stress the characteristics of nonviolence as given in the previous chapter. These elements agree substantially with the strategy of nonviolence advocated by Martin Luther King. Dr. King considered at least six points as pivotal for an understanding of the nonviolent position:

(1) Nonviolence is for the strong rather than the weak. It is a demanding discipline; it is not non-resistance but a particular method of resistance.

(2) Nonviolence does not seek to "defeat or humiliate" the opponent, but to win him over.

(3) Nonviolence directs itself "against the forces of evil rather than against persons who happen to be doing evil."

(4) Without making suffering into something to be sought, nonviolence can bring home the truth that "unearned suffering is redemptive."

(5) The attitude of nonviolence must be within the heart of the individual as well as in his outer actions.

(6) Nonviolence is "based on the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice. The practitioner can believe that he is not going against the grain of what is ultimate, but seeks rather to exemplify what is ultimate: redemptive suffering love."<sup>38</sup>

## Toward Union and Reconciliation

Merton may be lacking in specifics and details, but he was quite certain of the long-range goal—union. He believed this to be the central teaching of Christianity—union of God with man, of religion with religion, and of man with man. All of his social commentary had this same unitive thrust.

Thus the ideal of Christian nonviolence in the racial crisis was to unify black with white. The man who espoused this ideal, instead of giving up in the face of increasing violence, should increase his efforts and strive with more determination to attain change through peaceful means. Merton's concern as a Christian monk was to repair the disunity which existed in the world and help heal the wounds of violence and division. There was only one way of accomplishing this task: ". . . the only philosophy and method which he believed capable of restoring unity to American and world affairs . . . was the Christian philosophy of nonviolent protest against injustice and war."<sup>39</sup>

Just as Merton's decision to enter a monastery in the early 1940s was a nonviolent protest against the chaos and disunity of man's society, so the mature monk of the 1960s felt justified and compelled in recommending the Christian philosophy of nonviolence to all people of good will.

A major obstacle, Merton was convinced, was that the common

image of nonviolence in the minds of most Americans was "largely negative and completely inadequate."<sup>40</sup> Many Americans embraced a myth which regarded nonviolence which appeals directly to the Gospels, as basically unChristian and ineffective. Reliance on force and cooperation in massive programs of violence and defense were often seen, however, as essential and as an unquestionable duty.

Merton sought to make the American public aware of the fact that nonviolence, rather than attacking the ideals of Christianity or of democratic society, was the fulfillment and implementation of these ideals. He constantly reiterated the positive values of nonviolence and stressed its compatibility with the Gospel ethic. He viewed it as a practical, descriptive philosophy upon which a modern Christian could build a program of social action.<sup>41</sup> He presented the challenge of Christian nonviolence as a way of approaching and resolving the explosive issue of racism in America. This is an issue which is still with us today and needs the nonviolent way more than ever. After almost two decades since Merton said it was time to begin, the *kairos* has long since come, his challenge is not to miss this *kairos*, fail to redeem it, or attempt to destroy it.

The nonviolence which Merton advocated was essentially a positive, constructive endeavor which presupposed that the conditions of society can be improved. Nonviolence strives to make the enemy—be he white or Black, soldier or civilian—an object of love, thereby liberating both the oppressor and the oppressed.

If nonviolence failed, and many Black people involved in the Civil Rights Movement believed that it had, Merton felt it was due not so much to an inherent weakness in the way of nonviolence but due rather to a society whose only language seemed to be that of violence. For nonviolence and moral pressure to be a real alternative to armed revolution, it is essential that the established regime should have a minimum of respect for the rights of man and especially freedom of expression. Merton was fearful that such a moral climate was fast disappearing in the United States and was determined to do all he could to reestablish and strengthen it.

## Simplification and Prophecy

As with much of his social criticism, Merton tended to oversimplify the racial crisis. He very narrowly placed the burden of racial strife on the white liberals' shoulders, calling it their sin. He often cited only those facts which supported his own theories and glossed over many of the more complex aspects of the racial problem.

His oversimplification, however, was not without design or effect. He often directed his simplified criticism against groups with which he himself was identified: he was white, an American, and a liberal. He thus pointed out the "sins" and faults of people with whom he himself was associated. His sometimes simplistic criticism of Americans and white liberals, in particular, was an example of his effective use of deliberate oversimplification. He succeeded in pointing out some real faults in American life with a forcefulness and impact that only a clear, concise, and simple approach could achieve.

Martin Marty, the Protestant theologian, in reviewing *The Seeds of Destruction* (1963) said that Merton had oversimplified and overstated the dangers of the white liberal and was unjustifiably pessimistic. Several years later, however, in an open letter to Merton, Marty apologized and admitted that Merton's predictions were coming true. Marty ended up applauding Merton's wisdom and perception and asked for constructive suggestions and roles which the white liberal might pursue.<sup>42</sup>

Merton characteristically replied that the white liberal should work behind the scenes, desiring no recognition or thanks. The white liberal of the future, in order to prove his sincerity, would be required to give nothing less than a Christian nonviolent response to violence.

In what Baker calls Merton's last will and testament to a racist America of the 1960s, Merton preached: "There is no white and Black in Christ . . . Black Power or no Black Power, I for one remain for the Negro. I trust him, I recognize the overwhelming justice of his complaint . . . as a Christian I owe him support, not in his ranks but in my own among the whites who refuse to trust him or hear him, and who want to destroy him."<sup>43</sup>

Merton had great foresight about the causes, nature, and development of the Civil Rights upheaval of the 1960s; his seeming pessimism was ultimately vindicated as realism. "He stood on the cutting edge of history, understanding and correctly interpreting recent developments and looking into the future to prophesy about coming events."<sup>44</sup>

As one of the foremost thinkers and writers to see the relationship between the war in Vietnam and the racial disturbances in America, Merton opposed both with equal vigor and zeal. He proposed the way of nonviolence as the only sane and Christian avenue to resolve these violent social questions. He never waived from his conviction of the value of nonviolence as an effective form of protest and affirmation. But nonviolence is effective only when those who employ it have achieved the inner unity they seek to establish in society. Only when they have healed their own internal divisions, a healing which is the fruit of contemplation, can they build a unified social structure, the fruit of nonviolence where all peoples can live in peace and harmony.

- 50 Dietrick Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), p. 14.
- 51 Alfred Delp, *The Prison Meditations of Father Delp* (New York: Macmillan, 1966).
- 52 Merton, "A Martyr for Peace and Unity," *Thomas Merton on Peace*, pp. 139–143.
- 53 *Ibid.* quoted by Merton, p. 142.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 141.
- 55 Merton, *Faith and Violence*, see pp. 76–86, "Pacifism and Resistance in Simone Weil."
- 56 The original title was "Let us not start the Trojan War all over again," but it appears in Weil's *Selected Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), as "The Power of Words." Cf. Merton, *Faith and Violence*, p. 80.
- 57 Merton, *Faith and Violence*, p. 83.

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- 1 Merton, *The Secular Journal*, pp. 237ff.
- 2 Merton, *The Seven Storey Mountain*, p. 346.
- 3 Merton, *A Man in the Divided Sea*, p. 42.
- 4 Cf. Eldridge Cleaver, *Soul on Ice* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968).
- 5 Merton, *Seeds of Destruction*, pp. 28f and Part One, pp. 3–86.
- 6 Baker, *Thomas Merton: Social Critic*, p. 99.
- 7 Merton, "The Shoshoneans," *The Catholic Worker*. XXXIII (June 1967) 5. This is a review of *The Shoshoneans: The People of the Basin-Plateau*, by Edward Dorn (New York: Morrow, 1966), dealing with the white man's treatment of the Shoshonean Indians. See also, "The Shoshoneans," pp. 5–16, in Thomas Merton, *Ishi Means Man*, (Greensboro, North Carolina: Unicorn Press, 1976).
- 8 Merton, *Seeds of Destruction*, see Part One.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 67.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- 16 Some examples would be the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycotts of 1955–56, the sit-ins protesting segregation rides of the 1960s. For a detailed case study of these events, see William R. Miller, *Non-Violence: A Christian Interpretation* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), especially Ch. 20, "Nonviolence in the Southern United States since 1955," pp. 298–345.
- 17 Cf. Robert B. Gore, "Nonviolence," in *The Angry Black South* (eds.) Glenford E. Mitchell and William H. Peace III (New York: Corinth, 1962), pp. 146–47.
- 18 Merton, *Seeds of Destruction*, p. 45.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- 21 Cf. William M. Kelly, *A Different Drummer* (New York: Dell, 1965); and Merton, *Seeds of Destruction*, pp. 72ff. Merton termed this novel a "parable which spells out some of the deep spiritual implications of the nonviolence battle for full civil rights" (p. 75).
- 22 James Baldwin, *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (New York: Dell, 1969); see also James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (New York: Dell, 1970).
- 23 See especially, Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958, 1963); and *The Trumpet of Conscience* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).
- 24 Merton, *Faith and Violence*, p. 121.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 124.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 128.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 129.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 129.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 143.
- 31 Dom Helder Camara, *Spiral of Violence*, trans. Della Conling (London: Sheed and Ward, 1971) (cf. pp. 29ff). This book is dedicated, "To The Memory of Gandhi and Martin Luther King."
- 32 A symposium dealing with violence in American society summa-

rized it thus: "The basic cause of most violent revolt is injustice and inequity, violation of personhood, and symbolic violence" (cf. Thomas Rose ed., *Violence in America* [New York: Random House, 1971], p. 38).

33 Cf. Merton, *Faith and Violence*, pp. 176ff, and Dom Helder Camara, *The Spiral of Violence*, pp. 34ff.

34 José DeBroucker. *Dom Helder Camara: The Violence of a Peacemaker*. (New York: Orbis Books, 1970), p. 31.

35 David W. Givney. "Brazilian Archbishop Denounces 'Internal Colonialism,'" in *The Catholic Standard and Times*, 81, no. 49 (Aug. 5, 1976) p. 31.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

37 Dom Helder Camara, *Church and Colonialism* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1969). This excellent series of essays advocates revolutionary nonviolence in Latin America.

38 King, *Stride Toward Freedom*, pp. 38ff.

39 Baker, *Thomas Merton: Social Critic*, p. 115.

40 Thomas Merton, "Preface," p. vi, in P. R. Regamey, *Non-Violence and the Christian Conscience* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966); later published in Merton, *Faith and Violence*, pp. 30-39.

41 Baker, *Thomas Merton: Social Critic* (cf. pp. 115-16).

42 Cf. Martin Marty, "Open Letter to Thomas Merton," *National Catholic Reporter*, 3 (Aug. 30, 1967) p. 6; and Thomas Merton, "Thomas Merton Replies to a Perceptive Critic," *National Catholic Reporter*, 3 (Jan. 18, 1968) p. 4.

43 Merton, *Faith and Violence*, pp. 129, 130; see also, Baker, *Thomas Merton Social Critic*, pp. 109-10.

44 Baker, *Thomas Merton: Social Critic*, p. 111.