not as a leader whose responsibilities will continue over decades and through changes of great magnitude. There is probably some identification of themselves with you and though they can come and go, change horses, all as merely an avocation, for you the taking of a position is an immensely important step affecting millions deeply and lastingly. Frank, Sammy and the others are not intellectual leaders nor moral leaders so their decisions can be more easily arrived at without the singular weight that attaches to a decision or stand by you. I mention these thoughts because they may subject you to heavy pressure. I’ll be calling you to find out about Friday. Warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

[signed] Stan

SDL/ah

enclosures

TLS. MLKP-MBU: Box 2.

The Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project

Outline, The Philosophy of Nonviolence

[14 October 1960]
[Atlanta, Ga.]

Some three hundred students and observers from across the country gathered in Atlanta from 14 to 16 October for the first major Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) meeting since its founding at Shaw University in April. King may have used this handwritten outline as the basis for “The Philosophy of Nonviolence,” his keynote address on the opening day of the SNCC conference. In it he endorses nonviolence as “the relentless pursuit of truthful ends by moral means” and asserts that there are “amazing potentialities for goodness” in human nature. King concludes by warning against “ego struggles” and other “pitfalls.”

The history of mankind is replete with innumerable conflict-situations. First and foremost in the philosophy of non-violence is the affirmation that means must be as pure as the end. Means and ends are convertible terms. [They?] are inseparable

(The means represent the end in process and the ideal in the making)

(1) This automatically sets non-violence against war and communism. Both says that the end justifies the means.

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1. Other conference speakers included James Lawson, Lillian Smith, Ella Baker, Richard Gregg, and William Stuart Nelson (Student Voice, October 1960). King had been invited to deliver the keynote address in a 22 August letter from Marion S. Barry and Jane Stembridge, who also suggested the title.
II A second basic fact in this philosophy is the consistent refusal to inflict injury upon another. There are two aspects to this. There is first the external,
1. This means that you don't use aggressive or retaliatory violence.
2. But there is the internal. It deals with the way you talk, the way you make a press release.
3. The highest expression of non-injury is love
4. This love means that you center your attention on the evil system and not the evil doer. The non-violent resister separates the evil from the evil doer and while trying to eradicate the evil tries to save the evil doer.
   1. Means must be as pure as the end.
   2. There must be no dual code of ethics for individual and group conduct.
   3. Non-violence seeks to [confuse?] evil by truth, to resist physical force by soul-force.
   *4. Non-violence is the relentless pursuit of truthful ends by moral means.
5. The non-violent resister does not is not victimized with the illusion that all conflicts will be eliminated; he aims at raising them from the destructive physical plane to the constructive moral plane [where?] differences can be peacefully adjusted. Thus, he seeks to eliminate antagonisms rather than antagonists.
6. The non-violent resister is prepared to suffer even unto death. He believes that by suffering alone he can bridge the gulf between himself and his opponent and reach his heart.
*7. Non violent resistance means a refusal to cooperate with evil
8. Non violence appeals not to physical might, but to moral right by making him cognizant of the evil.

III Another basic point in non-violence is the courageous willingness to accept suffering that suffering may become a source of human and social force. It thwarts the oppositions efforts, exposes his moral defense and thereby breaks his morale.

IV The belief that there is within human nature amazing potentialities for goodness.

V It is not only a philosophy, but a technique of action.
1. Some pitfalls to watch
   1. [miscellaneous?] activity—without planning
   2. publicity
   3. ego struggles
   You will be misunderstood

AD. CSKC.