

**A STUDY ON THE ADOPTION OF GANDHI'S SATYAGRAHA
DOCTRINE IN MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.'S
"I HAVE A DREAM"**

THESIS

**BY
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**STUDY PROGRAM OF ENGLISH
DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE
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2012**

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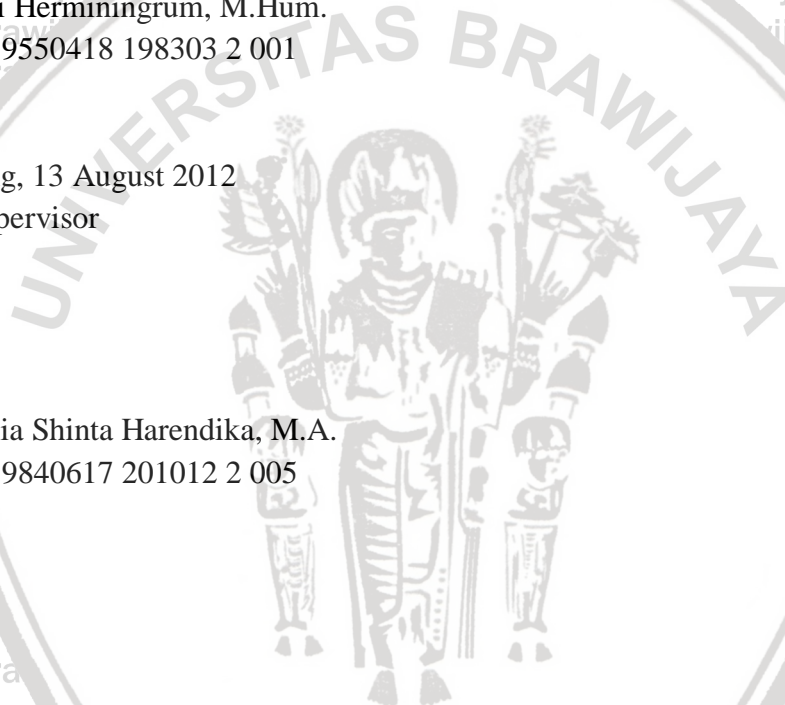
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ABSTRACT

Sandi, Novi Kristina Aris. 2012. **A Study on The Adoption of Gandhi's *Satyagraha* Doctrine in Martin Luther King Jr.'s "*I Have A Dream*"** Study Program of English, Department of Languages and Literature, Faculty of Cultural Studies, Universitas Brawijaya. Supervisor: **Sri Herminingrum**; Co-supervisor: **Melania Shinta Harendika**

Keywords: Martin Luther King Jr., non-violence resistance, *Satyagraha*, Intertextuality

In the late of 1950s until 1960s, Black Americans still lived under the segregation law. Martin Luther King, Jr. as the leader, conducted the strategy of non-violence inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of truth called *Satyagraha*. The adoption of *Satyagraha* doctrine can be found in King's "*I Have A Dream*". *I Have A Dream* is the collection of King's speeches and writings point out the struggle of King and Black Americans in pursuing the right of equality using non-violence resistance.

The research employs intertextuality theory to explore the connection between King's non-violence resistance and Gandhi's *Satyagraha* as reflected in King's speeches and writings. King's speeches and writings such as *I Have A Dream*, *Speech Before the Youth March for Integrated School*, *Letter From a Birmingham Jail*, and *Three Views of Violence* contain King's messages for Black Americans to use non-violence resistance as their direction in every struggle to protest segregation.

The result of the study reveals that there is a significant influence of Gandhi's *Satyagraha* concept to King's strategy in leading Blacks' Civil Rights Movement. However, King's struggle to end Black discrimination is a kind of irony. On one hand, King believes that non-violence is the best way for Blacks to gain their equal rights. On the other hand, King is assassinated before Blacks could get their equality.

ABSTRAK

Sandi, Novi Kristina Aris. 2012. **Aplikasi Doktrin *Satyagraha* dalam “*I Have A Dream*” Kumpulan Karya-Karya Martin Luther King, Jr.** Program Studi Sastra Inggris, Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Brawijaya. Pembimbing I: **Sri Herminingrum**; Pembimbing II: **Melania Shinta Harendika**

Kata Kunci: Martin Luther King, Jr., perlawanan tanpa kekerasan, *Satyagraha*, Interteks

Di sekitar tahun 1950an sampai 1960an, masyarakat Kulit Hitam masih hidup di bawah hukum segregasi. Sebagai seorang pemimpin, Martin Luther King, Jr. memimpin strategi perlawanan tanpa kekerasan yang terinspirasi dari filosofi kebenaran Mahatma Gandhi yang disebut *Satyagraha*. Pemakaian doktrin *Satyagraha* dapat ditemukan dalam “*I Have A Dream*” milik King. *I Have A Dream* adalah kumpulan pidato-pidato dan tulisan-tulisan King yang menyampaikan perjuangan King dan kaum Kulit Hitam dalam mengejar persamaan hak dengan menggunakan perlawanan tanpa kekerasan.

Penelitian ini menggunakan teori interteks untuk mengeksplorasi hubungan antara perlawanan tanpa kekerasan King dengan konsep Gandhi tentang *Satyagraha* yang terdapat dalam pidato-pidato dan tulisan-tulisan King. Pidato dan tulisan King seperti *I Have A Dream*, *Speech Before the Youth March for Integrated School*, *Letter From a Birmingham Jail*, dan *Three Views of Violence* mengandung pesan-pesan King kepada kaum Kulit Hitam untuk menggunakan perlawanan tanpa kekerasan sebagai pedoman dalam setiap perjuangan untuk memprotes segregasi.

Hasil dari studi ini mengungkapkan bahwa terdapat pengaruh yang signifikan dari konsep Gandhi tentang *Satyagraha* terhadap strategi King dalam memimpin Pergerakan Hak Sipil kaum Kulit Hitam. Namun, perjuangan King untuk mengakhiri diskriminasi Kulit Hitam adalah sebuah ironi. Di satu sisi, King percaya bahwa perlawanan tanpa kekerasan adalah cara terbaik bagi orang Kulit Hitam untuk mendapatkan persamaan derajat. Tapi di sisi lain, King dibunuh sebelum Kulit Hitam mendapatkan persamaan.

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The writer



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

According to Anderson (1988), the concept of civilization means when people reach a high stage of social and cultural development, and take over the social organization. The Americans built the White cultural hegemony over Africans to show that White people were superior and other races were inferior. That is why, slavery existed in America; Whites were masters and Blacks were slaves.

Furthermore, Anderson (1988, p. 58) explained that “slavery, described as one group of humans subjugating other humans for the purpose of forcing them to perform labor, work or services without being paid or compensation, has been known to exist since the history of mankind.” White Americans gained many advantages from the exploitation of Black people and slave trade with many countries in Europe. “Several European peoples including the English, Portuguese, French, Spanish, Dutch, and Swedes participated and profited from the rape of Africa’s physical resources and the marketing of Black human body” (Anderson, 1988, p. 58). On the other hand, Black Americans gained nothing except sufferings. “The slaves had no rights. Their treatment and fate depended solely upon the merciless whims and desires of the slavemasters or the dreaded slave drivers” (Anderson, 1988, p. 69).

Though slavery was abolished after the Civil War in 1863 (Schloredt and Brown, 1994, p. 8), Blacks’ lives were also segregated from the Whites. Black

Americans were forbidden to vote for the new life, join the social organization, and get a better education. It was supported by the Segregation Law called *Jim Crow*.

Hine, et al (2000) said that *Jim Crow* Law was the threat of White violence to keep Black Americans from voting in the deep South. This racial injustice and segregation was still happened in the late of 1950s until 1960s where Black and White Americans were not equal (Hine, et al, 2000). White Americans had a full civil right; whereas, Black Americans lived in a segregation and were not considered as a part of America

Many Black Americans felt that it was unfair for them to be discriminated from the White's supremacy. The only way to be free from all this sufferings was struggling to fight back the segregation and claiming as the citizens of America even they had to sacrifice their lives. It was the Black Conciousness to gain freedom because they believed that "All Men are Created Equal" as stated in the *Declaration of Independence* in 1776. It consisted of two parts of independence about major statement of human rights that "all men are created equal", and had the God-given of "Life, Liberty, and Pursuit of Happiness" (Kindig, 1995, para. 2).

1.1.1 Civil Rights Movement

In the pursuit of freedom, the Civil Rights Movement was leading the exertion. As described by Hine, et al (2000, p. 501) that Civil Rights Movements pioneered by Black people as "the remarkable courage and tenacity people in their own communities showed in their determination to attack segregation and exclusion from the political process." The Civil Rights Movement gathered the masses in order

to get the freedom against racial injustice. The masses were the Black Americans themselves from the whole lines of society; however, the most prominent leaders were the ones involved in Black Ministry and Church. As Anderson identified (1993, p. 74) “courageous and freedom-minded Black ministers and the Black church of the twentieth century continue to protest against racism and are at the forefront of Civil Rights Movements”.

1.1.2 Martin Luther King, Junior

During the Civil Rights Movements, there were so many violences and brutalities of White Americans to defend their position as the pure citizen of America in which the Whites were superior than Blacks. The more Blacks fought, the more they died even those who did not do anything during the marches and demonstrations in gaining their rights. To defend and survive from the White supremacy, there were no other choices except revolting against violence.

Some Civil Rights Movement’s leaders thought and agreed that rebellion was the right way to face with Whites’ violences. For example, Nat Turner, Marcus Garvey, and Malcom X executed the revolt against the brutalities. “Indeed, it involved the greatest number of participants and was perhaps the bloodiest in terms of the large number of both Whites and Blacks killed” (Anderson, 1988, p. 73). Those are different from Martin Luther King Jr, the leader of Black’s movement in pursuing of freedom, who used non-violence resistance.

Martin Luther King, Junior (Jr.) worked as the Christian leader in order to make African American became more religious in Christianity; however, he also gave the effort to Black Americans to be equal and free from discrimination. King followed his father and grandfather who also struggled for the justice of Black Americans in a long time. King led as the President of Black Americans to coordinate and maintain the movement of the mass during the Civil Rights Movement in 1960s (Hine, et al, 2000, p. 506). King made the Black Americans confident to gain the equality with his orations and tried to convince the White Americans that all men were equal no matter what their ethnics and races. It made King became a charismatic leader because King did not use any violence to end the discrimination and made the Black got the equality.

Hine, et al (2000, p. 501) mentioned that “behind the charismatic leaders and the powerful spectacle of marches and demonstrations captured so dramatically on television were the ordinary citizens who initiated protests, formulated strategies and tactics, and garnered other essential resources that made collective action work”. In gaining the freedom of his society, King realized that violence could not end the discrimination; so, King was inspired by Gandhi’s concept of non-violence resistance called *Satyagraha*. King was influenced by the books of many philosophers; however, King was very impressed by Gandhi’s strategy to get the Indian independence (Schloredt and Brown, 1988, p. 19).

1.1.3 *I Have A Dream*

The struggles of King using non-violence resistance can be seen in one of King's best book "*I Have A Dream*". It consists of King's writings collection, speeches, and letters about King and Black Americans' struggles to get the equality and freedom from White people. "*I Have A Dream*" focuses on King's strategy without violence to end racial injustice from the conduct of non-violence resistance until the application of this concept to the Blacks' community. King delivers the concept of non-violence resistance through his letter, speeches, and writings to Black Americans in the three chapters of "*I Have A Dream*".

The first chapter is "*The Dream Bursts Forth*" in 1956-1959. There are four parts in this chapter including King's writings and speeches about the important and purposes of non-violence resistance. The second is "*The Dream Enters World History*" in 1959-1964. This chapter consists eight parts of King's struggles in conducting non-violence resistance. The last chapter is "*The Dream is Deferred*" in 1963-1968 where the five parts of this chapter shows the strength of Black people in applying non-violence resistance. This book gives the complete informations about every struggle of Black Americans and the crucial events in South America during the Civil Rights Movement written by Dr. King.

1.1.4 Inspiration from Gandhi: Non-Violence Resistance

Non-violence resistance was applied by Mahatma Gandhi. It was created by the philosophy of truth in human's life. Gandhi named this concept as *Satyagraha*. It

was derived from the history of Gandhi's struggle in Africa to find the truth. Gandhi (1985) realized that European perspective, *Satyagraha* was regarded as a weapon of weak people that full of hatred and it could form violences. Gandhi had to reject all of the opinions and judgement about it until this resistance was successful because Indians were taught to resists against oppressions without violence.

King was inspired by Gandhi's strategy and tried to use it to reach Black equality in America. Hine, et al (2000, p. 507) stated that "King merged Gandhian nonviolence with Black Christian faith and church culture to create a unique ideology well suited for the civil rights struggle". Black Christian teaching was also the basic of King's non-violence resistance since King's father was a priest and King was grown up in Black Church. Barksdale and Kinnamon (1972, p. 842) described "this philosophic fusion of Christian moral idealism and Indian political expediency appealed to many Americans who were trying to ease their consciences about the depressed condition of the majority of America's Black citizens".

The study on "*I Have A Dream*", King's speeches and his writings, is important to uncover the teaching of Black Americans' struggle and King's non-violence resistance to liberate Blacks from discrimination in America inspired by Gandhi's philosophy of *Satyagraha*. It was an irony because this struggle had to be paid with an expensive price, King was assassinated.

1.2 Problem of the Study

Gandhi's non-violence resistance inspired Martin Luther King, Jr. to release the Black Americans from the oppression of White's supremacy. However, it is not easy to apply this strategy to end the racial injustice as it was reflected in King's book

"I Have A Dream".

1.3 Objectives of the Study

- 1) To explore Mahatma Gandhi's *Satyagraha* which inspired King in conducting the non-violence resistance.
- 2) To reveal how non-violence resistance used by King and Black Americans in gaining their freedom and equality needs a big sacrifice—King's death.

1.4 Significance of the Study

By tracing back of the segregation toward Black people in the late of 1950s until 1960s and the King's non-violence resistance, inspired by Gandhi's philosophy to end discrimination, it is hoped this study will give complete information about the struggle of Black Americans in pursuing equality for further researchers who want to conduct the same study. By conducting this study, the researcher can explore and know deeply about Gandhi's contributions in King's non-violence resistance to release Blacks from the segregation. For English department, this research is a new study that will give a new perspective in literature field about interconnectedness.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH METHODS

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Started from slavery era, African Americans had their difficulties years after years. African Americans were considered as strong people who could be hardworkers during the development of America. Schloredt and Brown (1994) said that African Americans were sold to America to become slaves of the slavemasters. The slaves were sent to the North and South of America; however, the worst slavery was happened in the South. As described by Anderson (1988, p. 63) that “especially in the southern colonies, African slaves had no rights except those arbitrarily determined by the individual slavemasters.” The effects of slavery were still happened after the Civil War, eventhough the slavery itself was removed. Blacks were the subordinate and lived separately from the Whites’ society. This segregation made Blacks were “mostly unskilled and uneducated, Blacks were forced to live in deteriorating sections of cities and live overcrowded in hovels and ghetto structures” (Anderson, 1988, p.87).

2.1.1 Black Segregation in America

After the Civil War in 1863, Black Americans, gradually, could get their freedom as the citizens of America and the rights to vote. However, not all White

Americans could accept the Blacks to live in the same society. As stated by Friedman (2008, p. 20) “but the majority of Southern Whites were determined to resist Black equality. Many could not unlearn the harsh stereotypes of Black inferiority on which they had been raised.”

To clarify the status between Whites and Blacks, the government of the South legitimized the segregation law called *Jim Crow* law. As mentioned by Kristin Peoples (2008, para. 1), “*Jim Crow* was the name of one of the characters on a minstrel show. Minstrel show had White actors who wore Black make up on their face and made fun of African Americans.” *Jim Crow* law regulated the segregation and separation in many sectors. “They required separate public schools, railroad cars, and public libraries; separate water fountains, restaurants, and hotels” (Friedman, 2008, p. 21). *Jim Crow* law made the Blacks forbidden to enter public places, use public transportation, and marry Whites. Blacks lived under the regulation of *Jim Crow* law, while White Americans gained the advantages from it.

Segregation in America became the fundamental paradigm for the Blacks under the White’s supremacy. Once Black Americans broke the rules, they would be arrested and got the punishment. One of the examples of protest was happened in Montgomery where the Black woman named Rosa Parks refused to give her seat to a White man in the bus. Rosa Parks was a seamstress and Black activist (Hine, et al, 2000, p. 506). In the public facilities such as buses, Blacks were only allowed to sit at the back; however, when Parks boarded the bus, the sits at the back were already full. She sat at the Whites’ chair. When a White man caught the bus, she did not want to

move and give her sit to him. Although she told everything and asked them to let her sit, it did not work. Finally, she was arrested by the White polices though she did not do any violence.

Rosa Parks's protest became one of the pioneers of Civil Rights Movement where African Americans could not hold their anger anymore toward the White's supremacy. The injustice that happened to Rosa Parks made the Blacks realized their positions as the part of America because there was a notion that "all men are created equal" as stated in American independence. The Civil Rights Movement was begun by the bus boycott in Montgomery as the social protest to White oppressors. As stated by Friedman (2008, p. 46) that "the arrest and brief jailing of Rosa Parks, a woman highly respected in the Black community, and the boycott that followed led to a U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation on city buses."

Moreover, "the boycott also raised to national prominence a youthful, little-known minister named Martin Luther King, Jr. Under his leadership, the boycott set a pattern for nonviolent, community-based protest that became a successful strategy in the civil rights movement" (Friedman, 2008, p. 46). King became the Blacks' leader which did not use any violence in pursuing the freedom.

2.1.2 Non-violence Resistance

Segregation in America was not only about race but also the injustice of life. Black people lived in a sorrow without the opportunities to gain freedom. Freedom was a high price for the Blacks to reach. Blacks' lives were completely different from

the Whites. Blacks lived in the suburb, were forbidden to use public facilities, transportations, and church because of *Jim Crow* law. Blacks who broke the regulation would be arrested or killed. White people treated the Blacks with violences. Violence was a common thing among Whites and Blacks. Whites had a power to violate Black people because the law allowed Whites to do so.

It was a hard way for Black people to gain freedom and the right to be the part of America. Lived under the oppression of White's supremacy forced Blacks to receive it. On the other hand, the treatments that they received were not only segregation and discrimination, but also violences and physical abuse.

Because of that, many Blacks wanted to resist and get their rights as Americans. Martin Luther King, Jr. was pointed to become a Blacks' leader in order to end the discrimination. In pursuing the freedom, especially the right to vote, King had his own strategy to end the discrimination. King was very impressed and inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence resistance. Non-violence resistance was the resistance without doing any violence created by Gandhi when Indians tried to get their independence from British. King did the same thing as what Gandhi did to gain Blacks' right. As stated by Barksdale and Kinnamon (1972, p. 858) that "violence often brings about momentary result. Nations have frequently won their independence in battle. But in spite of temporary victories, violence never brings permanent peace. It solves no social problem; it merely creates new and more complicated ones."

In this resistance, Black people were not allowed to revenge the Whites whatever Whites did toward them. In the other way, the Black people had to receive

the violence patiently. “Violence is immoral because it thrives on hatred rather than love. It destroys community and makes brotherhood impossible.” (Barksdale and Kinnamon, 1972, p. 858). King asked Black people to do marches, demonstrations, and protests against the White supremacy. “Non violent resistance makes it possible for the Negro to remain in the South and struggle for his rights.” (Barksdale and Kinnamon, 1972, p. 858). Non violence resistance was the only way for Black people to get the equality and the same rights as the citizen of America. As mentioned by Barksdale and Kinnamon (1972, p. 858) that “non violent resistance is not aimed against oppressors but against oppression.”

Non-violence resistance could persuade the oppressors about the equality among Black and White. Violence could not give the equality and peace to Black people. “Nonviolence can touch men where the law cannot reach them. When the law regulates behavior it plays an indirect part in molding public sentiment” (Barksdale and Kinnamon, 1972, p. 859).

2.1.3 Satyagraha

Satyagraha as defined by Gandhi (1985) is the self-restrain from the earthy things and dirty passion to gain the purity in life. The term *Satyagraha* is created by two words. “*Sat*” means truth and “*Agraha*” means willpower. This philosophy demands the significant changes in someone’s life to the highest state of *Brahmacharya*. “*Brahmacharya* is an oath to lead the people live in the pure life and do not live like an animal that full of desire. Gandhi stated that the changes had done

before were based on the health; whereas, the new experiments was started based on the religious.” (Gandhi, 1985, p. 296). Fast and the limitation of food have the important role to refrain from the passion so the people can reach the purity.

Fasting is the way to control the senses because *Satyagraha* charges the people to control their emotions, passions, appetites, and over desire. Hindu people who profess *Satyagraha* have to fast as one of the way into self-restrain. Fasting is not only about refrain someone from the passions physically but also spiritually. As mentioned by Gandhi (1985) that fasting was one of the way into the self-restrain; however, the physical fasting without spiritual fasting would bring misfortune and hypocrisy.

Actually, *Satyagraha* is not only applied to the self-restrain but also for atonement. Fasting is the best way to atone the sins. Emotions, anger, and prejudice are the eternal enemies of someone who does not apply the *Satyagraha* in their lives. Fasting can throw away those bad things. As stated by Gandhi (1985) that fasting could disengage all of the burdens and purify men’ mind.

Satyagraha was also applied when India was colonized by Britain. Indians did not want Britain to reign the country; so, Indians opposed British’ politics and imperialism. Gandhi’s philosophy of non-violence resistance inspired the Indian people to be free as a country and decide their own decision as the citizen (Schloredtz and Brown, 1988, p. 19). In pursuing the Indian independence, Gandhi taught that Indians were not allowed to kill or resist back whatever the worse treatment they got because violence would not bring a peace.

African Americans also faced the same thing where they had to survive and struggle under the White oppression without doing any violence as instructed by King. As stated by Barksdale and Kinnamon (1972, p. 858) that “by nonviolent resistance, the Negro can also enlist all men of good will in his struggle for equality.”

2.1.4 Intertextuality

Intertextuality as stated by Fox (1995, cited in Barthes 1977, para. 1) is the process where one text plays upon other texts, the ways in which texts refer endlessly to further elements within the realm of cultural production. Intertextuality shows that the literary text has its relationship with other texts. It means that the text does not stand alone or has its own meaning. By connecting the text with other texts, the readers could interpret and extract the real meaning to find the history and tradition behind it. As mentioned by Simandan (2010, cited in Allen 2000, para. 2) “meaning becomes something which exists between a text and all the other texts to which it refers and relates, moving out from the independent text into a network of textual relations.”

According to Simandan (2010, para. 9) “Intertextuality has been adapted by critics of non-literary art forms, such as painting, music, architecture, photography or even film.” Intertextuality can be applied in other work of arts and not only in the written form. As a concept, one text reflects other previous and past issue. Intertextuality helps the reader in understanding the meaning and the manifestation of author’s interpretation inside the texts. The significance of this theory is to help the

writer in understanding the connections between King's "*I Have A Dream*" and Gandhi's *Satyagraha* since King's non-violence resistance was greatly inspired by Gandhi's teaching of truth. It also helps the readers to interpret the true messages of non-violence resistance beyond King's speeches, writings, and letters in order to pursue the freedom of Black Americans. Therefore, intertextuality has a big role to uncover the study between Gandhi's and King's. By researching interconnectedness of non-violence resistance between Gandhi's and King's is studying borderless world. The concept of "influence and relation" in understanding a text often come "into contact with cultural history, the history of ideas, the intellectual and philosophical background" (Herminingrum, 2011, p. 17). The idea and philosophy of Gandhi's *Satyagraha* gave big contributions in King's struggle to end discrimination.

2.2 Previous Studies

There are two studies used by the writer as the references which strikingly highlighted Non-Violence Resistance. The first entitled "*Upon This Rock: The Black Church, Nonviolence, and The Civil Rights Movement*" by Allison Calhoun Brown (2000). This study reveals the role of the Black Church as the mobilization for the Black leaders to conduct non-violence resistance. Since Black church was not only considered as the organization but also the motivator to deliver the message behind non-violence.

The second is "*Watching, Dreaming, Waiting: Non-Violence, Social Change, and the Re-Imagining of Religion*" by Varun Soni (2004). The study was focused on

the influence of Christian teaching in connecting to Martin Luther King's non-violence's concept.

The study conducted now is different from the two previous studies. Because it is the first study using King's "*I Have A Dream*" that contains about King's non-violence resistance to end the discrimination inspired by Gandhi's philosophy of *Satyagraha*. In pursuing the equality and freedom, King's strategy stressed that Blacks' were not allowed to use violence because violence could not end the racial injustice.

2.3 Research Methods

In conducting the research, there are two steps taken:

1) Choosing the object material

The three parts in "*I Have A Dream*" were chosen as the object material of this research. The first part is "*The Dream Bursts Forth*" which contains about the struggle of Black Americans to face White supremacy and King's understanding about non-violence resistance. The second part is "*The Dream Enters World History*" that contains about the concept of non-violence resistance and King's trip to India. The last part is "*The Dream is Deferred*" contains about the role of non-violence resistance in changing the world.

Beside that, each part also contains King's speeches about bus boycott in Montgomery, integrated school in youth march, King's greatest speech of "*I Have A Dream*" for the Civil Rights Movement, nobel prize acceptance,

King's letter from the Birmingham Jail when he was arrested, and King's writings about his concept in conducting the non-violence resistance in order to make Blacks get the freedom and equality.

2) Analyzing and interpreting the data

The three chapters of *I Have A Dream* were read several times to know and explore more deeply about segregation in America and also about King conducted the strategy without violence. Intertextuality is used to explore the text' connection between Gandhi's *satyagraha* and King's non-violence resistance. According to Selden (1988, p. 404) that "intertextuality includes conscious 'borrowing' or allusion but also conceivable unconscious citation." The study of King's non-violence resistance during the Civil Right Movement cannot be separated from Gandhi's philosophy of *satyagraha* which demands the people into the self-restrain. *Satyagraha* was created from the oath of *Brahmacharya* directing people to live in a purity life. In India, Gandhi also applied *Satyagraha* to get Indian Independence from Britain using the concept of non-violence resistance. In America, King applied the same strategy inspired by Gandhi's to get the freedom for Black people. Therefore, there is interconnectedness between King's strategy and Gandhi's *Satyagraha*.

CHAPTER III

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

After the civil war, the condition of African Americans do not get better. The segregation law, *Jim Crow*, is the legal regulation to clarify the status between White and Black people. Although Blacks' population in America are more than half (Anderson, 1988, p. 71), none of them live in a prosperous life. Discrimination and violence toward Black people give them a lot of sufferings in the mid of 1950s until the late of 1960s. As described by Barksdale and Kinnamon (1972, p. 848) "but there comes a time when people get tired of being trampled by oppression. There comes a time when people get tired of being plunged into the abyss of exploitation and nagging injustice." Black Americans led by a charismatic leader, Martin Luther King, Jr., started the social protests to end discrimination and get the equality using the new strategy inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence resistance. As stated by Friedman that "the nonviolent occupation of a public space, or sit-in, dated at least to Mahatma Gandhi's campaigns for Indian independence from Britain" (2008, p. 37). It reflects Gandhi's struggle as the Indians' leader which uses non-violence to persuade British to leave the land of India; meanwhile, King also struggles to abolish segregation towards Black people.

As the leader of Blacks, King knows the risks of violence to Black people. Violence cannot give the freedom they want. Violence only bring the worst situation toward Black people; so, King conducts the best way to end racial injustice and bring

the freedom they dreamed as seen in King's writing "*We Have Discovered a New and Powerful Weapon—Nonviolent Resistance*"

Although law is an important factor in bringing about social change, there are certain conditions in which the very effort to adhere to new legal decisions creates tension and provokes violence. We had hoped to see demonstrated a method that would enable us to continue our struggle while coping with the violence it aroused. Now we see the answer: face violence if necessary, but refuse to return violence. If we respect those who oppose us, they may achieve a new understanding of the human relations involved. (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 7)

The first sentence insists King's feeling about the role of law in America during the segregation. Law is made by the society and for society. However, this ideal concept in its realization seems difficult to meet; such as the enactment of segregation law which is popularly called *Jim Crow* law. This regulation creates the condition where Whites can treat Black people using violence and physical abuse. In this case, King realizes if violence is used to stop the injustice, the worst situation in America will not be changed. Therefore, non-violence resistance becomes the best way to release Black Americans from the White's supremacy.

In King's statement "face violence if necessary, but refuse to return violence. If we respect those who oppose us, they may achieve a new understanding of the human relations involved" indicates the basic concept of non-violence resistance because it is not addressed against the oppressors, but, against the oppressions. Violence only brings more hatred; whereas, non-violence resistance gives the better understanding to end discrimination. Thus, non-violence resistance does not contain any violence and brutality.

3.1 The Construction of Non-Violence Resistance

In *I Have A Dream*, there are many factors and steps to conduct non-violence resistance. King as the leader displays his ability to execute this strategy and convince the masses to cooperate in succeeding it. Non-violence resistance is not an easy thing to do because Blacks are forbidden to use physical strength and weapons to resist against Whites' society. However, King gives his best to persuade Black Americans to join this resistance. Though the freedom is still far to reach under the oppression of Whites, the larger amount of Black people fight for freedom as reflected in King's writing "*The Liberal Dilemma*".

Every attempt to end the protest by intimidation, by encouraging Negroes to inform, by force and violence, further cemented the Negro community and brought sympathy for our cause from men of good will all over the world. The great appeal for the world appears to lie in the fact that we in Montgomery have adopted the method of nonviolence. In a world in which most men attempt to defend their highest values by the accumulation of weapons of destruction. (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 11)

The quotation confirms that even White Americans force Blacks to stop the protests using violence and physical abuse, it does not make Black people surrender their passion to be free. The more White people violate them, the larger amount of Black Americans join this resistance because the struggle of Blacks to pursue the equality brings many sympathies not only from Blacks themselves but also the understanding of people from the whole world. The good will and understanding that Whites do not have. Every violence and force will unite the Blacks to struggle to be equal. Though the reason of their struggle is different, Gandhi and King are exerting the same

strategy of non-violence in their hassle. Gandhi strikes for Indian independence using non-violence resistance. This strategy is created from the philosophy of truth called *Satyagraha*. *Satyagraha* is the way to the self-restrain from passions and desires to get the pure life. It is emerged from the oath of *Brahmacharya* as described by Gandhi that “although without I realize if *Brahmacharya* oath has prepared me for *Satyagraha*. *Satyagraha* is not a plan which has been thought before. It appears spontaneously without my wish” (1985, p. 193). *Satyagraha* emphasizes the principle of truth, faith of religion, and non-compromise for those who commit to the self-restrain. On the other hand, King fights for Blacks’ equality and freedom using non-violence adopted from Gandhi’s *satyagraha* method in the Southern states.

Therefore, King also points out the strong principle of non-violence resistance of which Blacks will not do any violence to end racial injustice eventhough they have to die under the Whites’ brutalities. Since King is a Christian minister and pastor in South, he believes that the power of God will be behind the weak Black people. “It is morally refreshing to hear five thousand Negroes in Montgomery shout “Amen” and “Hallelujah” when they are exhorted to “pray for those who oppose you,” or pray “Oh Lord, give us strength of body to keep walking for freedom: “Let us pray that God shall give us strength to remain nonviolent though we may face death” (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 11) affirms that Blacks’ religion becomes their direction and protection to survive from the hard situation. King tries to give the good understanding and contribution for Blacks in fighting for freedom no matter the worse treatment they get.

Under the leadership of King, Black Americans gather more masses to fight for freedom they dream. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and The Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) support the Civil Rights Movement in order to get Blacks' victory from the Whites' oppression.

King's first address entitled "*Facing the Challenge of a New Age*" is the conviction for Black people in gaining the self-confidence to do non-violence resistance and self-motivation that Blacks are also human and have to be respected.

King affirms that more than half people in the whole world are colored. He gains Blacks' confidence to believe that they are not the only colored people in America who live in sufferings under the Whites' dominance. There are still many colored people in the world who struggle for their freedom under the oppressions of foreign countries as seen in King's speech "the vast majority of these people are colored—about one billion six hundred million (1,600,000,000) of the people of the world are colored..., most of these one billion six hundred million people lived under the yoke of some foreign power" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 16). Furthermore, King also motivates Black people to understand how important they are as human, as parts of America, and as citizen of America that have the same rights, responsibilities, and treatments like the Whites.

Whites stigmatize Blacks as uneducated, uncivilized, and unskilled people. This negative stereotypes make King concerned and expresses it in his writing about the effect of slavery before and after the Civil War. Slavery has degraded Blacks' dignity. "They came to feel that perhaps they were less than human. The great

tragedy of physical slavery was that it led to mental slavery (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 17).” None of them live in a good condition and receive better treatments from the Whites and government. Blacks start to believe that they are slaves from the past, present, and in the future. Blacks believe that they are created to become slaves. King has to change this point of view because there is ideal notion for Americans, whoever they are: Whites, colors, or Blacks, as written in the Declaration of Independence, “are created equal.” King tries to assure that Black people can change and give a great contribution to the world, as he says in his speech:

With this new self-respect and new sense of dignity on the part of the Negro, the South’s negative peace was rapidly undermined. And so the tension which we are witnessing in race relations today can be explained, in part, by the revolutionary change in the Negro’s evaluation of himself, and his determination to struggle and sacrifice until the walls of segregation have finally been crushed by the battering rams of surging justice.
(*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 18)

The statements show the strong will of Black Americans to get the equality and freedom from the Whites. Self-respect and dignity become the precious things they dreamed in long times. Before Black Americans can end the segregation in America, they will not stop to struggle until the end eventhough they have to sacrifice their lives or death. King and the rest of Blacks Americans believe the segregation would be over under the justice using non-violence resistance.

However, freedom is not the end of the struggle. Freedom is the first step to build the new world and replace the old order for Black Americans. Blacks have to face the challenges in new world to remove the bad sight of Whites and prove that

Black people can give significant contribution to construct the better men's future.

King's sentence; "We are challenged to rise above the narrow confines of our individualistic concerns to the broader concerns of all humanity" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 19) underlines that the world belongs to all people. No one can live alone in the world. Everybody has to help each other and receive the differences including the races, religions, ethnic and gender. Especially in America, both Whites and Blacks have to be united to face the challenges and bring the peace together for America.

King declares that there are many opportunities for Black Americans to change their lives and get better condition in the future where "the new age many doors will be opening to us that were not opened in the past and the great challenge which we confront is to be prepared to enter these doors as they open (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 20)." In the new era without segregation and discrimination, Blacks can work in a better place and better job like the Whites. In segregation era, Blacks do not have the rights to change their bad condition. All facilities and public places are taken over by Whites. Blacks are allowed to be slaves and become uneducated people. With the non-violence resistance as the strongest strategy, Black people can hope for a bright future and do something they can not do before as well as Whites.

Furthermore, King reminds the Black Americans about the understanding of good will. That love and forgiveness are the important things in constructing the peaceful nation. "This simply means that the Christian virtues of love, mercy and forgiveness should stand at the center of our lives" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 21).

Eventhough White people violate them during the segregation era, let the hatred pass

away between them because violence only gives more complicated situation.

Therefore, King believes that non-violence resistance can give something more than just freedom for Black Americans. Non-violence resistance can unite all men in America.

Since this strategy does not use any violence and brutality, many people are doubt if it will be successful or not. It is impossible for Blacks to defeat Whites without using weapons or violences. However, King believes that non-violence resistance will bring the significant changes between Whites and Blacks as reflected in King's writing "*The Power of Nonviolence*".

We had to make it clear that nonviolent resistance is not a method of cowardice. It does resist. It is not a method of stagnant passivity and deadening complacency. The nonviolent resister is just as opposed to the evil that he is standing against as the violent resister but he resists without violence. This method is nonaggressive physically but strongly aggressive spiritually.
(*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 30)

King clarifies the strength of non-violence resistance, that it is not a tactic of cowardice. It is not a strategy of "stagnant passivity and deadening complacency".

This signifies that non-violence resistance is not the useless and passive strategy.

Non-violence resistance is different from others because the resisters do not use any brutalities and weapons to end segregation. The Black people, under the King, do the social protests towards White people as the strong weapon to stop the discrimination.

According to King, non-violence is nonaggressive physically but strongly aggressive spiritually. The main purpose of non-violence resistance is not to attack the oppressors, but to remove the oppressions and hatred. King knows well that non-

violence resistance is physically weak since Blacks are forbidden to take a revenge, however it is spiritually strong to persuade men's hearts. Gandhi also names *Satyagraha* as *Passive Resistance* since it does not use any physical abuse in the struggle; however, *Satyagraha* is seen as a weak weapon from European perspective.

“When I attend the meeting with Europe people, what I get is that Passive resistance is too tight to comprehend, according to them the term *Satyagraha* is the weapon for weak people, and the characteristic is the hatred that leads to violence” (Gandhi, 1985, p. 295). No matter what Europeans say about *Satyagraha*, Gandhi puts his effort to this strategy. Meanwhile, King is sure enough that this strategy will make something different. It is more than just the freedom and equality. King is able to move and hypnotize more Black Americans to join the resistance. Eventhough Black Americans have to sacrifice their lives, the struggle will not be over.

King asks the followers to continue the struggle. “We must continue to move on. Our self-respect is at stake; the prestige of our nation is at stake” (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 33), King insists the desire and passion of Black Americans who want a victory. No matter what dangers they might face, the struggle must continue. If Blacks are surrender to Whites, they will not get the rights and prestige they dreamed years after years and the segregation era will not be over under the Whites' supremacy. King reminds Black people to “keep moving with wise restraint and love and with proper discipline and dignity” (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 33). This emphasizes that the basic principle of non-violence resistance in which love and wise restraint become the strong weapon to fight against violence and segregation.

King has his own method to convince Black Americans in pursuing their freedom. King loves delivering his speeches in front of people who are interested to join the resistance since King is priest and has a strong religious side. By listening to King's speeches, many Black Americans put their hopes to King. As the leader, King brings heavy responsibilities of Black people in America who lose their faith and hopes because of discrimination. King's speeches become Blacks' supporter to gain more power in doing their social protest. One of King's speeches can be seen in *Speech Before the Youth March for Integrated Schools*. "As I stand here and look out upon the thousand of Negro faces, and the thousand of White faces, intermingled like the waters of a river, I see only one face—the face of the future" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 35). This obviously asserts that young people are the next generation to change the worst condition in America and build America to be the land of hope and dream for many people from different races, religions, and ethnics.

It is clear enough that King aspires both Black and White students to strike together for integrated schools in America without discrimination. White students who reject the segregation join the march using non-violence resistance. Blacks' schools are so much different from the Whites. Therefore, Blacks become uneducated and unskilled people. King's long march proves his support to the students in demonstrating for integration school because both Black and White students are the potential generations in the future.

King's expectation towards the young generation in America after the segregation is over is expressed by the sentence "and very soon the area of your

responsibility will increase, for you will begin to exercise your greatest privilege as an American—the right to vote” (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 35). Freedom is not the end of the struggle. There are still many challenges that have to be faced. There are no more separation between Blacks and Whites. Both Whites and Blacks have to cooperate in making America become a better country that can accept differences openly. Blacks also have the right to vote. Right to vote for the better life and for the development of America. The struggle is not only to get the equality and freedom, but also to get the responsibility as the citizen of America.

Of course, all can be gained if Black people try hard to gain; “by attempting to exercise the right, you may be taking your life in your hand” (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 35). King asks Blacks not to compare their lives to White. “You will have no difficulty exercising this privilege—if you are White” (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 35).

It is not easy for Whites to understand Blacks for they have never experienced to be slaves, discriminated, and segregated. “What it feels like to be a Negro, living in the South” (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 35). It confirms what are the Whites’ feeling if they become Blacks that live in segregation from the society beside it also reflects King’s dream of equality; he teases the Whites’ comfortable life. King wants White people to understand the feeling of being Blacks that live in sufferings because of slavery in the South. If the segregation is over, King hopes that Whites and Blacks can live side by side peacefully without discrimination.

The world which both Whites and Blacks can get the same rights to create a new world, therefore, King expects the success of an integrated school for Whites and

Blacks. Without separating public school for Whites and Blacks, both of them can study well for the better future and better life. “It will make you a better doctor, a better lawyer, a better teacher. It will enrich your spirit as nothing else possibly can. It will give you that rare sense of nobility that can only spring from love and selflessly helping your fellow man” (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 36). Whites and Blacks can help each other on behalf of love, help for those who are in need, and help each other to build better situation without discrimination.

The rest of the lines of *Speech Before the Youth March for Integrated Schools*: “Make a career of humanity. Commit yourself to the noble struggle for equal rights. You will make a greater person of yourself, a greater nation of your country, and a finer world to live in” (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 36); reveal the real wish behind non-violence resistance as the best way to get the equality for Blacks. Non-violence resistance is created for humanism. By standing between the justice and humanity, Blacks and Whites can be united peacefully and America becomes the welcoming country for people from all the world. To create the situation like that, non-violence resistance takes the lead in Civil Rights Movement. In conducting Blacks’ social protests, non-violence resistance becomes a suitable weapon to attack Whites’ supremacy.

To release Black Americans from segregation law, King is inspired by Mahatma Gandhi’s teaching of non-violence resistance (*see appendix 2*). King professes Gandhi’s philosophy of *Satyagraha*. *Satyagraha* is needed to create the pure mind from hatred and negative feeling to conduct non-violence resistance. To

embody his dream of equality, King tries to learn more deeply about non-violence resistance and goes to India. Although Gandhi is dead long times ago, Gandhi's teaching will never be forgotten for Indians. It can be seen in King's writing "*My Trip to the Land of Gandhi*" in 1959. The sentence "while the Montgomery boycott was going on, India's Gandhi was the guiding light of our technique of nonviolent social change" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 40) testifies that Gandhi's teaching of non-violence resistance has inspired King and Black people to conduct the same strategy in struggling for their equality. In doing the bus boycott in Montgomery, Blacks refuse to ride the buses until the segregation on public transportation is over by adopting the philosophy of Gandhi's *Satyagraha*.

The Gandhi's effort in *Satyagraha* is not over after getting Indian independence, Gandhi still fights to create the harmony of religions' diversity between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs without violence although it is hard to reach as reflected in Gandhi's statement:

We wish to announce that it is our heartfelt desire that Hindu, Muslims, and Sikhs and the members of the other communities should once again live in Delhi like brothers and in perfect amity, and we take the pledge that we shall protect the life, property and faith of the Muslims and that the incidents which have taken place in Delhi will not happen again. (Gandhi, 1985, p. 13)

The success of Blacks' Civil Rights Movement leads King's friend to persuade King to study Gandhi's *Satyagraha* concept directly in India. "So as soon as our victory over bus segregation was won, some of my friends said: "Why don't you go to India

and see for yourself what the Mahatma, whom you so admire, has wrought” (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 40).

During the Civil Rights Movement, King succeeds to learn about non-violence resistance and experiences the effects of non-violence resistance in India done by Gandhi.

Nonviolent resistance does call for love, but it is not a sentimental love. It is very stern love that would organize itself into collective action to right a wrong by taking on itself suffering. While I understand the reasons why oppressed people often turn to violence in their struggle for freedom, it is my firm belief that the crusade for independence and human dignity that is now reaching a climax in Africa will have more positive effect on the world, if it is waged along the lines that were first demonstrated in that continent by Gandhi himself. (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 44)

The first and the second sentences clearly describe that there is a strong power behind non-violence resistance. Non-violence resistance stands for love and faith for those who oppressed others. Non-violence stands between the truth and justice. The love that will unite all of people from all differences. In America, it refers to Blacks and Whites. To create the love and faith of non-violence resistance, all hatred and prejudice must be thrown away.

The next sentence describes the outcome of non-violence resistance for Black Americans. By using non-violence resistance in pursuing the freedom, Black Americans will get the positive effect of Blacks’ image in the world. The ideology where Blacks are lazy, uneducated, and uncivilized will be removed by the struggle of love. Blacks will succeed in getting the equality of Whites like Gandhi did in India.

King is influenced by Gandhi's teaching during his trip in India. King finds the interesting facts about India people.

Great ills flow from the poverty of India but strangely there is relatively little crime. Here is another concrete manifestation of the wonderful spiritual quality of the Indian people. They are poor, jammed together and half starved but they do not take it out on each other. They are a kindly people. They do not abuse each other—verbally or physically—as readily as we do. We saw but one fist fight in India during our stay. In contrast to the poverty-stricken, there are Indians who are rich, have luxurious homes, landed estates, fine clothes and show evidence of overeating. The bourgeoisie—white, black or brown—behaves about the same the world over. (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 45)

King's description on his journey in India proves how King admires Gandhi's teaching of non-violence resistance affects India people especially from lower class.

The pure mind influences Indians to live without violence even though they are poor.

They do not violate each other, but live in togetherness. Furthermore, not all people in India live in poverty life. Some of them have high status and power to control the government. High class people think that they are superior than the lower ones.

Because they are rich, "have luxurious homes, landed estates, fine clothes and show evidence of overeating."

That is the same problem as Blacks in America where White people think if they are superior and Blacks are inferior. However, the problem in India is not about races. It is called caste in which people are divided based on their social status. Every country has their own problems, but, King realizes that violence could not end the social problems. India employs non-violence resistance from Gandhi's teaching to

face the enemy and King adopts Gandhi's teaching to end discrimination against Blacks.

Non-violence resistance does not allow violence and brutalities. Violence cannot break the segregation law and give the equality for Blacks, in turn it leads the negative image for Black Americans to the world. There are many reasons why violence is not suitable in pursuing Blacks' freedom as seen in King's writing "*Three Views of Violence*." "One is the approach of pure nonviolence, which cannot readily or easily attract large masses, for it requires extraordinary discipline and courage" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 51) is one of the views of violence. Non-violence resistance is different from brutalities. And, practically it is hard to collect and gather the masses to conduct this strategy. In contrast, by using violence, it is easier to collect the masses and create rebellion towards White people. Violence only creates hatred and worst situation for both Blacks and Whites and does not give a happy ending. Compared to violence, non-violence resistance can give better situations and understanding on humanism. If Blacks unite their courage and self-confidence, the equality and freedom are not hard to reach.

"The second is violence exercised in self-defense, which all societies, from the most primitive to the most cultured and civilized, accept as moral and legal" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 51) affirms that non-violence resistance cannot be done by someone who still does the violence. Non-violence resistance is created by Gandhi from "the philosophy of truth and purity called *Satyagraha*. *Satyagraha* demands someone to live honestly and virtuously without prejudice and dirty passion"

(Gandhi, 1985). If someone still has prejudice and bad feelings towards others, non-violence resistance can not be done properly.

Violence is a complicated strategy which is intentionally used to attack unacceptable deeds. For some Black Americans, violence is the best way to defend from White people's unfair treatment and gather more masses to create a rebellion. Instead of uniting Blacks and Whites and creating peaceful situation, violence causes hatred for those who are suffering. For these reasons, King arouses the understanding on humanism through his last view of violence: "The third is the advocacy of violence as a tool of advancement, organized as in warfare, deliberately and consciously. To this tendency many Negroes are being tempted today (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 51)."

3.2 The Contributions of Non-violence Resistance to End Segregation

The concept of non-violence resistance is also used by Gandhi when he dreams of a harmonious life among Indian people who have different religions. Gandhi wants Indians to accept the diversity of religions openly, without any prejudice. Gandhi tries to give an understanding of humanity without violences. Gandhi (1985, p. 11) believes that non-violence can touch the men's heart as seen in the following statement:

After returning to India carried on his struggle for the liberation of the country in close contact with nationalist Muslim leaders and millions of their followers, so he had developed so great a respect for Islam and so deep an affection for the Muslims that he fought many a nonviolent moral and spiritual battle for upholding their rights as full citizens of India and sometimes for the protection of their very life

and property during the unfortunate communal riots engineered by vested interest in both the Hindu and the Muslim communities with the help or at least the connivance of the foreign rulers.

Gandhi's method of non-violence resistance is applied when King leads the Civil Rights Movement in Montgomery. It is started from the bus boycott and march for integrated school. Bus boycott is the continuity of Rosa Parks's struggle to take her right on the bus. Blacks reject to ride the bus until the segregation law in public transportation is repealed. March for integrated school is done not only by Black, but also by White students who do not agree with segregation. This march is set with non-violence resistance although many Black students are arrested by White police. However, King will not forget to keep applying this strategy in other Civil Rights Movement for the sake of Black people themselves. King believes that non-violence resistance will succeed as in India; as seen in his writing "*Pilgrimage to Nonviolence*".

The whole Gandhian concept of *Satyagraha* (Satya is truth which equals love, and Graha is force; *Satyagraha* means truth-force or love-force) was profoundly significant to me. As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence was one of the most potent weapons available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom. (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 59)

The first sentence of King's writing reflects the Gandhi's *Satyagraha* becomes King's directive in conducting non-violence resistance. The basic concept of *Satyagraha* to purify men's mind from the dirty passion. Non-violence resistance cannot be done perfectly if there are violence and brutality. Gandhi never does any violence to

British (Schloredtz and Brown, 1988, p. 19) and King does the same to White people.

Because violences cannot bring the peaceful life for Black Americans. Non-violence resistance teaches people to respect those who oppose you.

The second sentence is a kind of conclusion indicating that King merges the concept of *Satyagraha* with Christian teaching which teaches about love and forgiveness. Since King is a priest and a Christian minister, religion is important for him in making the decision. Both *Satyagraha* and Christian teaching refer to love, truth, forgiveness, and respect each other. King believes non-violence resistance is the suitable weapon to end discrimination and give the equality for Blacks.

Many Black Americans put their efforts and even their lives in non-violence resistance. There are many factors that make Blacks want to be free and leave the segregation life behind as seen in King's speech before the *Golden Anniversary Conference of the National Urban League* that: "First, we must mention the population shift from rural to urban life (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 64)" reflects the purpose of non-violence resistance is to change the social life of Black Americans after the end of segregation era. During the segregation era, Blacks live in the suburb with the worst condition without any facilities. Meanwhile, Whites live in the urban area with good environment and privileges. Non-violence resistance is the hope for Black Americans to live in the better place and situation. "A second factor that has caused the Negroes' new self-consciousness has been rapid educational advance" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 64) testifies the Blacks' strong desire to get a better education for constructing the better life. Since the slavery era, Blacks only become

the slaves without payment and good treatment from the slavemasters. Blacks become uneducated and unskilled because of slavery. Beside, education is the also the right for Blacks to have, it is not only for Whites.

King's expectation is to get a better life with a good economic life for Blacks as stated in his speech: "a third factor that produced the new sense of pride in the Negro was the gradual improvement of his economic status" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 65). Being someone who is able to get work properly and get suitable payment is the Blacks' dream. However, because of *Jim Crow* law, Blacks could not work in the office together with Whites.

"A fourth factor that brought about the new sense of pride in the Negro was the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in the public schools (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 65)" describes that Black Americans want to be at the same school with Whites. There is no separation at schools because everybody has the right to get the education. Because of that, Blacks do the march for integrated schools. Last part of King's speech before *The Golden Anniversary Conference of the National Urban League* is about the importance of a struggle. "A fifth factor that has accounted for the new sense of dignity on the part of the Negro has been the awareness that his struggle for freedom is a part of a worldwide struggle" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 65) shows the struggle of Black Americans in pursuing the equality is the one of the struggles for everybody that has the same problems in the world. Blacks hope that their struggle inspires all people who also struggle for their freedom in the whole world and create the nations without injustice and violences.

Non-violence resistance actually brings the biggest effect for both Whites and Blacks. Non-violence resistance is also a resistance in which Black people try to break the injustice without unfair compromise; as seen in King's writing "*The Primary Responsibility*".

We will take direct action against injustice without waiting for other agencies to act. We will not obey unjust laws or submit to unjust practices. We will do this peacefully, openly, and cheerfully because our aim is to persuade. We adopt the means of nonviolence because our end is a community at peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but, if our words fail, we will try to persuade with our acts. We will always be willing to talk and seek fair compromise, but we are ready to suffer when necessary and even risk our lives to become witnesses to the truth as we see it. (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 69)

This writing strongly asserts the responsibility of the resisters. Non-violence resistance is used to persuade and give the understanding that all people in the world are not living alone with the same races, religions, or ethnics. They are living in togetherness with other people who have different races, ethnics, and religions. All people want to live peacefully and help each other even though they are different.

Since non-violence resistance is used to persuade, the resisters would not do any forces and violence. Blacks have to talk when they do not agree with segregation. If they fail in using the words, Blacks should protest without violence. Marches, demonstrations, and boycotts are the actions for persuading the Whites to accept the differences openly. This is the principles of *Satyagraha*; people should restrain from bad feelings and prejudice.

Sit-in Movement is one of the social protests done by Black Americans to break *Jim Crow* law regulating that Blacks are prohibited to enter public places, such as lunch counters and restaurants which are only opened for White people. In this movement, Blacks are entering and sitting in the seat where they are prohibited. Eventhough many of them are arrested by the White police, none of them fight against or resist back to the official.

Another movement is called *Freedom Ride*. Freedom Ride is the movement against the prohibition in the public transportation and other vehicles. Segregation law regulates that Blacks are not allowed to have seats in buses, trains or planes at the same places as Whites. In this movement, Blacks challenge themselves to ride and sit in those public transportations and vehicles. Black activists who join this movement are called freedom riders. *Jim Crow* law also limits Blacks' religious activities.

Blacks are prohibited to enter and pray in the same church together with Whites because of the Black stereotype as the dirty and sinful people. Against this segregation, Blacks make a movement called *Pray-in*. In this movement, Blacks determine to enter and pray in the same churches as Whites; as a consequence, they are arrested to jail by the police. In relating to segregation law, *Wade-in* is the last but not the least of the Civil Rights Movement executed by Black people to protest the privilege of Whites at the beach. The law which regulates that only White people are allowed to wear bathing suit and enter the beach. This prohibition is one of the statements in *Jim Crow* law about the segregation in public places. Many Blacks are

also arrested because of this resistance. Blacks are disturbed the peaceful and quiet situation on the beach eventhough they do not create any rebellions.

For the sake of Black Americans, King as the leader supports the Blacks' movement with his orations in front of them. Eventhough King is the Blacks' leader and activist, he also faces many difficult situations done by White people. King has to face the death from the bombed house until get stabbed by Whites. King passes it all patiently and without prejudice. Although many bad things happen to King, he still support and cheer on the Blacks with his meaningful words as seen in King's letter "*Letter From A Birmingham Jail*" where King is imprisoned.

Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. I just referred to the creation of tension as a part of the work of the nonviolent resister. (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 86)

The first until the last sentence of King's letter point out that direct action is the best way in non-violence resistance to fight back against segregation. Direct action is chosen because it causes tension for Whites in protecting their positions as the superior citizens higher than Blacks. Direct action causes tension, but not violence where using words to persuade fail. Negotiation only brings prejudice and creates emotions for Black Americans because Whites will find a way to win. Direct action seems to be passive, however, it emphasizes one of the three pillars of *Satyagraha*—non-compromise.

King is doing well to apply nonviolent not only to end discrimination, but also for Blacks themselves to apply this strategy in their daily life to create a safety nation for the next generations. King's orations and letters are inspiring and supporting Blacks to continue the struggle against Whites' supremacy until the end. Eventhough many times King repeats the same words and the same meaning about non-violence resistance in his orations, Black Americans are motivated to give their best in this strategy as seen in King's greatest speech "*I Have A Dream*". King's hope that non-violence resistance will make America becomes the better place with no segregation and discrimination between Whites and Blacks. Both of them can stand together in the justice as stated in his speech "I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 104).

"I have a dream that one day, even the state of Mississippi, a tate sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 104) insists the deep meaning of philosophy of *Satyagraha* will be stayed in Blacks' heart. There are no hatred and emotions because of the Whites' oppression for a long time since slavery—King points "even the state of Mississippi (*see appendix 3*)."

"I have a dream my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by color of their skin but by the content of their character" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 104) confirms King's hope to the next Blacks' generation.

King wants all Black children, as his "four children", live in a justice and freedom

nation without suffering of any discrimination anymore because of being Blacks.

King hopes White and Black children can sit together and face the future challenges.

The last expectation of King in his speech is the hope for the better future of America

where people can live together peacefully no matter what races, ethnics, and religions

they are. "I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists...

that one day, right there in Alabama, little Black boys and Black girls will be able to

join hands with little White boys and White girls as sisters and brothers" (*I Have A*

Dream, 1992, p. 105). Let Whites and Blacks including children, live together and

learn to accept the differences.

King always delivers the meaningful speeches for the sake of Black

Americans in gathering the spirit to pursue the freedom and equality as the citizens of

America. In every speech, King always refers non-violence resistance inspired by

Gandhi as the basic concept of Blacks' struggle. His *Nobel Prize Acceptance* speech,

conveys his messages for Blacks to continue their struggles and for everybody who

still cannot accept the differences.

I accept the Nobel Prize for Peace at a moment when twenty-two million Negroes of the United States of America are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice. I accept this award in behalf of a civil rights movement which is moving with determination and a majestic scorn for risk and danger to establish a reign of freedom and rule of justice.

(*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 108)

The two sentences of King's speech clarify the condition of Black Americans who are

still struggling to get freedom and equality under the Whites' supremacy. King hopes

Black Americans' worst situation, because of the segregation seized their rights, will

change to be better and better. He wants Blacks to keep struggling eventhough they have to face the death.

However, non-violence resistance also creates and makes a self-defense for Black Americans. Since Blacks use direct action to show their disagreement to the Whites' official, self-defense is needed to keep them alive as seen in King's writing "*The Question of Self-Defense*".

In a nonviolent demonstration, self-defense must be approached from quite another perspective. One must remember that the cause of the demonstration is some exploitation or form of oppression that has made it necessary for men of courage and good will to demonstrate against the evil.

(*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 129)

Through King's writing, it can be identified that self-defense emerges as the result of the Whites' oppression and discrimination. From the demonstration done by Black Americans, it shows the desire to change the bad situation into the good one.

Many movements and social protests have been done by Black Americans eventhough the freedom and equality are still far to reach. Black students and young people also join the movement. It is called *Student Sit-ins*. Student Sit-ins is a little bit different from Sit-ins because young Blacks together with the White ones also struggle for their freedom. King describes this movement in "*Strategy For Change*".

Students were denied the right to eat at a lunch counter, so they deliberately sat down to protest their denial. They were arrested, but this made their parents mad and so they began to close their change accounts. The student continued to sit in, and this further embarassed the city, scared away many White shoppers and soon produced an economic threat to the business life of the city.

(*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 131)

Student Sit-ins gives a big effect to the Blacks' economic status in America. White people are scared and refusing to shop in the lunch counter during this movement.

This condition gives a tension to White people to change.

King's writing "*Techniques of the Future*" explicitly mentions a world where people can accept differences and help each other is ideal place to live in. "A world of brotherhood, cooperation and peace" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 134). Actually, King realizes how hard for him and Black Americans to change the bad condition that has been created for long times ago. It is hard to make White people accept Blacks as equal as them. "There is no easy way to create a world where men and women can live together, where all children receive as much education as their minds can absorb...It will be done by rejecting the racism, materialism, and violence that has characterized Western civilization" (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 134). It is hard to defeat *Jim Crow* as the legal law separating between Blacks and Whites, however, King still believes that non-violence resistance can solve the problem. The expectation that this resistance will bring the good environment for both Blacks and Whites, remove the segregation law and create a conducive nation for justice.

King seems to be able to realize that he would not live long and see the land of freedom without segregation as reflected in his last speech "*I See the Promised Land*".

Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop. And I don't mind. Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up

to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people, will get to the promised land. And I'm happy tonight. I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord. (*I Have A Dream*, 1992, p. 203)

This speech is delivered before King is assassinated. It is like a sign of his death before he could see the the result of his and Blacks' struggle. King feels as if he would die and this speech will be the last one that King delivers as the message to Black Americans and the whole citizens of America. King orders Blacks to keep struggling to end discrimination eventhough he is not alive anymore. The King's death is not the end of their struggle, but, it is the beginning to continue the strategy of non-violence resistance without him. Gandhi's method of non-violence resistance which teaches that renouncing hatred and anger is the way to create the pure life. Non-violence resistance will bring Blacks to the promised land where justice and peace are for them.

Destiny was written, *Satyagraha* as the embodiment of *Brahmacharya* teaching is used by Gandhi to stand against violence. Gandhi and his people has succeeded in gaining freedom from Britain. However, when he applies non-violence resistance method to build a togetherness for peaceful life among Hindu, Muslims, and Sikhs in India, Gandhi is shot to death. Having the same fate, when Martin Luther King, Jr. uses non-violence inspired by Gandhi's teaching to make Blacks and Whites live in harmony without segregation, he is also assassinated before he can see

the Blacks' freedom. It is an irony because both King and Gandhi who use non-violence resistance in their struggle die because of violence.



CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

4.1 Conclusion

I Have A Dream, the collection of King's speeches, writings, and letters during the Civil Rights Movement in America, contains the moral messages and King's contribution in conducting non-violence resistance as the persuasive way to release Black Americans from the segregation under the Whites' supremacy. During the slavery era, Blacks are considered as the slaves with uneducated and uncivilized images. Additionally, *Jim Crow* law becomes legal regulation that clarify the status between Whites and Blacks where Whites are superior and Blacks are inferior. Beside that, *Jim Crow* law also separates every facet of lives in Southern Area including public facilities, transportations, schools, and churches.

However, Blacks realize that human has to live together with others and learn to accept the differences including races. Blacks start their movements with bus boycott in Montgomery where Blacks refuse to ride the buses even though they have to walk far away. This movement is a sign of future, where Blacks sue to change the society without discrimination, segregation, and racial injustice. Martin Luther King, Jr. is chosen as the leader of Blacks' Civil Rights Movement. Under King's leadership, the bus boycott and other movements are set with the strategy of non-violence resistance. Non-violence resistance is the best way for Blacks to pursue their equality without violence and brutalities. Although, this resistance is not physically

strong, it is spiritually strong to give a better understanding of humanity and human-relation to White people.

To seek the original concept of non-violence resistance, intertextuality takes the lead to explore the connection of non-violence resistance with other concepts.

Actually, non-violence resistance is adopted from Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of truth called *Satyagraha*. *Satyagraha* demands people to live without strong passions, emotions, and prejudice. It is created from the oath of *Brahmacharya* as the basic teaching to lead people live in a purity life. King is very inspired by Gandhi's teaching and adopts *Satyagraha* to Civil Rights Movement in America. Blacks are not allowed to create any violence and brutality even though they have to face the death under Whites' oppressions. King always reminds and gives spirit to Blacks by his writings, speeches, and letter about the important of non-violence resistance in their movements.

In *I Have A Dream*, it is clearly seen the relations of King's non-violence resistance with Gandhi's teaching that non-violence resistance is created from *Satyagraha*. In King's writings and speeches, the struggle of Blacks and the Whites' brutalities are explained clearly. Non-violence resistance can persuade and touch men's hearts where violence could not do it. King believes this resistance will change the injustice world into the peace one. King and Blacks believe that if they want something, they have to sacrifice something too. Non-violence resistance needs a big sacrifice where King is assassinated before he could see the freedom. However, the

struggle must go on as the last message of King and non-violence resistance becomes the direction of Blacks in order to pursue freedom.

4.2 Suggestion

The struggle of Black Americans and King's contribution to end discrimination give the humanism perspective for many people. The study of King's non-violence resistance inspired by Gandhi's teaching gives a brief explanation about how the segregation and Whites' brutalities can be faced with the strategy without violences. Non-violence is also a worldwide resistance which gives the inspirations for those who face the same situation like Blacks. This proves that there still many objects that show "borderless" world. That is why, for further researchers who want to conduct the study of the same topic, it is recommended to explore any text highlighting interconnectedness between East and West. As emphasized in the new perspective on studying literature that it is inevitable to know the concepts of influence as well as its interconnectedness.

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Appendix 1



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5. Tanggal Mengajukan : 27 Februari 2012
6. Tanggal Selesai Revisi : 13 Agustus 2012
7. Nama Pembimbing : I. Dr. Sri Herminingrum, M.Hum.
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No.	Tanggal	Materi	Pembimbing	Paraf
1.	27 Februari 2012	Mengumpulkan Outline Bab I	I	
2.	01 Maret 2012	Konsultasi Outline Bab I	I	
3.	06 Maret 2012	Pengajuan bab I	I	
4.	09 Maret 2012	Revisi Bab I	I	
5.	13 Maret 2012	Konsultasi Bab I	I	
6.	27 Maret 2012	Pengajuan acc Bab I	II	
7.	03 April 2012	Pengajuan Revisi Bab I	II	
8.	12 April 2012	Pengajuan bab II	I	
9.	19 April 2012	Revisi Bab II	I	
10.	25 April 2012	Perbaikan bab I dan II	I	
11.	01 Mei 2012	Perbaikan bab I dan II	II	
12.	04 Mei 2012	Acc Bab I dan II	I	
13.	04 Mei 2012	Acc Bab I dan II	II	
14.	23 Mei 2012	Seminar Proposal	I	

15.	23 Mei 2012	Seminar Proposal	II	
16.	30 Mei 2012	Revisi Seminar Proposal	I	
17.	04 Mei 2012	Revisi Seminar Proposal	I	
18.	06 Mei 2012	Revisi Seminar Proposal	II	
19.	28 Juni 2012	Pengajuan Bab III	I	
20.	03 Juli 2012	Revisi Bab III	I	
21.	06 Juli 2012	Pengajuan Bab IV	I	
22.	09 Juli 2012	Revisi Bab III dan IV	I	
23.	11 Juli 2012	Revisi Bab III	I	
24.	24 Juli 2012	Seminar Hasil	I	
25.	25 Juli 2012	Revisi Seminar Hasil	I	
26.	02 Agustus 2012	Ujian Skripsi	I	
27.	02 Agustus 2012	Ujian Skripsi	II	
28.	07 Agustus 2012	Acc Skripsi	I	
29.	13 Agustus 2012	Acc Skripsi	II	

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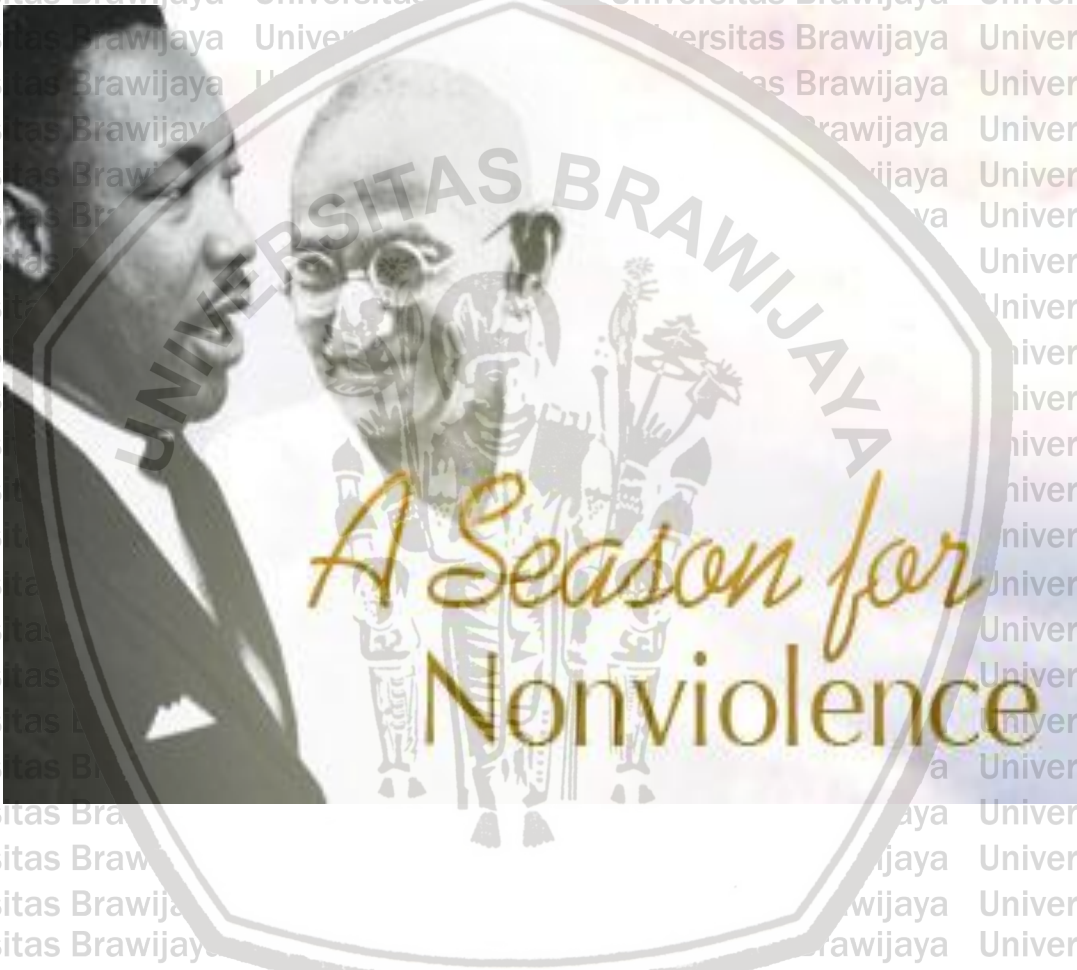
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Appendix 2

“A Season for Nonviolence” by Gandhi and King



Appendix 3

King's greatest speech "*I Have A Dream*" in 1963

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Fivescore year ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free; one hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination; one hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity; one hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself in exile in his own land.

So we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition. In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was the promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note in so far as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds." We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy; now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice; now is the time to lift our nation from quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood; now is the time to make justice a reality for all God's children. It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality.

Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content, will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual.

There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds.

Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. This offense we share mounted to storm the battlements of injustice must be carried forth by a biracial army. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality.

We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one.

We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating "for Whites only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you come here out of excessive trials and tribulation. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to Mississippi; go back to Alabama; go back to South Carolina; go back to Georgia; go back to Louisiana; go back to the slums and ghettos of the northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can, and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

So I say to you, my friends, that even though we must face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed—we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day, even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, that one day, right there in Alabama, little Black boys and Black girls will be able to join hands with little White boys and White girls as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places shall be made plain, and the crooked places shall be made straight and the glory of the Lord will be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood.

With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning—"my country 'tis of thee; sweet land of liberty; of thee I sing; land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride; from every mountain side, let freedom ring"—and if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

But not only that.

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and hamlet, from every state and city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children—Black men and White men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants—will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last."

