

Seminar: TODO

Wintersemester 2014/2015

Institut für TODO

Pädagogische Hochschule Ludwigsburg

TODO

Term Paper of

Lisa Bauer

Studienfächer: Deutsch, Englisch, Ethik

5. Semester

Supervisor: TODO

Submission Date: 21.03.2014

Contents

1	Introduction	1
2	Gandhi's Life	2
2.1	Gandhi's Childhood and Studies in London	2
2.2	Gandhi's Life in South-Africa	3
2.3	Gandhi Back in India	5
3	Gandhi's Spirit and Principles	10
3.1	Feasting in Gandhi's Life	10
3.2	His view of truth, non-violence and Civil Disobedience	12
3.3	Gandhi's Simplicity	13
4	Gandhi's Influence on Martin Luther King	14
4.1	Widespread Opinions in Literature	15
4.2	Self-developed Presumptions	18
5	Résumé	21
	Bibliography	23

1. Introduction

"Where there is love there is life" [Bra14a]. That is only one of Gandhis many quotes which are still common used citations and are known worldwide. In a period of war and violence, Gandhi showed the world a new way of fighting, the way of love and non-violence: "Non-violence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man" [Bra14b]. Becoming popular as a modest and fragile-looking man, Gandhi went down in history as someone who insisted on his dream with all his power and even life.

There are not many people that have characterized the 20th century the way Gandhi did. His movement, which in the end made India independent, is known all over the world and even had impacts years after his death. Apart from others, he fascinated Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King and the Dalai Lama, who according to their own statements overtook many of his principles. In view of the fact that this seminar paper is written for a seminar that deals with the US in the 1960, this work focuses on Martin Luther King as someone whose political work took place in the 60s. Therefore this seminar paper deals with the question: How Gandhis life, spirit and dream influenced Martin Luther King during the Civil Right Movement in the 1960s?

This question will be answered by first analyzing Gandhis life and dream in detail, to understand the way Gandhi lived his dream. Afterwards Gandhis obvious influences on King will be depicted by analyzing the view of different authors and Kings direct references about Gandhi. Furthermore in the last chapter self-developed presumptions should explain further possible influences. These possible influences are based on similarities between Gandhis and Kings movement. At the end a short Resume will be given to answer the question.

2. Gandhi's Life

To answer the first part of the question of how Gandhi's spirit and dream looked like in detail, it is important to have a closer look at Gandhi's life. This is necessary to draw similarities between the life he experienced and his principles later on. Gandhi's life, especially his political engagement, was marked by various events. That is why describing his life in only a few pages would not be sufficient to show his life in every facet, but this chapter tries to scribe the main events to give an impression about the important steps of Gandhi's life.

2.1 Gandhi's Childhood and Studies in London

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, as he was originally called, was born in Porbandar on the 2nd of October 1869. Porbandar is a town on a peninsular that belonged to the federal state of India [Höp01] and it is located in the west of India. His family was part of the third of four main castes, which is called the Vaishya. This is a caste for retailers, because Gandhi's ancestors used to be retailers [Höp01]. Every caste is divided in more little castes below. His family was therefore also part of the Banias. As a member of this cast the family was wealthy and well-educated.

Gandhi and his family believed in the Vaishnavismus, a main principal direction of the Hinduism [Höp01], in which they believe in the highest god called Vishnu. Gandhi's mum influenced the development of Gandhi's character very much. She was highly religious [Höp01] and fasting was an extremely important part of her life [Gan30], what will play a major role in Gandhi's life later on, too. India at that time was fragmented into several city states. Gandhi's father was the premiere minister of Porbandar. [Höp01] Also his father and his way of living had a big effect on Gandhi's beliefs and principles. Gandhi's father did never have the goal to amass

money and lived his life in simplicity [Gan30], what will become part of Gandhi's life later, too.

Gandhi was, according to his own statement, never a very good student and his grades were constantly average. [Gan30] He also described himself as "very timid" [Gan30] and he obviated social interactions when he was younger. In 1888 Gandhi moved to London to start his studies of law. [Höp01] After he had finished his studies he returned to India, where he worked in a chancery.

2.2 Gandhi's Life in South-Africa

In 1893 Gandhi's chancery sent him to South-Africa to take over a case. Living in South-Africa he was confronted with racism against his Indian fellow countryman. There were three groups of Indian people living in South-Africa at that time: Muslim traders, Parses and Hindus. Hindus in South-Africa were mostly outreach worker who worked at tea and sugar plantations for a limited period of time, regularly for four years. [Höp01]

Gandhi personally experienced racism, e.g. he was thrown out of a train, although he had a valid ticket. [HJT83] As a lawyer he also got in many other situations, where being Indian provided him a big disadvantage and he consequentially had many problems concerning his ethical background. His opponents and even the judges didn't take him serious and qualified him as a "Kuli" (way of how British called Indians in South-Africa). Other discriminations he experienced: Gandhi was not allowed to stay in several "better" hotels and once he was chased of a post chaise, followed by being beaten by multiple white men.

The situation for all Indians in South-Africa was serious and so a delegation of politically interested Indians asked Gandhi to help his fellow countryman to get them out of their depressed situation. Although Gandhi had already planned to leave South-Africa to return to India, he decided to face his responsibility as a lawyer to help his Indian fellow countrymen. At that point of his life, Gandhi had sorrows concerning his character. He was not sure whether he was able to move masses, unfounded sorrows how we know now. [HJT83]

There were indeed not many rights for Indian people at this time; Indians were suppressed by both: Boers and British. It was allowed to beat Indians without being punished, furthermore Indians were taken to prison without any court decision or to ghettos where they were not allowed to leave. [HJT83]

Gandhi ultimately stayed in South-Africa for 20 years and achieved remarkable improvements for the Indian people there. He was responsible for many campaigns e.g. against the abolishment of the Indian right to vote and the taxation of the Indian

outreach worker. First step in his fight for the Indians he collected 10 000 signs and ensured the interests of the Indians by founding the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 [HJT83], an organization open for every Indian. As a result, the Kulis with no rights became a strong mass of people. Gandhi at that time developed to be a very important contact person for all Indians living in South-Africa and he was taking this responsibility enormous serious. When he returned to Indian for personal reasons, he still campaigned for his concerns and never got tired of repeating how unacceptable the situation in South-Africa was for all Indians. [Gan30] Returning back to South-Africa, Gandhi brought with his wife and children, what showed that he really had the plan to stay longer. [HJT83]

It is remarkable that during fighting between Boers and Britain, he was always more on the side of Britain. So he also helped the British in the Boer War, which lasted from 1899-1902, as a paramedic. [Gan30] This can be explained by the fact that Gandhi had lived in London for a long time and may felt closer to the British than the Boers.

Apart from Gandhi's fight against the Indian discrimination, "he was constantly searching for a form of life, that connects the unity of faith and doing in an ideal way" [Höp01]. He took the vow of Brahmacharya, what means to live in chastity, with the goal to build a community with religious foundations based on physical work for the community life to lead to the fundamental goals of such a community: equality and simplicity. [Höp01] This is how phoenix-settlements were founded in 1904, followed by the Tolsoi-Farm. At that time Gandhi quit his job as a lawyer to focus on his plans.

Two years later, in August 1906, a governmental journal published a law called the Black Ordinance that forced every Indian older than 8 years to register via fingerprints when coming to South-Africa. Gandhi announced his passive resistance, accompanied by his raising conviction of the nonviolence as a method in political conflict. [Höp01] He named his resistance movement Satyagraha (Hindi: hold on to the truth), whose word meaning will be explained in a following chapter. The new law about the registration led Gandhi and his supporter burn their registration cards 1908 which can be seen as the beginning of their civil disobedience. This was the time when he was arrested for the first time; follow by many other prison sentences over the following years. [Höp01] In 1909 Gandhi, still living in South-Africa, wrote his book called *Hind Swaraj* (Hindi: self-government of India) or *Indian Home Rule*, with which he started expanding his ideas on his home country itself. Gandhi constantly criticized the way the British people in India forces the Indian to live in a materialistic way what automatically meant the loss of traditions. [Höp01] He advised his home country to abandon all that they have learnt for the last 50

years: the railway, the telegraph, the hospitals and the medicine. Gandhi's wish of a self-governmental India at that point was not about undertaking the governmental power of India by Indian elite, but to let India go the way of self-discovery. In 1912 he made a sign by giving away all his private property, possibly to speak out against materialism again.

Gandhi, still in South-Africa, continued fighting for his beliefs. When in 1913 the government published new laws concerning the immigration of Indians and additionally declared marriages made in a Hindu way as not valid, the Satyagraha continued their work. [Höp01] Gandhi's men passed the border, where they were being beaten down by the police immediately, without reacting violent themselves. Gandhi was arrested again but had to be released because of increasingly louder protests coming from England and India.

The year 1914 was an important year for Gandhi's fight in South-Africa, because an agreement was made between Gandhi and Smut, the home secretary at that time. As a result, the discriminating laws of registration were abandoned and so the Satyagraha ended with success. [Höp01] In 1915 he finally moved back to India, many years later than originally planned but in the moral certainty of having helped the Indians in South-Africa.

2.3 Gandhi Back in India

Although Gandhi had been living in South-Africa for a very long time, he was always conscious about how life for the Indian people in India looked like. India at that time, as a colony of Britain, was under full control of the British Empire. Gandhi, as mentioned before, even appealed to the Indians to not make themselves independent of the British when he was still in South-Africa. Returning back to India it was time to implement his ideas to help the Indians to become an independent state.

The Situations of the Farmers and Gandhi's Ideal Conception of them Living in Ashrams

Gandhi allowed himself one year to get an authentic impression of India's political, economic and social areas. He was from now on called Mahatma, what means "big soul" [Höp01], to express honor and gratefulness for what he had already done to help the Indian people.

Gandhi experienced an India that suffered hardly from being colonised. Being under full British control meant for many Indians: living as farmers in big poverty with no rights. The farmers were not allowed to grow food, because the British forced them to grow cotton and indigo. The cotton was shipped to Britain and it was used

to produce cloths. The Indian people had to pay high taxes for these clothes [fri14] and so the Indian people in their own country were restricted and controlled in their way of life. Many laws and restrictions avoided living an equal life and the country and its people were exploited by the British.

Gandhi had always known how he wanted to see his country and so in 1916 Gandhi made his beliefs and plans public, when the Hindu-University was opened. Gandhi gave a remarkable speech about his idea of India as an autonomic state: In Gandhi's opinion living in Ashrams was the way to achieve his ideas. [Höp01] Ashrams were little village in which people live and work but they challenge their life independently as self supporters. He opened his first Ashram a few years ago and had the vision of living there in a kind of "village-democracy". Gandhi at the same time refused the way people lived in India at this time. The urban economic system was not to the way of living he was convicted of. He propagated "Swadeshi" what means "economic contentment (Indians wouldn't need goods from foreign countries) and in this sense also the autarky of India" [Höp01]. Therefore the spinning wheel became his sign for India's pursuit of freedom and independence and Gandhi tried to convince the farmers to not make themselves dependent of the English people but to bethink on their traditional farm life instead. For Gandhi this included that farmers should spin their own cotton and make own clothes instead of selling it to the Britain. As a consequence the Indians started an "all-india-spinner's association" and wore their self-made clothes with big honor and pride [fri14] followed by a new proud and self-worth within the Indian community.

The Untouchables

The life of the untouchables was always an issue that kept Gandhi busy all his lifetime. The untouchables were people who were not part of the big four-part caste system (called Varnas) and therefore had fewer rights. The Untouchables were treated inhuman by not talking to them or treating them as dirt. [wor] **(check this source. Is this valid?)** **ToDo** "They suffered a lot because their jobs were 'not fit' for members of higher castes to perform. They were supposed to be so dirty that it was unholy to even lay a finger on them" [wor]. Gandhi was touched by the destiny of the untouchables and renamed the untouchables as "Harijans", what means "God's Children". His plan was to integrate those people in the community.

Civil Disobedience

Achieving an independent India in that case meant reacting against the British who had their own goals and principles. Reacting in Gandhi's way meant reacting non-violent like he had fought in South-Africa, too. At the time when Gandhi started realizing his ideas of an independent India, the British government more and more

realized that changes had to be made and so they gave some power to the provinces, like education. India was therefore on a good way to become independent. Britain took their time to fulfill the concessions and even planned restrictive laws again, what led to unrest within the Indian population. [ago14] The British government was more and more afraid of losing control over the Indians and when in 1919 a peaceful meeting of Indians took place, the British [ago14] carried out a bloodbath where 400 Indians lost their life. Nevertheless, the restrictive laws concerning the Indian population was decided. When in the same year the Indian people made a national strike as a consequence of this bloodbath, the British reacted violently again, but not only the British: also Gandhi's followers used their fists. For Gandhi violence was not acceptable and so this was the finale start of non-cooperation and civil disobedience with Gandhi as its leader in India, but he also realized that his nation was not yet ready for his idea of a non-violent movement. He had to go to prison again and saw himself as the guilty party for what had happened and started fasting as sign of penance. [ago14]

Gandhi's goals in his Movement to Independence

After Gandhi had left prison in 1924 he was determined to continue more like ever to get back India's independency. He now saw his main task in getting his claims and reforms to the Indian nation. These were in general:

- Economic independence (strongly linked with the spinning)
- Social unity between Hindus and Muslims and the integration of the Untouchables into society

Salt March

Apart from getting more rights for the Untouchables, Gandhi's big goal was still to get India independent. Although Gandhi had planned his reforms, which were all attached to this main goal, with accuracy and consideration, his goals and reforms were ignored by the British government. His movement was not going the way he was expecting and wishing it to go. At that point, Gandhi had the idea to point the way by bringing up the salt production. [Höp01] The traditional salt production for Indians was paralyzed over the last years because the British had taken over the monopoly. Gandhi's plan ended up in the legendary salt march, which took place 1930 and lasted 24 days. Thousands of people took part in this march or even produced salt themselves. Gandhi forced the British government on his knees and it was from now on allowed to produce Salt for their households, but his big goal was not gained yet. As a consequence of the salt march, boycotts and the

past strikes, India started to become real difficult to govern for Britain. The British were used to treat the Indians as slaves and now the Indians fought back in the name of Satyagrahi, whose number of supporters increased daily. [HJT83] Gandhi's movement achieved worldwide attention and the world was at the same time chocked of how brutal the British reacted against the non-violent movement.

Britain Invites Gandhi

The British government seemed themselves in force to react so they invited Gandhi to London in 1931. This round-table-meeting had, apart from smaller concessions, no big results because Britain didn't want to give up their colony that easy and stayed unrelenting. [HJT83] In 1934 Indian's fight for Independence was interrupted again when Gandhi's sign of integrating untouchables into his Ashrams caused big civil unrest. Gandhi still looked out for a way of how his movement could achieve all Indians. He felt certain that a reformation of India could only raise out of the country itself and the people living in it. That was why he traveled around the country to clarify the people about the existing social injustices, but he had little success. Gandhi decided to fight with his own skills and he started fasting to get equal electoral legislation, with success, no one wanted Gandhi to fast till his death.

The Role of the Indian Parties During the Independence Movement

Gaining independence for India mainly meant having a political self-government. Years before Gandhi's movement, the Indian National Congress was founded by Hindus and Muslims in 1885. It had, at the beginning, the function to mediate between the Indians and the colonists. [oTEB14] In 1906 the impact of the Hindus in the party increased. As a consequence the Muslims decided to found an own party, called the Muslim League. Later on the National Congress was divided again into a radical and a more moderate part. The moderate part decided to meet every year as an All India Congress Committee. In 1916 the National Congress Party and the Muslim League draw a declaration with claims of India becoming independent. It was answered by the British in 1917 by offering more self-government in the future. **((wiki) source?)**. This early cooperation between the Party and the British colony changed when 1920 Gandhi got the inner spirit leading of the Congress. This was the time when the party changed from a congress to a national movement, who more and more put the British legitimacy in question. [DF] The National Congress Party from then on combined all aims of the Indian independence movement. [kon14a] Consequently, the pressure on the British increased. When in 1937 the Indian National Congress recorded considerable in the provincial elections success, Jawaharlal Nehru claimed the exclusive representative of the National Congress Party. [DF] The The British did not offer the Indians the claimed power and even

ToDo

declared Indians entry into the war without their agreement. [DF] When Gandhi started his quit-india-champagne in 1942, the whole situation started to get out of control. The Indian National Congress offered Britain the choice between leaving the country ultimately or acting in civil disobedience again. The British reacted with merciless military hardness in which about 1000 Indians lost their life.

India's Independence and Separation into Two States

When after world war two in 1945 the Labor Party took over the government in Britain, they showed themselves ready to negotiate with the Indians about their independence. [HJT83] India at that time was facing another conflict: this time between Muslims and Hindus. There had never been a major conflict between these two religious group in India so far but when it became clear that the National Congress Party, whose participants were all Hindus at this time, reached more and more independence, this was the time when the voice of the Muslim people in India got louder, demanding an own state: Pakistan. This goal was also spoken out by the participants of the Muslim League, who were afraid of losing their influence.

In 1946 the past latent existing tension between Muslims and Hindus erupted and lead to violent fights. Gandhi, at that time 77 years old, still traveled through the country to reunite the two groups. He wanted to prevent this separation with all means available, but he could not prevent it in the end. One year later India and Pakistani got their dominion statis and so both were disbanded of British government. This resulted in a mass migration of Muslims moving to Pakistan and Hindus escaping from the new Muslim territory to India. In many villages and cities Hindus and Muslims were fighting against each other.

Gandhi with his remarkable character could not stand the fact that Muslims and Hindu did not patch up. He still had the dream of them living together in harmony. Gandhi's strong will to reunite Hindus and Muslims cost him his life at the end: The father of India, as he was called all over India, was shot by a fanatic Hindu 1948, only half a year later after Indian had become an independent country.

3. Gandhi's Spirit and Principles

Gandhi's movements were both, in India and in South-Africa, influenced by his fundamental principles. These principles bounded together can be seen as his spirit and therefore living these principles can be regarded as Gandhi's dream. As a result, Gandhi was not only a man of goals, he was a constantly dreaming person, so all his aims always had a bigger idea in a way of an ideal conception, some may also call it an utopia. Gandhi as a dreaming person should not be understood derogative, because he was not that kind of typical daydreamer. His principles were always carefully thought over not groundless at all. In the following, the grounding of three main principles, which accompanied his movement, will be discussed.

- Fasting (as a way to bear misery and show self-control)
- The truth (and how this is linked to the non-violent movement and Civil disobedience)
- Simplicity (as Gandhi's way of life)

3.1 Feasting in Gandhi's Life

Fasting was always a part of Gandhi's life, as fasting was a very important religious ritual for Gandhi's mother and it gained importance during his non-violent movement. This fact also shows that religion had a big influence on how Gandhi lived. Religion for Gandhi is building the own character and can therefore bring all humans together in peace.[Fei04] He also saw Hinduism as the most tolerant religion, but was opened for any other religion, too. Gandhi he did not see religion as only rituals and living traditions, he more saw the spiritual value in it and how it can serve community. Additionally, Gandhi saw the human being as a "complete unity and integrity

of body, mind and soul in the individual human being" [San]. Consequently "he was never tired of saying that the body should be controlled by the mind and the mind by the soul" (**source?**). Fasting for Gandhi therefore was also linked with self-control and Gandhi himself emphasized, that one can just hurt you if you allow him to. "No one can hurt you without your permission" (**check the source. does not really look serious**) (<http://alles-schallundrauch.blogspot.de/2009/10/gandhis-10-weisheiten-um-die-welt-zu.html>). Consequently it is someone's own decision to get hurt or not and how you then deal with injuries and fasting trains this self-control. **ToDo**

As mentioned before, Gandhi also fasted to do penance, apart from other times, when in 1923 his own supporters were fighting in a violent way against the British. Consequently, he saw fasting also as a sign of protest, so it can directly be seen as a part of his non-violent action. Fasting for Gandhi was also self-cleaning after someone failed of convicting the opponent. It therefore should disclose the own deficit concerning the Satyagraha. [gan] Gandhi's fasting in 1923 did not have the goal to get attention for the Harijans, how Gandhi called the untouchables. He did not have the aim of utopian agreement between both casts, but he rather wanted the Hindus to understand the hardship which the untouchables have to suffer [gan] At the fifth day of Gandhi's fasting, when his power started to disappear continuously, representatives of the caste-Hindus and untouchables signed a pact that was a combined electorate procedure but reserved seats in parliament for the untouchables. Finally, the British government also accepted the pact and so Gandhi stopped fasting on his sixth day. This way of fasting is also called the epic fasting, because this emphasize the big extend of fasting till death. [gan] It therefore improved living conditions of the Harijans in many ways, so Gandhi achieved his goal: While he was fasting, the Hindus were all so concerned about him, that they moved together. All over India temples were opened for Harijans. "The Hindu religion reformed themselves just in these few days, caused by the charisma of Gandhi" (**source?**). Gandhis fasting therefore changed a religious duty into a more moral duty. [gan] Fasting in Gandhi's way is also connected with doing instead of just preaching, what can be seen as an important characterization of his whole movement. He was not telling the mass what to do, he gave them his life as an example of all his maxims. He also once said: "You must be the change you wish to see in the world" [Bra14c], what again shows that he wanted to be active himself and be a role model for what he stands for. So his opinion was that if you want to change the things around, you have to start by yourself. **ToDo**

3.2 His view of truth, non-violence and Civil Disobedience

Gandhi himself published a book called "The story of my experiments with the truth". Truth was a significant part of his ideology. It was even in the name of his non-violent organization Satyagraha, like mentioned above. The name of his movement Satyagraha is a mix of two words in Hindi "Truth" on the one hand and "hold on to the truth" on the other hand. [HJT83] Truth for Gandhi can be described as self realization, where path and goal would comply [Höp01] like an ideal situation in which things are the way they meant to be. Knowledge of the truth could in his opinion only be received through the service on community. [Höp01] Holding on the truth was in Gandhi's opinion directly attached to love, because the power of truth was also the power of love. For Gandhi this strength of holding on to the truth was the idea of power. [HJT83] His movement Satyagraha therefore means: power that was born out of truth and carried by the lovers of non-violence.

At that point it is important to note that Gandhi himself was influenced by many human beings who gave him an orientation of how his movement could look like, too. Especially his non-violence view was influences by past famous people like Thoreau or Socrates. Consequently, it was not only his self-made experiences that led to his principles. Influences that were important for Gandhi's life will not discussed extensively in this work, because this explanations would take us too far away from answering our question.

Gandhi's meaning of Satyagraha does not mean non-violence as something weak. For him this way of fighting was made out of the human's strength of mind. [HJT83] Acting the non-violent movement he had the goal to show the "rival, that there is a way of non-fighting and it works, too." [San] The goals of Satyagraha was to reach the opponents' conscience by acting non-violent and showing the willingness of even standing physical pain. This should never happen like an appeal, but rather convince the opponent of a non-violent way and on this way make him a close associative. In contrast, if violence is used this would just cause to more violence and additionally Gandhi was sure that what is gained by violence while always need more violence to exist. This is why all social action should be governed by the same simple set of moral values, of which the main elements are selflessness, non-attachment, nonviolence and active service. [San] Being human and moral was linked together with his view of that every person is the same; there should not be any differences between races or other ethnic groups. Gandhi as a well-educated man was of course also influences by other man, like mentioned above Socrates.

Another principle of Gandhi, which was directly linked to the non-violent movement, was the civil disobedience. This principle he took over from Thoreau, which for

his part fought against slavery, more precisely against the oppressive laws. The disobedience therefore was addressed to one particular Government and their laws, which was seen as corrupt, inhuman or unfair by the disobedient people.

Gandhi's way of non-violent and non-cooperative resistance was influenced by many western pioneers but it also fit to South-Asian traditions. This is why his movement was that successful and why he reached that many people with his ideas. [DF]

3.3 Gandhi's Simplicity

Gandhi himself did not have any private property at the end of his life. He refused to have any property during his movement ((ebook anderes als Korntal)) and **ToDo** was only wearing cloths, which for Western people may look more like a scarf. One of these clothes was the Dhoti which was of course made by Indian cotton spinners. This was part of how Gandhi saw life: you don't need much to be happy and to be human ((ebook anderes als Korntal)). Like mentioned before, Gandhi also **ToDo** refused all kind of materialism, with which the Indian started to live with as a British colony. He wanted them to restart living a simple life like he did. The Ashrams, where Indians should live in a traditional and original way, can be seen as a symbol of Gandhi's simplicity.

4. Gandhi's Influence on Martin Luther King

It is not surprising that Gandhi, as the remarkable person he was, had big influences all around the world. One person he influenced was Martin Luther King, like mentioned at the beginning of this seminar paper.

Martin Luther King Jr. was one of the leaders of the Civil Right Movement, who was born into "a system of segregation that separated black people and white people" [Man05]. Although slavery was abolished by the 13th amendment after the Civil Right War in 1865 [13a], the white people found new ways to suppress and segregate the black people. [Die08] This segregation was enforced by the Jim Crow Laws which were "aimed at denying freedom and equality to the same group that had been enslaved, African Americans." [Tis12] As a result separated white and black neighborhoods, schools, restaurants and many more developed. This period of segregation, the Jim Crow Era, started after the civil right war in 1881 and lasted until the 1960s [Tis12]. Only when President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act as a result of the strong Civil Rights Movement in 1964, the Jim Crow Laws became illegal. [Tis12]

The Civil Rights Movement developed out of the insecurity and suppression of black people at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. [Die08] Their goal was the emancipation and equality of the blacks. The most important organization to enforce this equality is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) which was founded in 1909. [Die08]

King experienced the segregation and the enforcement of the Jim Crow Laws from a very early age by growing up in the south of the U.S. and he developed early the idea of an equal society. [Man05] Like his grandfather and father, he became a minister

[Man05] and later he would say that, "the church is my life and I have given my life to the church" [Die08]. One of his first direct involvements in the Civil Rights Movement was his participation as a spokesman for the Bus Boycott in Montgomery in 1955. This was followed by many campaigns against the segregation of the black people in which he became the voice of the movement. Until his assassination in 1968 he was the leader of the modern American Civil Rights Movement. [abo]

Gandhi's influences on King can be noticed in a direct way by King's various statements that he gave about Gandhi. King also quoted Gandhi in many famous speeches. This direct visible influence will be presented in the first part of the chapter by analyzing different historians and their widespread opinions. Talking about Gandhi's influences on King also includes an indirect parameter. There are various similarities that can be drawn between Gandhi's and King's movements and their convictions. These similarities could also be influences of Gandhi on King, but not necessarily. Consequently the second part of the chapter will be more about personal opinions and speculations concerning their similar movement.

4.1 Widespread Opinions in Literature

Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955

Martin Luther King referred to Gandhi many times in his lifetime. One of these times was during the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which took place in 1955. The Boycott was about black Americans refusing to use the buses, in which they were separated from the whites. King took over Gandhi's idea of civil disobedience to show how inhuman and decimating the existing laws were. These laws did not only restrict Blacks behavior in buses but in many other areas of their life, too. Later King said that Gandhi gave him the method, Christ the spirit. [Zit03]

According to Tobias Dietrich [Die08], King had indeed heard of Gandhi before the Bus Boycott but hadn't made any further studies about his life yet. Just when after the Boycott Juliette Hampton compared the Bus Boycott to Gandhi's actions, King picked up this comparison [Zit03] and therefore drew similarities between Gandhi and him by himself, like the author Arnulf Zittelmann asked to bear in mind.

Kings First Clash with Gandhi's General Idea and How He Found a Point of Orientation in It

There are various other historians, who describe King as someone who got in contact with Gandhi much earlier during his time at university and not just after Juliette had made the connection between those two movements. [kon14b] These opinions about Gandhi's influence on King will be mentioned in the following. King visited

a course at University in 1948, in which the professor talked about Gandhi. [Bla01] This was the time when "his warming toward nonviolence began" [Bla01].

According to Dietrich, King was even more enthusiastic after he had read some of Gandhi's books. He and lost his initial skepticism about the power of love. Consequently, Kings plan of building a community of various races living in peace was very much inspired by Gandhi's ideas [Die08]: "King felt he had found the key by which oppressed people could unlock social protest" [Bla01] **(which source is now the correct one?)** King also emphasized, that he has learned a lot about the social power of love from Gandhi. He was convinced of Gandhi's principle of love as a method of social change and this was one reason for the non-violent Civil Right Movement. [Die08]

King himself stated in "Stride Towards Freedom", which was published 1958, about Gandhi's non-violence: "I came to feel this was the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom" [Sun03]. In Zittelmanns opinion, overtaking Gandhi's principle was not enough to make a Gandhi out of King but convinced and confirmed him of acting non-violent **(welche quelle? -> (S. 67 und davor v.a. kein gandhi aus ihm Keiner dreht mich um))**. In really acting non-violent, he also stayed behind his Indian idol, according to Dietrich. Gandhi was much more radical and also more integrated in his movement then King ever was [Die08]. Critique voices point out that King's references on Gandhi considering their non-violent fight can also be seen as rhetorically clever arguments [Die08] to use it in his speeches.

King Visited India

King visited India in 1959 and got to know past companions of Gandhi [Zit03]. He also met Nehru, a past fellow companion of Gandhi who was the Prime Minister of India at that time. Nehru who told King to not be naive and uncritical towards Gandhi. Nehru also told King that follows Gandhi's views in a modified way. [Die08]

Again Critics saw King's naive view of Gandhi as a hint that King just want to see the ideal Gandhi to use his well sounding phrases in his own speeches. [Die08] King himself stick to his ideal opinion of Gandhi. Some say, this gave him the benefit of appearing more authentic for his supporters concerning questions of the non-violent movement. [Die08] Visiting India also helped him building up strong friendships in India. From then on got primary news about Indians genesis of national emancipation, what possibly helped him with his own fight. Later he said about this trip that acting non-violent is the strongest weapon of all. [Zit03] Additionally, Martin Luther King tireless underlines the brotherly relationship between Indian people, Africans and Afro-Africans, that all live together in India. In his speech in the year

1968 he spoke enthusiastically about the "the wonderful spiritual quality of the Indian people" and Gandhi's "beloved community", which could only be achieved by non-violence. [Die08]

Led by potential self-doubts King decided to live a simple life after his trip to India, but he gave up this intention by telling that the circumstances in America are different. This retreat of course again reaffirms critiques of how King adopted some of Gandhi's principles just for rhetoric purposes. [Die08] Nevertheless, King did not get tired of showing his connection to India, so he once said: "To other countries I may go as a tourist, but to India I come as a pilgrim". [Die08]

The author Dietrich sums up King's whole pilgrim to India as not a real one, because he had strongly ideological, political and rhetorical reasons for his trip. [Die08] But being in India undoubtedly had one important influence on King's perspective of how social movements should be done: it showed him that it needs time to achieve real changes.

King Grounded Gandhi's Idea in Christianity

King's program of a non-violent direction continued Gandhi's ideas, but grounded them in a Christian theology to make it more attractive for the western civilization. [Die08] For King, Gandhi was an ideal image of Christianity and so he once said: "It is ironic, yet inescapably true that the greatest Christian of the modern world was a man who never embraced Christianity" [Bla01]. "Gandhism was a way to fight the oppression of black Americans - a method that was consistent with the Christian ethic of love" [Bla01]. King said that Gandhi probably was the first human being in history, who expanded Jesus ethic of love as something between single individuals on an effective social power on a big scale. [gan14]

King's Speeches with Quotes of Gandhi's Words

"As King's career and involvement in a nonviolent struggle went on, his words began to echo Gandhi's own sentiments." [Bla01] This can be seen as a symbol for King becoming ultimately convinced of Gandhi's principles and he started adopting it on a more personal level than just for tactics. For example, in King's discussion of civil disobedience he once said, "In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law, as would the rabid segregationist. That would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly, and with a willingness to accept the penalty." [Bla01] Statements like these sound like echoes of what Gandhi had always said. He was also convinced that one should respect the laws, provided it is consistent with "the truth" [Bla01].

To sum up, it seems clear that King was influenced by Gandhi when he regarded non-violence as the strongest weapon of all, emphasized the importance of a beloved community and the power of love. King also learnt from Gandhi how social movements can work out and that he has to be patient to achieve his aims. Gandhi was like an orientation for him and offered him a guideline.

Critique voices don't deny the influence Gandhi had on King put emphasis that King mainly took over Gandhi's principles to use them for his own benefits like well-sounding speeches. They therefore assume King to be hypocritical e.g. when he just referred to Gandhi after Juliette did, according to their opinion. Critique voices also add for consideration that visiting India happened for political reasons and did not influence King in the way he always pretended.

4.2 Self-developed Presumptions

Like mentioned in the chapter before, Gandhi and his beliefs appeared many times during King's political career. Taking over main principles of Gandhi's thoughts showed his excitement and approval towards it. Consequently, whether one sees Kings takeovers of Gandhi's principles as clever steps to rhetorically well speeches or as deeply convinced guideline, there are even more similarities in how both led their movements. These similarities between the two movements will be discussed in the following to present further possible influences.

Unstoppability

(Unstoppability seems to be no english word!) Like mentioned before, King's **ToDo** actions were non-violent, too. What is also interesting: both hold on their principles, although that meant for them to go through rough times. This leads to the first similarity: Their unstoppability. For example King was physically attacked for three times, survived three bomb attacks and was in prison for 30 times. [Die08] All these experiences did not stop King to go on organizing many sit-ins and boycotts to set an example. That shows that he was as stubborn and unstoppably as Gandhi was. They were both very convinced and therefore fought extremely passionate and sustainable. King also founded his movement on the basis of love and always against hate. He did not stop to make clear that getting peace has to come from the inside of each human and that was how he moved masses, just like Gandhi did. Therefore Gandhi can be seen as a role-model for King and he maybe learnt from him how persistence pays off. Consequently, Gandhi's spirit maybe gave him the enquired endurance during his Civil Right Movement.

Dreaming

The most important passive resistance led by King was the march on Washington in 1963, where at the end he held his famous speech, beginning with "I have a dream". This famous beginning of the speech led to other connections between both: Both, King and Gandhi, are both linked with the term of dreaming. Like mentioned before, Gandhi's ideals and principles can all be bounded together as him having a huge dream. Also King used the term "dreaming". Maybe again just to sound rhetorically interesting but dreaming was also a part of King's ideology. Their ambitious striving made them to strong and convincing dreamers and only with this character they were able to move all these masses. Gandhi and King as dreaming men can also be seen as a hint for them having a greater goal in mind. Their political actions were both characterized by ideals maybe even utopias. King who got to know Gandhi's dream by studying his books was maybe convinced that a greater goal is needed to succeed. A dream helps the people to understand the direction someone is heading to.

King's most famous speech also contains many terms that can be linked to Gandhi and Gandhi's dream, too. This helps to draw similarities about how their dreams looked like in detail. King talked about the black people as "God's people" [kin, line 37], also Gandhi named the Untouchables "Harijans", what means "God's children". This shows how their dreams were linked to their religious beliefs, what will be discussed in a further part of this chapter later on. King wanted to achieve his dream through a strong cohesion by saying: "we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, so stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day" [kin, lines 115-117]. King's dream includes a great brotherhood, like Gandhi's did. King learnt during his trip to India that brotherhood and a beloved community is important to achieve changes and that maybe led him to emphasize the social cohesion in his speeches. Additionally, Gandhi wanted equality and also King spoke in his famous speech about "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" [?, lines 132-135] They dreamt their dream of a society without ethical or religious border and distinctions. Gandhi's dream was, as mentioned before, directly linked to non-violence as the only real soul force. In King's speech King also spoke about the importance of meeting physical force with soul force [kin, line 54]. At that point he stressed out his conviction of non violence as part of his dream.

To sum up, both men had a deep dream in their mind about how things should look ideally. King maybe took over the symbol of having a dream to reach the people. It has been shown that even the contents of their dreams had several similarities when looking at King's famous speech beginning with "I have a dream". This can be

seen as a further indication for King orientating on Gandhi's beliefs and convictions regarding his general dream. Maybe King maintained parts of what belonged to Gandhi's dream because it had been successful once and King needed some security and self-reassurance in the big fight he was in. Another explanation could be that King was simply convinced of Gandhi's ideas in a very deep way and hoped to help his black nation by follow Gandhi's dream.

5. Résumé

In this seminar paper the question was asked how Gandhi's life, spirit and dream influenced Martin Luther King. This resume will sum up the past chapters to find a general answer to that question. Gandhi played the most important role in the Indian independent movement but also helped the Indians in South-Africa to gain more rights. He developed certain principles through his lifetime. Therefore Gandhi's movement was characterized by simplicity and a "moral fasting", but the main principles were non-violence and civil disobedience. Discussing the question about how Gandhi influenced King, it turned out that Martin Luther King took over some of Gandhi's main principles and adapted them to the situation in the US at that time. He was convinced of Gandhi's principle of acting non-violent, the importance of the power of love. Therefore King took over methods like boycotts that were similar to Gandhi's civil disobedience. King therefore pursued Gandhi's strategy of demonstrating the Government their own inhuman laws by not taking part in the system any more. King also learnt a lot about how changes can be made and that it needs time to achieve real deep changes. The fact that King's speeches sometimes seemed to be copies of Gandhi's can also be explained by their similar made experiences. When King started his non-violent movement he got to know the advantages and the deeper sense of non-violence and these self-made experiences made his speeches sound similar to Gandhi's, who experienced kind of the same. It all shows that Gandhi had a great influence on King's movement in various ways. What was not answered in this seminar paper was in what extend King was truly convinced in Gandhi's beliefs or if he just used it for his own goals. But his goals were of good nature: he wanted to gain equality for the black people in America.

Also self-developed similarities were presented to make presumptions about how King was maybe influenced furthermore. King's and Gandhi's unstoppableity (check **ToDo**

word) was addressed and Gandhi as King's potential role-model of never giving up. Additionally, both personalities were described as dreaming persons and King as someone who maybe used the term "dream" to be as successful with his aims as Gandhi was, who was in public always linked to a certain dream. Furthermore, big similarities regarding the content of both dreams were found what can be seen as a further indication for King's orientation on Gandhi or even his great fundamental conviction that Gandhi's way is the only right and true way. Gandhi possibly encouraged King to fight for what he believed in. Gandhi's influences on King clarify how big and important Gandhi's movement was, not only for India but also for the rest of the world. Both men, Gandhi and King were desperately fighting for a free world for disadvantaged to create equality and justice around the world. Although both were, apart from similarities and influences, fighting their fights partly different, their movements make both to Pioneers for peace.

Bibliography

- [13a] *13th Amendment*. <http://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/amendmentxiii>, accessed December 20, 2014.
- [abo] *About Dr. King*. <http://www.thekingcenter.org/about-dr-king>, accessed December 19, 2014.
- [ago14] *Leben und Wirken Gandhis*, 2014. <http://www.dadalos-d.org/deutsch/vorbilder/vorbilder/gandhi/leben.htm#9>, accessed December 12, 2014.
- [Bla01] Blakely, G.: *The Formative Influences on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 2001. <http://peacemagazine.org/archive/v17n2p21.htm>, accessed December 19, 2014.
- [Bra14a] BrainyQuote.com: *Mahatma Gandhi*, 2014. <http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/m/mahatmagan100717.html>, accessed December 8, 2014.
- [Bra14b] BrainyQuote.com: *Mahatma Gandhi*, 2014. <http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/m/mahatmagan166284.html>, accessed December 8, 2014.
- [Bra14c] BrainyQuote.com: *Mahatma Gandhi*, 2014. <http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/m/mahatmagan109075.html>, accessed December 15, 2014.
- [DF] Dharampal-Frick, G. and Ludwig, M.: *Die Kolonialisierung Indiens und der Weg in die Unabhängigkeit*. In: *Der Bürger im Staat*, Seiten 148–156. Südasiens-Institut der Universität Heidelberg. <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/savifadok/volltexte/2010/1162>.
- [Die08] Dietrich, T.: *Martin Luther King*. Profile (UTB). UTB GmbH, 2008, ISBN 9783825230234.

- [Fei04] Feiler, A.: *Gandhi und sein Weg der gewaltfreien Konfliktlösung*, 2004. <http://sammelpunkt.philo.at:8080/1092/1/se0405freiler.pdf>, accessed December 16, 2014.
- [fri14] *Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948)*, 2014. http://www.frieden-fragen.de/friedensmacher_weltweit/mahatma_gandhi_indien_gewaltfreie_aktion.html, accessed December 10, 2014.
- [gan] *Das Leben und Wirken von Mahatma Gandhi*. <http://www.gandhiserve.org/gss/lebenundwirken.html>, accessed December 15, 2014.
- [Gan30] Gandhi, M.: *Mein Leben*. Insel-Verlag, 1930.
- [gan14] *Martin Luther King "I have a dream" - Gedanken zur Gewaltfreiheit* -, 2014. <http://www.nonviolent-resistance.info/exhibitions/ger/king/pg08.htm>, accessed December 21, 2014.
- [HJT83] Hungerbühler, E., W. Jany und L. Tews: *Pioniere für den Frieden*. Ueberreuter, 1983, ISBN 9783800031887.
- [Höp01] Höpken, S.: *Gewaltfreiheit und Dialog: die Erziehungskonzeption Paulo Freires und Mahatma Gandhis*. Pädagogische Reihe. Verlag Dialogische Erziehung, 2001, ISBN 9783934129139.
- [kin] *Martin Luther King, Jr. - I Have a Dream*. <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkihaveadream.htm#sthash.dJDIKyEu.dpuf>, accessed December 22, 2014.
- [kon14a] *Indischer Nationalkongress*, 2014. <http://www.wissen.de/lexikon/indischer-nationalkongress>, accessed December 12, 2014.
- [kon14b] *Martin Luther King*, 2014. <http://www.wissen.de/martin-luther-king>, accessed December 19, 2014.
- [Man05] Manheimer, A.S.: *Martin Luther King Jr: Dreaming of Equality*. Trailblazer biography. Carolrhoda Books, 2005, ISBN 9781575056272.
- [oTEB14] The Encyclopædia Britannica, The Editors of: *Indian National Congress*, 2014. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/285841/Indian-National-Congress>, accessed December 13, 2014.
- [Rot03] Rothermund, D.: *Gandhi: der gewaltlose Revolutionär*. Beck Reihe. Beck, 2003, ISBN 9783406480225.

- [San] Santhanam, K.: *Basic Principles Of Gandhism*. http://www.mkgandhi.org/g_relevance/chap26.htm, accessed December 16, 2014.
- [sch01] *Mahatma Gandhi*. School Scout, 2001. <http://www4.onleihe.de/lb/frontend/mediaInfo,0-0-34980596-100-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0.html>.
- [Sun03] Sunnemark, F.: *Ring Out Freedom!: The Voice of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement*. Ring Out Freedom! Indiana University Press, 2003, ISBN 9780253110817.
- [Tis12] Tischauser, L.V.: *Jim Crow Laws*. Landmarks of the American Mosaic. ABC-CLIO, 2012, ISBN 9780313386091.
- [wor] *Gandhi Savior of Harijans*. https://www.world-affairs.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/3rd-5th_firstplace_karthikmeiyappan.pdf, accessed December 12, 2014.
- [Zit03] Zitelmann, A.: *"Keiner dreht mich um": die Lebensgeschichte des Martin Luther King*. Gulliver-Taschenbuch. Beltz & Gelberg, 2003, ISBN 9783407789013.