# SUBALTERN OPPRESSION AND RESISTANCE AS SEEN IN BIOGRAPHICAL FILMS: MALCOLM X (1992) AND SOEKARNO (2013)

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Atas perhatiannya, kami mengucapkan terima kasih.

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# **MOTTO**

Teacher can open the door, but you must enter it yourself.

-David Williams-



# **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this research to myself, who never gave up completing this research despite the many challenges ahead. I dedicate this research also to my mother, my family, and my friends, who always support me.



# **VALIDATION**



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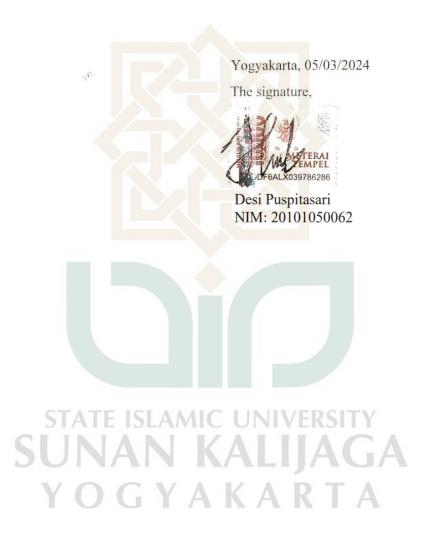
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# A FINAL PROJECT STATEMENT

I certify that this graduate paper is definitely my own work. I am completely responsible for the content of this graduating paper. Other researcher's opinion or finding included in this research is quoted or cited in accordance with ethical standards.



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The researcher realizes that there are so many flaws in this research. Thus, the researcher hopes for suggestions for better writing in the future.



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# SUBALTERN OPPRESSION AND RESISTANCE AS SEEN IN BIOGRAPHICAL FILMS: *MALCOLM X* (1992) AND *SOEKARNO* (2013)

By: Desi Puspitasari

### **ABSTRACT**

This research examines the oppression experienced by Subaltern in *Malcolm X* and Soekarno films, two biographical films about influential figures in the Western world and Indonesia. This research specifically focuses on investigating how the resistance strategy used by Malcolm X and Soekarno in resisting oppression as leaders of subaltern groups, using Subaltern theory by Gayatri Chakravorty as a framework. Using descriptive qualitative analysis, this research reveals Malcolm X and Soekarno faced challenges with different resistance strategies. Malcolm X used radical methods, on the other hand Soekarno used moderate methods. In addition, this research also evaluates which struggle strategies are more effective in achieving change and freedom of rights between the two characters. This research underscores the impact that the resistance strategies they use on the social life of the subaltern groups they fight for their rights for. The researcher concluded that in *Malcolm X* and *Soekarno* films, subaltern groups experience oppression in different situations. In the Malcolm X film, racism against black people in the United States includes oppression through discrimination in access to employment and violence. In the Soekarno film, the colonization of Indonesia by the Dutch includes oppression through economic exploitation and social hierarchy. Researcher also concluded that moderate resistance strategies, which focus on negotiation and cooperation, are more successful in achieving independence and sovereignty. In contrast, the radical resistance strategy that focused on racial segregation had more problems and was less successful in achieving these goals. Compared to Malcolm X's radical strategy, Soekarno's moderate resistance strategy was more effective in achieving the right to independence.

Keywords: Subaltern; Elite; Oppression; Resistance; Rights

OGYAKARTA

# SUBALTERN OPPRESSION AND RESISTANCE AS SEEN IN BIOGRAPHICAL FILMS: *MALCOLM X* (1992) AND *SOEKARNO* (2013)

Oleh: Desi Puspitasari

### **ABSTRAK**

Penelitian ini mengkaji penindasan yang dialami Subaltern dalam film Malcolm X dan Soekarno, dua film biografi tentang tokoh berpengaruh di dunia Barat dan Indonesia. Penelitian ini secara khusus berfokus untuk menyelidiki bagaimana strategi perlawanan yang digunakan oleh Malcolm X dan Soekarno dalam melawan penindasan sebagai pemimpin kelompok subaltern, dengan menggunakan teori Subaltern karya Gayatri Chakravorty sebagai kerangka kerjanya. Dengan menggunakan analisis deskriptif kualitatif, penelitian ini mengungkap Malcolm X dan Soekarno menghadapi tantangan dengan strategi perlawanan yang berbeda. Malcolm X menggunakan metode radikal, sebaliknya Soekarno menggunakan metode moderat. Selain itu, penelitian ini juga mengevaluasi strategi perjuangan mana yang lebih efektif dalam mencapai perubahan dan kebebasan hak bagi kelompok Subaltern. Penelitian ini menggarisbawahi dampak strategi perlawanan yang mereka gunakan terhadap kehidupan sosial kelompok subaltern yang mereka perjuangkan haknya. Peneliti menyimpulkan bahwa dalam film *Malcolm X* dan *Soekarno*, kelompok subaltern mengalami penindasan dalam situasi yang berbeda. Dalam film Malcolm X, rasisme terhadap orang kulit hitam di Amerika Serikat meliputi penindasan melalui diskriminasi dalam akses pekerjaan dan kekerasan. Dalam film Soekarno, penjajahan Indonesia oleh Belanda mencakup penindasan melalui eksploitasi ekonomi dan hirarki sosial. Peneliti juga menyimpulkan bahwa strategi perlawanan moderat, yang berfokus pada negosiasi dan kerjasama, lebih berhasil dalam mencapai kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan. Sebaliknya, strategi perlawanan radikal yang berfokus pada segregasi rasial memiliki lebih banyak masalah dan kurang berhasil dalam mencapai tujuan-tujuan tersebut. Dibandingkan dengan strategi radikal Malcolm X, strategi perlawanan moderat Soekarno lebih efektif dalam mencapai hak untuk merdeka.

Kata Kunci: Subaltern; Elit; Penindasan; Perlawanan; Hak

# SUBALTERN OPPRESSION AND RESISTANCE AS SEEN IN

BIOGRAPHICAL FILMS: MALCOLM X (1992) AND SOEKARNO (2013)

### **CHAPTER I**

#### INTRODUCTION

# 1.1 Background of Research

Human rights are moral rights that all people, no matter their country of origin, age, race, gender, language, job, or religion, claim and hold (Orend, 2002, p.37). Human rights, also known as fundamental rights, are higher levels of law that are clearly spelled out and thought to be necessary. This type of rights give more weight than other rights because they show how a society lives by its values (Marks, P, 2014, p. 2). The form of violation of these rights is the oppression and unfair treatment of rights experienced by one person with another. Oppression is a morally laden term and refers to social injustice, meaning that it is carried out through social institutions, practices, and norms in social groups by social groups (Cudd, 2005, pp. 20-49). To say that a group is oppressed means that its members face reduced choices and a worse future than other members of society (Cudd, 1994, pp. 22-44). This kind of oppression is usually done by elite groups or people against subaltern groups or individuals (Ranajit, 1982, p. 8).

Guha says that in the web of capitalism, colonialism, patriarchy, and nationalism, elites are the most dominant group, whether they are from the country or from another country (Guha, 1989, p. 6). When someone is a

subaltern, they are part of a group that is socially, politically, economically, or in a place of power that is low (Cronin, 2008, p. 2). Anything that has little to no contact with cultural colonialism is called subaltern. It is a place of difference (Kock, 1992, p. 45).

Elite groups take the critical view that they are a better group than other groups. The reason they treat people outside of them badly is because of this. To show how strong and powerful they were, they made subalterns by colonizing other people and giving them more rights. As a result of being colonized, the subaltern faces at least one form of abuse from elite groups, such as being left out, discriminated against, or taken advantage of (Zahin, 2022, pp. 1-11). So, it was hard for subalterns to get into the public sphere during the colonial time. Quijano talked about the idea of "coloniality of power," which means that ideas that were accepted by elite groups are still around today and help keep some powers. These words are linked to a system where some people have a lot of money and power, and others do not (Quijano, 2000, p. 539).

Mistreated people will dislike an unfair situation, which will lead them to pushback in the form of different actions or behaviors that fight injustice. This fits with Maculan's idea of resistance, which describes people who are mistreated and show resistance. Resistance is a way of thinking that is put into action by doing things to fight wrong (Maculan, 2022, pp. 431-447). People or groups will fight for justice by standing up to the oppression they faced (Freire, 2000, p. 44).

Biographical films are often a powerful medium for conveying narratives about individual struggles and experiences in the face of oppression and exploring their resistance efforts against it. In the described, researcher tries to compare the struggle for human rights as a form of resistance carried out by subaltern leaders in the biographical films Malcolm X and Soekarno. In this work, the researcher will compare two important historical figures, they are Malcolm X and Soekarno, to explore their experiences as subalterns and how they resisted the oppression they faced.

Malcolm X is an American biopic film from 1992 that gives a vivid picture of the life and times of civil rights leader Malcolm X. He got out of a bad situation in life, went to jail, re-learned, and became more spiritually aware, and then rose to become one of the most important African-American activists. Malcolm X lived in a time when the rights of American citizens were not equal, and there was conflict between blacks and whites. Black people were seen as slaves and less important than white people. They treat other groups badly because they have different colours or races (Ebert, 1992).

The *Soekarno* film shows the life and struggles of a national hero, Soekarno, who later became the first President of Indonesia. The *Soekarno* film is about a significant period in Indonesian history: the fight for freedom from Dutch colonialism. The story began in the 20th century when Indonesia was still a Dutch colony after hundreds of years of rule. The film shows how hard it was for the indigenous people to live in terms of their social, political, and economic

situations. They had to deal with colonial abuse and unequal rights and opportunities. In the film, Soekarno is the main character. He was an intellectual and nationalist leader who led the fight for Indonesian independence. He was seen as a leader with big ideas and a lot of charisma who worked for national unity and freedom from colonialism (Wijaya, 2013).

Malcolm X and Soekarno films are alike in a number of ways. The main characters in Malcolm X and Soekarno films are both from a group of subaltern group. Furthermore, both characters are working against being oppressed. More interestingly, the two characters do not just try to escape from their problems by focusing on themselves. However, they led their people and taught them what they needed to know to escape oppression together. People from elite groups who treat people from subaltern groups badly or treat them differently are violating their rights. All people, no matter their country or race, should have the same rights. This kind of oppression, where rights are not shared equally, leads to resistance, where underrepresented groups fight for their rights that are ignored or violated by the more powerful group.

Both Malcolm X and Soekarno were leaders of subaltern groups who fought back to demonstrate their resistance against the elite, although they came from different eras and cultural backgrounds. They both lived in distinct historical and cultural eras. While Soekarno struggled in Indonesia, Malcolm X struggled in the United States. The African-American community's representative, Malcolm X, struggled against racism's oppression of the black community. On the other

hand, Soekarno opposed colonialism, especially Dutch colonial colonization, as an oppressive system.

According to Malcolm X, in his famous speech "The ballot or the Bullet", the white race is perceived that they are the most powerful group, ahead of the black race (Pangambam, 2023). Meanwhile, the Netherlands and Japan are the elites in *Soekarno* film, while the Indonesian state is the underdog. The reason they are mistreated is not because they are poor but because they are from different races and countries. Because of this, subaltern groups are not just poor people or groups. All of them are average people whose lives are not in the center of power, who live on the edges of society, and whose views are not always considered (Hall, 2016, p. 6).

Soekarno and Malcolm X both used struggle methods as subaltern leaders. Researcher suspect that even though Malcolm X and Soekarno were both subaltern leaders who experienced and resisted oppression, they had differences in resistance strategies. Malcolm X, in his struggle strategy, emphasized radical thinking, while Soekarno, in his struggle strategy, emphasized moderate thinking. These two forms of strategy can influence the impact and results of their struggle. From these assumptions, the researcher will examine the struggle strategies used by the two figures to break out of the cycle of oppression, the impact of their resistance, whether they are effective in achieving success in justice for rights.

# **1.2 Research Question**

This research develops particular research questions to investigate the complex subaltern narratives of two well-known individuals, Malcolm X and Soekarno, as they are portrayed in the films *Malcolm X* and *Soekarno*. This research seeks to investigate the major characters experiences of oppression and the strategies of resistance they employ to combat it. Thus, this research can investigate the best approaches for supporting subalterns in obtaining justice and liberation. The questions are as follows:

- 1. What is the portrayal of oppression experienced by the main character as a Subaltern in *Malcolm X* and *Soekarno* films?
- 2. How is the resistance strategy used by the main character to fight oppression and which resistance strategy is most effective in helping Subalterns in *Malcolm X* and *Soekarno* films?

# 1.3 Objectives and Significance of Research

This research aimed was to analyze the depictions of oppression depicted in both *Malcolm X* and *Soekarno* films. This research also aims to compare the strategies of the main character's struggle against oppression as subaltern leaders. In addition, this research will evaluate which struggle strategies are more effective in achieving freedom of rights. Through a deep understanding of oppression depicted in both films and a comparison of struggle strategies carried out by the main characters, this research has significance in providing better insight into the

dynamics of the struggle against oppression and providing a better understanding of which strategies are more effective in achieving freedom of rights.

#### **1.4 Literature Review**

In this research, researcher found previous research to broaden their knowledge and get other perspectives for the research. Malcolm X and Soekarno are biographical films that are not yet common or have not been widely studied, but researcher found several previous studies with the same object.

"Breaking The Hegemony of White Americans Reflected in Spike Lee"s Malcolm X: A Sociological Approach", (Triatmoko, 2013). Qualitative research methods were used in this research. As a result of this research, the authors describe the picture. Malcolm X is portrayed by Spike Lee in the film. The author also discusses the motives behind Malcolm's defence movement. The merit of this research is the treatment of Malcolm X's character as a person, the researcher also discusses the impact of the film on the social life of American society from a sociological point of view.

"Transitivity Analysis: Circumstantial Elements Spoken by the Main Character in the *Malcolm X* Film Script", (Madya, 2021). This thesis focuses on the application of transitivity analysis to the script of the film "Malcolm X". This analysis focuses on the indirect aspects expressed by the film's main character, Malcolm X, played by Denzel Washington. Madya's research focuses on a character's linguistic choices in conveying his thoughts, emotions, and beliefs

about racial struggles and civil rights movements. Madya's work emphasizes the importance of transitivity analysis as a technique to uncover how language is used in cinematic discourse.

"African American Civil Rights Movements in Response to Resistance from White Supremacists in *Malcolm X* Film", (Triananda & Sayogie, 2023). The research found that African American resistance was caused by racial discrimination perpetrated by white supremacist groups for hundreds of years. Meanwhile, African Americans responded to resistance from white supremacist groups with a variety of strategies and tactics. The film shows that they use different approaches, including political, educational, self-awareness, and militant approaches.

"Costume design in film: Telling the story and creating Malcolm X's character in Spike Lee's Malcolm X (1992)", (Torregrosa et al., 2023). This research explores costume design by Ruth E. Carter as a dramatic tool in the biopic *Malcolm X* (1992) directed by Spike Lee. For this reason, the function of film costumes is valued as both a visual and narrative tool that exceeds the aesthetic dimension and is very important to give meaning to every film production.

"Construction of Nationalist Values in Film: Content Analysis of "Soekarno Film" for Learning Media for Pancasila and Civic Education", (Khoirul, 2016). This research analyzes the values of nationalism and describes the use of nationalism values in *Soekarno* film as a learning medium in the subjects of

Pancasila and Civic Education. As a result, through the main characters contained in Soekarno's film, a sense of nationalism was found and played well. In addition, Soekarno's film in this research, describes the meaning of the Proclamation of Independence and the first constitution. The advantage of this research is that it focuses on the positive impact of nationalist traits for learning media.

"Quantitative content analysis: Analysis of Ir. Soekarno's leadership spirit in Soekarno's film", (Shofiadi et al., 2021). This research aims to determine the frequency of leadership spirit in Soekarno's film. This research used quantitative descriptive and content analysis methods. They concluded that the leadership spirit displayed in this film includes truthfulness, strong self-confidence, very consistent, full of initiative and innovative, unyielding spirit, willing to sacrifice, decisive, anti-colonialism, intelligent, and wise. The screening of this film must still be carried out during a historical day commemoration in Indonesia. The advantages of research provide insight and understanding, especially young people, related to how Soekarno's struggle to realize an independent Indonesia free from colonialism and also the spirit of nationalism will increase. The shortcomings of this research, the researcher only provides an overview of Soekarno's leadership spirit.

"Analysis of the character and function of Soekarno's character in the films *Soekarno* and *Saat di Ende* with Vladimir Propp's theory", (Indra, 2021). From research, Indra concluded that the character of Soekarno in both films was a "seeker hero" character. Soekarno in the film *Saat di Ende* was a seeker hero who

gained a lot of support and fought against the Dutch Government in an indirect way. Meanwhile, Soekarno in the film *Soekarno* was a stubborn seeker hero and in fighting for independence was opposed by the youth exposed to the trickery of fake heroes.

"Value Of Leadership In *Soekarno* Film", (Robbyansyah et al., 2018). This research concludes that leadership values in Soekarno's film are shown in five important elements: scenes, agents, actions, agencies, and goals. Soekarno's leadership emerged under certain circumstances, when Soekarno faced the Dutch his leadership character changed to aggressive, courageous, uncompromising. When facing the Japanese, Soekarno used political strategy and diplomacy. Likewise, with the people, Soekarno displayed more harmonious, democratic and familial concepts.

# 1.5 Theoretical Framework

# 1.5.1 Subaltern Theory

There are groups in society called subalterns that do not have the same amount of power or access to power systems as others. They also often have trouble speaking up for themselves because of political and social barriers. The word "subaltern" comes from the military and was used for soldiers under a captain. Its roots are not the same as its modern meaning, which comes from Gramsci and means a person who is being oppressed (Loomba, 2011, p. 67).

Spivak thinks it is important to talk about subaltern because it is at the heart of imperial, colonial, and even postcolonial discourses and practices. Spivak talked about the idea that subalterns can speak for themselves. This means that it is hard to give people who are on the outside a voice. Even when people try to listen and recognize their experiences, it can be hard because powerful groups often ignore or hide their views (Spivak, 1988, p. 90).

Spivak looks into the problems subalterns have when they try to speak and express themselves in a world dominated by colonial power. Spivak says that in order to listen and help subalterns, people must try to fully understand how difficult their position is. One important thing to think about is how intellectuals or trained elites help subalterns organize and be heard. It is important to listen to these underrepresented groups because solutions should not come from outside sources but from their own wants and experiences (Spivak, 1988, p. 78).

Spivak says that these intellectuals use the phrase "pessimism of the intellect, optimism of the will" by combining a philosophical doubt about the restoration of subaltern institutions with a political desire to bring attention to the plight of the marginalized (Loomba, 2011, p. 230). In his works and other interests, Spivak criticizes race in terms of nationality, ethnicity, and immigrant groups. A lot of the time, Spivak says, worldviews based on race, country, ethnicity, and other identities are based on dominance and oppression. In this view, these identities are seen as more than just personal traits; they are also seen as power tools that people in power use to keep the power structures they have in place (Spivak, 1996, p. 3).

Using Spivak's Subaltern theory to examine *Soekarno* and *Malcolm X* films, researcher can look at how these films portray the oppression subaltern groups face. Elite groups in these two films oppress people in political, economic, social or cultural areas. According to the researcher, these films also show and reflect the resistance struggle of subaltern groups. According to Spivak, subalterns are oppressed in many ways, such as through exploitation, violence, discrimination, racism, and sexism (Spivak, 1988, pp. 76-85).

By using this approach, researcher will analyze what forms of oppression were experienced by Malcolm X and Soekarno. In addition, researcher will review how the oppression influenced their thinking in fighting oppression. By judging how well their struggle methods worked, researcher can see how important subaltern resistance is in ending oppression.

# 1.5.2 Film Theory

By applying film theory to this research, researcher can look at how the stories, images, and themes of the films show the struggles and experiences of subaltern groups. The director of *Malcolm X* and *Soekarno* films uses scenery and other film elements to bring out the main characters' experiences of being oppressed. Setting (sets and props), lighting, clothing, hair and makeup, and character behavior are the six parts that make up mise-en-scène (Villarejo, 2007, p. 29). Researcher will look at the mise en scene in the *Malcolm X* and *Soekarno* film by looking at two things: lighting and character behavior.

The lighting used in the film increases viewers' comprehension of both the setting and the characters depicted in it. Still, Villarejo says that naturalistic lighting in film relies on a three-point lighting method that was created by Hollywood studios and is still the most common today. A key light, a fill light, and a back light make up the system. The key light is the main source of light that evenly illuminates the subject of the shot. The fill light fills in the shadows left by the key light, and the back light splits the subject from the background (Villarejo, 2007, pp. 32-33). The characters behavior in the film also does a lot of different things, like talk, fight, have sex, and more. It also explains how the actors in a scene move and what they do as part of the mise-en-scène element (Villarejo, 2007, p. 35).

When you pay attention to the mise-en-scène, you also pay attention to the cinematography because everything that the camera records is part of both. People can better understand how a scene is composed and performed if they pay attention to where and how the camera moves. Along with looking at parts of mise en scène, researcher will also look at cinematography, such as the direction or distance of the camera. Villarejo says that the human body can be used as a point of reference for each of the following;

- 1. An extreme long shot (ELS), in which people can hardly be told apart;
- Long shot (LS), where people can be seen but are still dominated by the background;
- 3. A medium-long shot (MLS), in which the person is set from the knees up;

- 4. Middle shot (MS), in which move a little to frame a person from the waist up;
- 5. Medium close-up (MCU), where see the person from the chest up;
- 6. Close-up (CU), which focuses on one part of the body, usually the face (Villarejo, 2007, pp. 36-38).

# 1.6 Research Methods

This part talks about the methods that were used for this research. A research method is a step-by-step plan that tells you how to do everything, from coming up with a theory or research questions to analyzing the data. To put it another way, a research method is a written plan that lays out the steps needed to carry out actions in order to reach research goals (Shukla, 2020). The types of research, data sources, data collection techniques, and data analysis techniques that make up a methodology.

# 1.6.1 Type of Research

Qualitative methods were used to collect data for this research. This method is used because they focus on comprehending the experiences, viewpoints, and behaviors of certain people or groups in depth. The interpretive method of qualitative research tries to figure out what certain social events mean and how people act by looking at the subjective experiences of the people who take part. By asking "why," "how," and "in what way?" Researcher come up with ideas, theories, hypotheses, and abstractions (Palmer & Bolderston, 2006 p.16-19).

Researcher use a number of different methods to look at data. Initial steps include getting the data prepared.

#### 1.6.2 Data Sources

Two film, *Malcolm X* (1992) and *Soekarno* (2013), are used as research items for this research. By watching *Malcolm X* on the Soap2day website and *Soekarno* film on the Bilibili application, researcher were able to gather data. Researcher used books like postcolonial, subaltern, film theory, and previous research related to the topic of the research, to gather secondary data.

# 1.6.3 Data Collection Technique

Researcher use a method called "close reading" to gather information. Researcher will watch these films to get a better idea of the things they will be researching. Once researcher understand the two films, they need to sort the raw data into several variables, including subaltern oppression and struggle. The next step is to explain how the data required and the factors that have been found are related.

# 1.6.4 Data Analysis Technique

Following the data collection phase, the research continued by using descriptive techniques to evaluate the data and make the overall significance of the research results clear. There are several steps to this research process. To get a better understanding of the data, researcher first watched each films more than

once. The lens of film theory is used to look at facts about cinematography and mise en scène. The second step is to look at the data in light of the subaltern theory research question.

# 1.7 Paper Organization

There are four chapters in this graduation paper. The first chapter is an introduction explaining the reasoning behind this research. The object of research and the data necessary to assist the analysis are presented in the second chapter. The third chapter, "Findings and Discussion", covers research findings and discussion. The final chapter is a conclusion that provides comments to answer the research question.



#### **CHAPTER IV**

# CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

### 4.1 Conclusion

In *Malcolm X* and *Soekarno* films, it is shown that Subaltern's group experienced oppression in different contexts. In the *Malcolm X* film highlights the oppression of racism against blacks by whites in the United States. These include discrimination in access to employment and violence. In the *Soekarno* film highlighted the oppression of colonialism in the Indonesian nation by the Dutch state. This includes economic exploitation and social hierarchy. The oppression experienced by Soekarno and Malcolm X refers to the spirit of resistance. Although both experienced oppression, both showed different resistance strategies to achieve justice and independence of their groups' rights.

Malcolm X used a Radical resistance strategy that focused on the separation of white and black races, while Soekarno used a Moderate resistance strategy that focused on negotiations and cooperation between the Indonesian state and the Japanese state. The resistance strategy used by Malcolm X had an adverse impact because it caused conflict and tension and threatened the safety of the Subaltern group. This reduced the effectiveness of the movement and limited the ability to achieve Malcolm X's desired goals, while the resistance strategy used by Soekarno had a good impact in the form of Indonesia's success in achieving Independence and Sovereignty. This strategy was effective in achieving Soekarno's desired goals. From the comparison of the impact of the resistance

strategy above, it is concluded that Soekarno's Moderate strategy was more effective in achieving the success of rights independence than Malcolm X's radical strategy.

# 4.2 Suggestion

After completing research on the *Malcolm X* and *Soekarno* films, the researcher found that these two objects had a lot of research potential. This research only focuses on the oppression and resistance experienced by the two main characters, Malcolm X and Soekarno, as part of a subaltern group. Still, not a lot of research has been done on both of these subjects. Most of the research that has been done talks and most research discusses preaching messages and representations of the leadership and nationalist spirit of figures. No one has looked into the similarities and differences between the US and Indonesia at that time in terms of history, such as the political, economic, and social situations that affected Malcolm X and Soekarno's struggles. The researcher advises doing more research on these two objects that talk about how the historical background affects their choice of resistance strategy using different literary theories. The wes are willing to hear feedback and ideas. If in the future there is research that can complement the results of this research, the researcher will be delighted to accept it.

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