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April 14, 1994
Professor George Gerbner
Annenberg School of Communications
3600 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19146

Dear George,

Since applying unsuccessfully to the N. E. H. and Guggenheim, I have taken the opportunity to do some more work on my research program. This is set forth briefly in the enclosed proposal to the U.S. Institute for Peace: **"Integrative Nonviolence: A Transcultural Paradigm."**


In it, I develop some new hypotheses on nonviolent action principles, their legacy and their international applicability. I also deal directly with various needs for properly equipped and monitored force to defend human rights. And since I shall be using your work on the cultural environment, I hope you keep me in touch with your current thinking and writing. I hear from Larry that you may have had funding difficulties.

May I impose on you once again? I have to get this proposal, together with sealed envelopes from reviewers, to the Institute before the end of May. Could you prepare a statement, put it in a sealed envelope and then send it back to me in the self-addressed envelope in time for me to **get it by Monday, May 16?**

The Peace Institute's "instruction" are also enclosed.

With all the weighty matters on your desk and mind, I feel rather guilty in asking you once again for such an effort. If you are simply too busy, just let me know

With warm regards, as ever,


Kusum Singh

Enclosures:

The Peace Institute "Instructions for Letters of Reference"
My new proposal "Integrative Nonviolence: A Transcultural Paradigm"
Singh "Application for Visiting Fellow Award"

(Copy and give to three reference persons.)

INSTRUCTIONS FOR LETTERS OF REFERENCE

FOR

FELLOWSHIP AWARD

United States Institute of Peace

Dear Reviewer:

_____ (name of candidate) is applying for a fellowship award from the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace at the United States Institute of Peace. The purpose of this Program is to provide fellowships and other support to scholars and practitioners from the United States and abroad to enable them to pursue research, education, and communication activities on important issues of international peace and conflict management. The United States Institute of Peace is an independent federal institution created and funded by the U.S. Congress to promote international peace. The Institute is nonpartisan and takes no policymaking or other direct role in international disputes.

The applicant is forwarding this letter to you for an evaluation of his or her candidacy and is providing you with a copy of the completed application, including a description of the proposed fellowship project. We would appreciate your views of both the applicant and the proposed project.

Please indicate how long and in what context you have known the candidate. We would appreciate your opinion of the applicant's intellectual ability, professional accomplishments and experience, ability to accomplish the proposed project within the time period proposed, and the likelihood that the applicant would be a significant contributor to the Institute as a stimulating center for learning, dissemination of knowledge, and exchange of ideas. We are concerned not only with the individual's intellectual depth and maturity but also with those personal qualities and talents that lend themselves to public and professional leadership, effective communication, and interaction with policymakers and the public.

Concerning the proposed fellowship project, we would appreciate your views on its potential for making an important contribution to advancing the nation's and the world's understanding of peace and conflict issues, its possible significance beyond its immediate field and focus, and the soundness and feasibility of the approach the applicant proposes to take in the project.

Competition for the awards will be very keen, so we would be grateful for as full and candid an appraisal as you can provide. Reference letters will be more useful to the extent that they address both strengths and shortcomings.

The independent advisory review committee, the president and staff, and the board of directors of the Institute will be most grateful for your help.

Sincerely,

The Jennings Randolph Program
for International Peace

P.S. To be included in the competition, all materials must be received at the U.S. Institute of Peace in Washington, D.C., by May 31, 1994. Please give the applicant your letter in a sealed envelope with your signature across the seal in sufficient time to meet this deadline.

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Proposal to U. S. Institute of Peace April 13, 1994

INTEGRATIVE NONVIOLENCE: A TRANSCULTURAL PARADIGM

1. Subject and Significance.

Does Gandhi-style nonviolence suggest any potentials for helping achieve a more peaceful world?

In a world shaken by international and domestic violence, this question is rarely discussed. There is no obvious connection between current efforts to limit violence and the historic achievements of well-known nonviolent leaders. More research on this question could help fulfill the mandate of the U. S. Institute of Peace.

The major objective of my research has been to address three basic questions:

1. What have been the guiding principles used by Mohandas Gandhi and other nonviolent practitioners in combatting violence?
2. To what extent have such principles been followed?
3. To what extent are they being applied internationally?

The originality of this project is the presentation of a paradigm of "integrative nonviolence" that people can adapt to specific situations in different cultures and countries. I derive lessons from nonviolent successes and failures within a few countries (particularly India and the United States) and in the international arena.

In developing this preliminary paradigm, I am building on the writings and practice of a few leaders who have made major contributions to the practice of nonviolence (particularly Mohandas Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Bunche, Lech Walesa, Corazon Aquino, Andrei Sakharov and Vaclav Havel) and the pioneering studies on nonviolence by many authors, including David G. Barrow, Joan Bondurant, Taylor Branch, Judith Brown, Dennis Dalton and Gene Sharp. I use the work of Sissela Bok on ethics and peace strategy, James Macgregor Burns on transformational leadership, Mihaly

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Csikszentmihalyi on spirituality, Riane Eisler on male-female partnerships, George Gerbner on the cultural environment, Max Kampelman on negotiation, Charles Henry and Betty Reardon on education for human rights, Peter Juviler on human rights in the former Soviet Union, and J. Ann Tickner on gender in international relations. I also use the work of Indian authors rarely read outside of their own country and many women authors neglected everywhere.

With their help I make some important distinctions. Carefully planned activism is the essence of any Gandhian style of nonviolence. This must be sharply distinguished from non-resistance or passive resistance to tyranny or war. Nor need nonviolence be a form of absolute pacifism. While misused or uncontrolled force leads to untold evils, some use of monitored, well-trained and properly equipped physical force will always be an essential element in preventing or combatting evil--and even in protecting nonviolent activists. I also distinguish between two modes of nonviolence:

(a) non-violent protest, such as demonstrations, marches, sit-ins, denunciations, boycotts, other economic sanctions, civil disobedience, etc., and

(b) the fundamental processes of constitutional democracy, usually not labelled "nonviolent," such as speaking out, organizing, negotiating, voting, mediating, arbitrating, litigating, and legislating.

Interpreted this way, the world's rich legacy of nonviolence demands renewed attention to nonviolent activism's connection with basic human values, leadership, communication, education and institution building.

2. Project Activity.

My basic activity at the Institute will be to weave together historical analysis with a wide-ranging literature review. Equally important, I shall be drawing heavily on close to 200 interviews that I have already conducted on nonviolence and violence with people from various walks of life in India (some in Hindi), the United States, and the former Czechoslovakia (where leaders of the Charter 77 movement called themselves "Euro-Gandhians"), and a

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few in Japan. Most of these in-depth interviews have already been taped and transcribed but not fully analyzed. The general ideas will be linked to such concrete cases as the Gandhi-led campaign for India's liberation from the British empire, recent human rights movements in India, and the civil rights, women's rights and environmental rights movements in the United States. This kind of synthesis will draw on the perspectives of Gandhian studies, peace studies, communication studies, women's studies, political science and history.

3. Hypotheses, Methods and Schedule of Completion

In response to each of the three questions mentioned earlier, I have already formulated some hypotheses that, with further work, can become a paradigm specific enough to be disproved, significant enough to be improved and flexible enough to be adapted to different countries, cultures and conflicts.

Nonviolent Action Principles

In response to question about guiding principles of Gandhian nonviolence, I have formulated the hypothesis that each mode---nonviolent protest and use of constitutional democracy--is most successful **when linked with each other, rather than used separately, and when the alternative is some form of threatened or actual violence.**

There are also some other elements in most nonviolent victories. First, successful nonviolent leaders usually educate others through personal examples of courageous commitment to basic human rights and values, including the power of truth and love (Gandhi's satyagraha). Success also comes when many "ordinary" people become leaders who develop the kind of democratic or transformational charisma (in contrast with Weberian models) that encourages personal initiative rather than over-dependence on an all powerful father figure. Such leaders often invent new methods of communication (including ceremonies or rituals), particularly when access to

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the mass media at home is denied or difficult. Another critical element is initiative by women who are able to overcome centuries of the male domination that denies female potentialities as leaders their potentialities and, as Gandhi often asserted, inhibits the flowering of men's nurturing capacities.

The Legacy of These Principles

My answer to the question on the legacy of Gandhian principles evokes a confusing picture. First of all, the basic elements of successful nonviolence have occasionally been brilliantly adapted to unique circumstances. Thus, decades ago in India, nonviolent activists won what had long been deemed impossible: liberation from the British empire. Other colonies followed suit. With the collapse of the Berlin wall, the Solidarity victories in Poland, the Charter 77 success in Czechoslovakia, and the breakup of the Soviet Union, the "impossible" happened again. In Greece, Spain, Portugal, the Philippines, Argentina, Chile and Brazil authoritarian regimes that could have easily massacred violent revolutionaries were displaced by nonviolent activism.

Second, the widespread euphoria created by these bloodless achievements has often been followed by new horrors. Communal violence in India, the assassinations of Gandhi and King, civil war in many parts of the former Soviet Union, and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia are grim reminders of the many roots of violence in the human condition.

Third, elements of the basic nonviolent legacy are sporadically revived in India, the United States and many other countries. Throughout the world, unsung heroines and heroes have been winning partial but significant nonviolent victories against racism, sexism, homophobia, and pollution.

Finally, Gandhian principles often regarded as irrelevant or utopian. Many people are emotionally attracted to violence, particularly when it is clothed in the rhetoric of retribution, revolution, extremist nationalism, religious extremism, machismo or homophobia. They are even capable of justifying violence as a "last resort" despite their inability or failure to

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explore all possible nonviolent alternatives. And some, particularly among self-proclaimed "Gandhians," see Gandhian principles as moral absolutes that rule out the role of local, national or transnational peace forces required to prevent or control violence and protect the practitioners of nonviolence.

International Application

How are Gandhian principles applicable in international affairs? Here my findings are that

--those concerned with nonviolence, feminism and human rights have understandingly been reluctant to recognize the need for the trained, credible and well-monitored physical force (local, national or transnational) required for civil society at home and international peacekeeping and peacemaking.

--the heritage of the cold war and of past imperial conquest serves to block the slow development of nonviolent activities through the United Nations, regional blocs and multinational corporations.

--a transcultural paradigm, even if in suggestive rather than fully developed form, may be helpful to those involved in programs for education and training on nonviolence and human rights for all people at work, rest or play, in homes, schools, neighborhoods, factories, farms and offices of any type or scale.

3. Work Plan for February-May, or September-December, 1995.

I shall do considerable advance work before coming to the Institute. In preparation I plan to visit the Martin Luther King, Jr. and Carter Centers (Atlanta) and revisit the Albert Einstein Institution (Cambridge) and the Center for Creative Nonviolence and the Gandhi Memorial Center (both in Washington, DC.). I also plan to do some further in depth interviews with negotiators like Ambassador Max Kampelman, who has very specifically stated Gandhi's position as believing in "the necessity on occasion to use military means as a way of obtaining goals that reflect human values." I am already

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initiating wide-ranging discussions and correspondence with persons at various institutions dealing with both nonviolent protest and nonviolent democracy.

Accordingly, I shall be able to come to the Institute with a detailed outline and partial text for a book entitled INTEGRATIVE NONVIOLENCE: A Transcultural Paradigm. During the first month of my stay at the Institute I hope to review my approach with Institute staff and conduct an informal seminar with other fellows in residence. During the rest of the period I plan to review drafts of various chapters. Bertram Gross, a retired distinguished professor who has published widely on constitutional democracy, power and human rights, will help in this work.

4. Budget.

Salary: To compensate me for unpaid leave from Saint Mary's College of California for one semester--either Spring 1995 (February-May) or Fall 1995 (September-December). Since my 1994-95 annual salary is \$65,000, the cost would be about \$28,000. It may be presumed that Saint Mary's College will continue my health benefits through Kaiser Permanente while my husband and I are residing in Washington, D.C.

Transportation: To and from Washington for myself and husband, Bertram Gross.

5. Products.

The immediate product will be a completed draft of INTEGRATIVE NONVIOLENCE: A Transcultural Paradigm, suitable for presentation to potential publishers. The manuscript will deal with the roots of violence in human life, the enormous successes of nonviolence, the changing sources of many failures and the conditions for greater progress in nonviolent conflict management. For the last few years I have been exploring this theme in my teaching (for example, the most recently on "Nonviolence in Defense of Human Rights and Responsibilities"), and also presenting papers at various conferences on this topic. The last chapter of my book plans to focus sharply on various approaches to education on how nonviolence can help people handle domestic,

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ethnic and international conflicts peacefully. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights preamble urges that "every individual and every organ of society . . . shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms." Such programs can be designed for all people and for specific groups including police, armed forces, government officials, politicians, lawyers and other professionals. They are needed in the home, at work, in religious institutions, and in public and private teaching-learning efforts from kindergarten through primary, secondary, tertiary, post-graduate and adult schooling. This transdisciplinary effort could help stimulate research and action toward cultivating a culture of nonviolence in defense of human rights and responsibilities.

6. References

Professor George Gerbner (Dean Emeritus), The Annenberg School of Communications,
University of Pennsylvania, 3620 Walnut St., Phila., Pa 19104-6220

Professor Peter Juviler, Political Science, Barnard College, Columbia University,
3009 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10027

Professor Charles Henry, African-American Studies, University of California at
Berkeley, Berkeley. CA 94720.

Applicant Information

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Have you ever applied to the United States Institute of Peace for a grant or fellowship or participated in any Institute-sponsored activities? If so, explain and indicate date.
 None

If English is not your native language, specify your degree of fluency in English, indicating *excellent, good, fair, or poor*:

<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Excellent</u>
Reading	Speaking	Writing

In what language(s) relevant to your project are you proficient? Hindi, Rajasthani, Urdu,
Punjabi

How did you learn about the Jennings Randolph Program? Grant information listing Institute flyer
 Story or advertisement in _____ Other: _____

Certifications: This sheet must be signed and dated by the applicant. Various U.S. government statutes provide civil and criminal penalties for attempting to obtain public funds by fraud or deception, and the Institute will act to prevent waste, fraud, or abuse in connection with its fellowship program and other activities.

- (1) *Accuracy:* The statements made in this application are true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.
- (2) *Nondelinquency:* I certify that I am not delinquent in repaying any federal debt.
- (3) *Drug-Free Workplace:* I certify that I will not engage in the unlawful manufacture, distribution, dispensation, possession, or use of a controlled substance in conducting any fellowship activity.

Kusum Singh 120-62-4198 April 13, 1994
 Signature of Applicant Social Security Number Date