

## KUSUM SINGH PROPOSAL FOR FULBRIGHT RESEARCH IN INDIA

July 1997

Proposal for Fulbright award for field research in India (February--April 30, 1999) to help complete book, *INTEGRATIVE NONVIOLENCE: A TRANSCULTURAL PARADIGM*

### Subject and Significance.

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

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 combating 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., Andrei Sakharov, Vaclav Havel and Nelson Mandela) 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 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 combating evil--and even in protecting nonviolent activists. I also distinguish between two modes of nonviolence:

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

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

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.

### Teaching and Professional Relevance.

During a sabbatical leave in 1989-1990, I did the bulk of the research for my book on Gandhian ideas on nonviolence and democratic communication that might be still relevant in India and the United States, and whether or not India's experience offers any lessons for the world at large. The historical analysis that I had already done provided the context for studying the broader patterns of nonviolent struggles in India and the United States. This allowed

## KUSUM SINGH PROPOSAL FULBRIGHT RESEARCH IN INDIA 2

me to do some preliminary interviews with people involved in using India's judicial system. I observed young men and women lawyers at the conference opening new vistas for nonviolent activism.

Furthermore, my interviews with some of the scholars at the Gandhi Peace Foundation and the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in Delhi, reflected some of the contradictions inherent in Gandhian philosophy. In the United States, at the Einstein Institute for the study of Nonviolence (Boston, February 1990), I noticed similar paradoxes at the conference. While there was much discussion of "nonviolent strategies," such vital nonviolent actions as voting, lobbying, and education were strangely excluded. At earlier meetings of the International Communication Association and International Association of Mass Communication Research, I found researchers increasingly eager to move away from narrow specialization and vigorously encouraging me in my project.

A summary of some of my tentative findings (and current views) on nonviolent handling of ethnic conflicts were presented at the "Political and Nationality Rights" conference in Moscow (June 18-22, 1990) under the joint auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies and the former USSR Academy of Sciences and at a scholarly meeting at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands. This material was also used in my classes on International Communication, Ethics in Human Communication, Communication Theory and January Term class on "Nonviolence in Defense of Human Rights."

Pursuing this matter further as a Fulbright scholar in India (and Prague) September through December 1991, I found that some interviewees were talking of realistic alternatives to an armed struggle rarely using the label "nonviolent." Other trips to other countries broadened my focus to include all forms of nonviolence that are uniquely relevant in the post-cold war era. The influence of Saint Mary's commitment to the liberal arts and the Great Books Seminar program is evident on many of the ideas expressed in the manuscript. Professor George Gerbner, former Dean of the Annenberg School of Communication, University of Pennsylvania, Professor Robert White, former editor of the *Communication and Human Values* series of Sage publications, and Dr. Michael Traber, former director of publications at the *World Association for Christian Communication*, have made some very constructive suggestions on the earlier drafts to help sharpen the focus of my study and continue to remind me that my book is long overdue.

### Contributions resulting from the previous grant

My research indicates that mostly what has been written or spoken about nonviolence has been over-simplified, misunderstood or ignored. Nonviolence is often regarded as a subject discussed by marginal people who do not understand the realities of politics and power. Yet my work reflects that in many parts of the world, so-called "marginal people" have been changing the world. Gandhi's remark that recorded history was a story of "every interruption of the working of the force of love" suggests that most people have been nonviolent for most of their lives.

My major effort has been to make Gandhian nonviolence "a common standard for achievement for all peoples and for all nations." Since I started work on this book, **the world has changed**. The most obvious changes are the end of the cold war, the dissolution of the USSR, the acceleration of the "information superhighways" that might (despite good intentions) become new threats to peace. The questions that my research raises cannot be approached very effectively within the confines of any single discipline. Gandhi's messages (as concretized in his changing life styles) transcends all disciplinary boundaries. They deal with many of the most fundamental economic, political, philosophical, spiritual and religious aspects of the human race. Their analysis requires a rigorous combination of in-depth interviewing with model-building, historical research, content analysis, and semantics.

## KUSUM SINGH PROPOSAL FULBRIGHT RESEARCH IN INDIA 3

I have been drawing heavily on close to 200 interviews that I have already conducted with policy-makers, journalists, lawyers and scholars as well as 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"). Also, some riveting interviews and discussions took place in Japan, Russia, (former) Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands and Brazil. Most of these in-depth interviews have already been taped and transcribed but not yet fully analyzed. Edited versions of some of the interviews and other material has been used at Saint Mary College's intensive January courses on nonviolence and in my courses on "communication Theory," "International Communication," "Ethics in Communication" and "Senior Research Projects." The general ideas have been linked to such concrete cases as the Gandhi-led campaign for India's liberation from the British empire, and the various movements in the United States on behalf of civil rights, women's rights, environmental rights and the imposition of sanctions against *apartheid* in South Africa. My presentation at various international conferences, lectures at schools and university campuses reflect my attempt toward a kind of synthesis that draws on the perspectives of Gandhian studies, peace studies, communication studies, women's studies, and history.

In March 1996, I chaired a panel, "Global Village or Global Dominion? Cultural Integrity and Human Rights," at the founding session of the Cultural Environment Movement in St. Louis.

I was in India again in May, 1996, attending a national workshop on nonviolent activism in Bombay. I also had yet another lengthy meeting with Mr. Tejeshwar, editor of the Sage Publications in Delhi. He is keenly interested in a book on Gandhi as the greatest communicator on nonviolence since my visit to India in 1991 as a Fulbright scholar. Mr. Tejeshwar constantly advises me to "put everything aside and complete the book." One of the major hindrances in making a substantial progress in moving ahead with this project has been Saint Mary's admiral commitment to teaching effectiveness over scholarly research. The College is now increasingly becoming aware that effectiveness as a teacher can be greatly enhanced by an ongoing commitment to scholarly research. However, during the normal academic year, advising and department/committee responsibilities make it extremely difficult to pursue any serious research activity.

I had the opportunity make some headway and get feedback from my colleagues on my ongoing research in Sydney (August, 1996). I presented a paper, "Sacred Nonviolence: Civilization Instead of Barbarism?" and chaired a panel on "Global Communication and International Community: Current Research on International Communication." During all these meetings, I continued conducting personal history interviews with some of the participants on how Gandhi's legacy is curiously present and non-present in American and Indian cultural traditions today.

### **Professional Development.**

In response to each of the three questions stated 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.

## KUSUM SINGH PROPOSAL FULBRIGHT RESEARCH IN INDIA 4

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 the mass media at home is difficult. Another critical element is initiative by women who are able to overcome centuries of the male domination that denies female potentialities for leadership 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, the breakup of the Soviet Union and the abolition of *apartheid* in South Africa, the "impossible" happened again. In Greece, Spain, Portugal, the Philippines, Argentina, Chile and Brazil authoritarian regimes that could have easily massacred violent revolutionaries were formally displaced by nonviolent activism.

### **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.

### **Work Plan for February-April, 1999**

I shall do considerable advance work during my sabbatical leave for Fall 1998. 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 initiating wide-ranging discussions and correspondence with persons at various institutions dealing with both nonviolent protest and nonviolent democracy.

I shall also visit India during my sabbatical leave. I plan to contact some of the key people I interviewed earlier. I hope to complete my field work and begin work on writing before coming to India on Fulbright fellowship. I have been in correspondence with Dr. Leela Rao, Academic Director, who has

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assured me of all assistance while I am a resident scholar at the Manipal Academy. During the first month of my stay I hope to review my approach with scholars in India and conduct an informal seminar with other faculty members at the host institution. During the rest of the period I plan to review drafts of various chapters of my book entitled *INTEGRATIVE NONVIOLENCE: A Transcultural Paradigm*. For most of these chapters I already have detailed notes, outlines and some partial drafts.

### **Disseminating the results of research.**

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 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, 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.

### **Lecture topics. (Sample)**

"Sacred Nonviolence: Civilization Instead of Barbarism?"

"Global Communication and International Community: Current Research on International Harmony"

"Gandhi's Oceanic Circle Communication: Transcending the Mass Media"

(Published)

"Elitist vs. Democratic Communication: Ronald Reagan and Mohandas Gandhi"

(Published)

### **Title of courses (sample).**

Image and Charisma

Greek Thought

Community Communication

Face to Face with India

Ethics in Communication

International Communication

## KUSUM SINGH APPLICATION FOR LECTURING AWARD IN INDIA 2001-2002

### Project Statement

Communications with members of the Manipal Institute of Communication in South India revealed they would like to have someone augment their course offerings for graduate students with courses in Communication Theory, International Communication and Ethics in Human Communication. Since these are courses I have been teaching successfully for the last 20 years I propose to teach some of these courses and conduct a seminar on **Mohandas Gandhi's nonviolent communication and leadership.**

#### *Why I choose India- What I can contribute to the Manipal Institute.*

I choose Manipal because I enjoyed a ten day visit there in 1998. It was during my sabbatical leave from Saint Mary's College of California when the Director of the Manipal Institute invited me to give a few lectures and advise students about their prospect of coming to the United States for doctoral studies. This was my first visit to the beautiful university town along the Malabar coast with its rich cosmopolitan environment with over 1200 foreign students from as many as 25 countries. The Manipal Institute of Communication (MIC) is a recent addition to the professional colleges that were granted university status because of their excellent academic reputation. It was founded in response to the growing demand for trained media professionals in India.

The brief exposure I had to the students, faculty and culture of South India in my 1998 visit, left me with the feeling that this was a place I wanted to come back to, with people to whom I could relate in an intellectual environment that I could benefit from. The Institute of Manipal is an appropriate host institution for me for several reasons. They have a young professional faculty offering continuing education facility to media professionals through short-term workshops and courses. From my communication with the director, I found the Institute would like to have someone who could augment the course offerings for their graduate students with courses in communication theory and intercultural/international communication. Additionally, the Institute has active programs facilitating basic and applied research towards widening the frontiers of communication and media studies. I have been monitoring senior research projects at Saint Mary's for the last 18 years. Advising Manipal students on their research projects will help me understand the recent developments in the field of communication in India.

**Professionally,** I hope to gain increased knowledge of the socio-cultural and political context of a developing country which will enable me to chalk out a full course on cross-cultural communication for my home institution. Also I expect to be exposed to some new teaching styles and techniques, some of which might prove useful in my classes at SMC. I feel the need to expand beyond the limits of my "home" discipline (Communication) and to follow through on contacts made with individuals conducting similar work throughout the world. The lecturing award permits both an opportunity to expand my professional development and to make valuable contacts with individuals in India. Personally, I expect to develop a better knowledge of changing cultural attributes of the largest democracy in the world and make new friends.

***Teaching/Curriculum***

At Saint Mary's College since 1982, I have taught a wide range of upper division courses in international communication, communication theory, ethics and leadership as well as monitored senior research projects and independent study projects. My courses are designed to encourage and challenge students to discover the new and question the old. Just as importantly, I encourage students to integrate both old and new knowledge into patterns, or theories, that can be tested and continually revised. The best way to engage students is to give them the central role in the classroom. To engage everyone, I often divide classes into small groups to consider some critical issues and to work on group projects. I find discussion style of teaching very effective although sometimes a brief lecture may be necessary. Saint Mary College has small classes, very similar to the Manipal Institute of Communication. I believe the professor must be well prepared and knowledgeable to facilitate and coordinate the learning of his/her students. But the professor cannot teach a course without the contributions of unique insights, perceptions and experiences from each student. Consequently, my courses are designed to be interactive with ample discussion of questions about, and applications of, facts and concepts integral to the subject of the course.

When I came to Saint Mary's College, the Communication Department was in its early phase of development. I was the only tenure-track faculty member. This necessitated my involvement with curriculum planning and in the selection process of hiring faculty as the chair of the search committee. We have grown into a strong department with five tenured faculty and three full time instructors. Communication now attracts the largest number of majors in the college. I also served as a senator of the Academic Senate which involved some larger administrative responsibilities.

***Research interests and relationship between previous Fulbright experience and the current endeavor.***

As a Fulbright scholar in 1991 and then on sabbatical in 1998 I did the bulk of the research for my book entitled, ***Gandhi's Moving Target in Search of the Common Good***. During that period I conducted over 200 in-depth interviews (some in Hindi) with policy-makers, journalists, lawyers and scholars as well as with people from various walks of life in India and in the former Czechoslovakia (where leaders of the Charter 77 movement called themselves "Euro-Gandhians") (please see publications). Most of these interviews have been transcribed but not yet fully analyzed. Being in India will help me update much of the research done earlier and use the material in my classes on communication, particularly in January Term classes that allow flexibility of topics such as "Nonviolence in Defense of Human Rights," or "Two Faces of Charisma," "Face to Face with India," or "Transcending Bigotry and Racism." Summaries of some of my tentative findings on nonviolent handling of ethnic conflicts have been presented in international conferences.

***Adapting course offerings for Manipal Institute***

MIC's two year post-graduate program (M.S. Communication) consists of four semesters, with each semester spread over 16 weeks. Since I plan to be there just for one semester (December 2001-March 2002), adjusting the course content should not be difficult. I anticipate English comprehension and writing will present no serious problem in adapting my courses to the situations in Manipal. I lectured in English when I was there last time and

students asked questions in fluent English. Student projects were well written and well researched. I understand that discussion combined with brief lectures is commonly a part of the pedagogy of education in India. Depending on the director and the faculty, I expect to teach a course on Communication theories and International Communication (see sample course syllabi). No matter what course I am asked to teach, I will make sure that I purchase four or five copies of the readings and texts I use and mail them to Manipal ahead of my departure so they can be available for students to check out at the library when courses begin. There will be adequate time for planning these details before a departure for India.

In my discussions with the director, she noted that my lecture on the legacy of Mohandas Gandhi was very well received by the audience in Manipal. She would like me to conduct a seminar on Gandhi's nonviolent leadership. This would provide me with an ideal opportunity to invite scholars throughout India who research and write on Gandhi and other related issues. I myself plan to lecture and lead discussions on my most recent published work entitled, "Gandhian Challenge to the 21st Century." I have been told that office space, office help, etc. will be provided.

I have traveled and lectured under a variety of conditions that required great flexibility, and dealt with many surprises successfully in the past so I am confident with the guidance of Manipal colleagues I should be able to make adjustments necessitated by customs or values at the Institute.

Obviously the details will have to be worked out with the director and other faculty members at Manipal. I am very much looking forward to going to India and am open to using my teaching skills as my host institution feels would be of most benefit to them.

***Opportunities the experience will provide for my teaching upon my return.***

Since I hope to conduct a seminar in Manipal on the **relevance of Gandhi's nonviolence in the 21st century**, I will improve my knowledge and teaching of nonviolence in general and nonviolence in India in particular. I will attempt to develop a paradigm of "integrative nonviolence" that people can adapt to specific situations in different cultures and countries. Lessons will be derived from nonviolent successes and failures within a few countries (particularly India and the United States) and in the international arena. The readings in the syllabus will be based on some of 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., Andrei Sakharov, Vaclav Havel and Nelson Mandela) 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 will use the work of Sissela Bok on ethics and peace strategy, James Macgregor Burns on transformational leadership, Mihaly 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 would also search for Indian authors rarely read outside of their own country. In this seminar we would also attempt to distinguish between two modes of nonviolence:

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

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

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

My department and the Sociology/Anthropology department are in the process of inviting Indian scholars as visiting professor to SMC. Recently the Faculty Senate passed the Curriculum Committee Report calling for "Internationalizing the Curriculum." A major recommendation is "That courses in international and multi-cultural studies be added to graduation requirements." It requires that all students take one course whose content significantly reflects a non-Western culture for graduation. Consequently, the exposure I would get to teaching within a broader cultural context would make me more sensitive to non-Western traditions and styles which is vital in terms of the American economy and our domestic society. In addition, on return from any sabbatical, SMC professors give campus wide presentations of the experiences they have had, things they learned, and research they accomplished. These seminars will enable me to enlighten the faculty and students at SMC about Indian culture, higher education, and natural attributes of the Indian people. Since our college has been attracting progressively more students of South Asian ancestry a better understanding of this part of the world should benefit the whole college community. I am one of the faculty who serve as advisors for international students majoring in communication. Having a better understanding of the social and political history of India should improve my effectiveness as an advisor to students from South Asia. This would be particularly beneficial to students majoring in International Area studies at SMC and MIC. Also, my presentations at international conferences, lectures at schools and university campuses will help me build a kind of synthesis that draws on the perspectives of Gandhian studies, peace studies, communication studies, women's studies, and history. The questions that I would like to address cannot be approached very effectively within the confines of any single discipline.

Teaching in different international settings can be very stimulating and helpful to produce active, well-informed citizens with a sense of public responsibility. The intellectual environment at SMC and MIC will help provide me with an ideal opportunity to develop an aspect of nonviolence that has not been fully recognized in the literature: namely, its "sacred" or "holy" nature.

Thank you for your consideration.



SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE OF CALIFORNIA

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Fulbright Senior Scholar Program  
Council for International Education  
of Scholars

~~3515 Santa Fe~~ SM

Communications

With RC

2008-3009 To:

Kenyon

Professor George Gerbner

Fax 215-387-1560

From: Kusum Singh

Tel 510 376 3126

Fax 510-376 8126

Date: July 16, 1997

Re: Recommendation letter to Fulbright by Aug. 1 '97

I have already sent the proposal to you (home address) on July 12, '97. I will deeply appreciate if you could respond to Fulbright by Aug. 1<sup>st</sup>, which is their deadline.

With my warm regards,

Kusum



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OF CALIFORNIA

Moraga, California 94575 • 510-631-4600 • FAX 510 631-0938

School of Liberal Arts

July 23, 1997

Applicant: Kusum Singh, Professor of Communications  
Country applied for: India

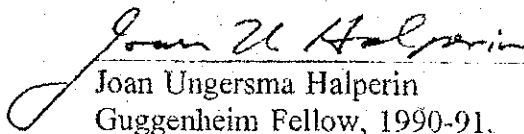
I have known Dr. Singh since 1982, when she joined the faculty at Saint Mary's College, and I recommend her most highly for a Fulbright Research Fellowship in India.

She is a thorough researcher and, in spite of a heavy teaching load at Saint Mary's College, she maintains a very active schedule, participating in conferences and workshops both abroad and in the United States. As the topic of her current project and her numerous publications reveal, Dr. Singh has a profound and broad knowledge of critical issues in the field of communication, the politics of nonviolence, mass movements and charismatic leaders, and the role of women in contemporary society. She is able to relate important issues from different disciplines, and the excitement of breaking new ground is communicated to her students. Dr. Singh's enthusiasm and intellectual curiosity make her one of the most effective and beloved teachers at the College.

Professor Singh is an outstanding colleague, always interested in the work of others, willing to cooperate and to compromise, when necessary, without ever losing her attachment to high values and to the good of the whole. Her professional experience in three countries and her intimate knowledge of different cultures make her an ideal candidate for a research project on Gandhi's non-violent liberation movement and its heritage in contemporary society. She has great emotional strength, courage, and a good sense of humor, all elements that will help her carry out her project. She is perfectly capable of dealing with various sorts of frustrations, whether they have their origin in bureaucratic barriers or in students' lack of preparation or interest. Her smile alone can win people over, and she deeply cares.

The project is both carefully researched and timely. I look forward with great excitement to reading the book that Dr. Singh will publish on a new paradigm for integrating the principles of nonviolent protest with constitutional democracy. This work builds on research that she has already completed, and it is apparent to me that she will finish her project within the Fellowship year. It will have great significance to citizens of the host country, and will pertain as well to all nations interested in the path of peace and issues such as class or gender prejudice, violence, communality, mass media and the role of leaders.

I give her my highest recommendation.

  
Joan Ungersma Halperin  
Guggenheim Fellow, 1990-91.

Dear Fulbright Reviewers:

See Project Statement

I can think of no other young scholar better suited to being a Fulbright lecturer in African-American literature. Dr. Ware is a diligent scholar with an impressive knowledge of modern African-American writers. She is exactly the type of individual Fulbright is looking for, sensitive, bright, and enthusiastic.

As chair of her dissertation committee, I found her scholarship to be insightful and creative. Her new book on Myths and Norms in the Writing of Southern African Americans, a draft of which I have seen, will make a substantial contribution to the cultural underpinnings of African-American literature. I expect that it will receive wide acclaim and be oft-cited by scholars in the field.

subject differs

I have seen Dr. Ware at conferences and at guest lectures. She is a dynamic speaker, who truly engages her audience. Her ability to portray complex emotions and tensions within the author's writings in personal terms is impressive and never fails to sway her listeners.

I urge you to consider her seriously for a Fulbright grant.

Sincerely,



Sarah Martin, Ph.D.  
Department of English and  
American Literature  
University of South Carolina

Sample to help George!



SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE OF CALIFORNIA

Moraga, California 94575 • 510-631-4000

Communications

To: Professor George Hersner

Fax 215-387-1560

From: Kusum Singh

Fax 510-376-8126

Date: July 27, 1997

Re: Recommendation letter to Fulbright by Aug. 1<sup>st</sup> 1997

Hope you are well rested, and, more important that I am not causing you any serious inconvenience - I am well aware how busy you are - I can imagine your desk piled up with all kinds of urgent matters demanding your attention -

Probably, this might be my last attempt to complete this long overdue book - Please give my best to Kate Duncan -

With warm regards,  
Kusum

August 6, 1997

USIA Fulbright Senior Scholar Program  
Council for International Exchange of Scholars, Box References  
3007 Tilden Street NW, Suite 5M  
Washington DC 20008-3009

I am writing on behalf of Dr. Kusum Singh who was my dissertation advisee, student, and later professional colleague.

Dr. Singh is an exceptionally talented scholar and teacher. I published some of her work in books and journals I have edited. I read her proposal and find it significant and timely.

I have every confidence that Dr. Singh's work will make a unique and lasting contribution to knowledge and recommend her highly..

George Gerbner  
Bell Atlantic Professor of Telecommunication  
Temple University, Philadelphia



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1382 Camino Peral  
Moraga, CA 94556  
Phone: 510 376 3126 Kusum Singh, Ph.D.

Moraga, California 94575

Communications Department

510-631-4536

Sept. 2, '97

Dear George,

I went to my office today at SMC and heard all the messages you were sending me after you got back from England. I am terribly sorry for causing you so much trouble - I had no idea you would be calling me at the office - I was at the SMC off and on to collect my mail and other chores but failed to check my phone calls - Usually students call questioning their grades! Anyway, my deep apologies and thank you for helping me out again. <sup>Come to</sup> <sup>me</sup> send a copy of the latest recommended letter for any future emergencies!

With warm regards, Kusum



SAINT  
MARY'S  
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OF CALIFORNIA

May 30, 2000

Kusum Singh, Ph.D.

Moraga, California 94575

Communications Department

510-631-4536

Dear George, Forgive me for  
requesting for a response by  
June 15.

I need to have the  
confirmation from Fulbright  
that all the relevant material  
has been received before  
I leave for London.

I will enclose a  
prepaid priority mail envelope  
to expedite the process.

Truly grateful,  
Kusum



SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE  
of California

School of Liberal Arts

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Moraga, CA 94556  
510 376-3126  
FAX 510 376-8126

May 27, 2000  
Professor George Gerbner  
234 Golf View Road  
Ardmore, PA 19003

Dear George:

Larry Gross told me in Los Angeles (we had a brainstorming session at Antioch University on how to set up a critical media studies program! Oscar Gandy was there too) that you have a busy summer schedule but I forgot to ask him where you would be going and when.

I don't think it will come as a big surprise to you to know that I am at it again! This time it is for a **Fulbright Lecturing award** (not research award that I got in 1991). You will note from the information sheet sent by Fulbright that the deadline date for the recommendation letter to reach them is **August 1, 2000**. Since I will be in Europe for the whole month of July and since you will be away as well, I am hoping to get all the material to them by **June 30, 2000**.

I know this is an imposition on your busy schedule. But you have been a real source of support and encouragement and I am afraid there are not many people around, in fact none, who know much about or understand my work. The enclosed project statement will give you some idea what I will be doing in India. If you send me the recommendation letter in a sealed envelope with your signature on top, I will send it along with my application and other stuff to Fulbright by ~~the end of~~ June, 15<sup>th</sup>.

I know you have been writing these recommendation letters for me for the last 20 or more years. And with all the weighty matters on your desk and mind, I feel rather guilty in asking you once again for an effort. The enclosed samples of recommendation letters may help save you some time but not at the expense of your personal touch!

No matter how I try I will never be able to express my gratitude and appreciation for all you have done for me over these many years.

As ever,  
Kusum

Enclosures:

My "Project statement" for Fulbright Lecturing Award  
Samples of recommendation letters

Dec. 17, 2000

Dear George,

I want to thank you for writing a recommendation letter to the Fulbright. They have selected me but I have to wait for Indian govt's approval. If all goes well, I will be teaching in India next December!

I am leaving tomorrow to attend an international conference on Human Rights and Globalization organized by the Center we set in Bombay in Bert's memory. MacArthur Foundation is providing generous support.

What is up with CEM? My Comm. Theory

students did some very good projects on cultivation theory and CEM!

Any chance of your coming to the Bay area?

Wishing you a very Happy Hanukkah and New Year—

Kusum



SAINT  
MARY'S  
COLLEGE  
OF CALIFORNIA

Sept: 22, 1997

Kusum Singh, Ph.D.

Moraga, California 94575

Communications Department

510-631-4536

Res. 510-376-312

Dear George,

I hope you received my earlier letter of apology for miscommunication regarding a letter of recommendation to Fulbright.

I am requesting again for yet another such letter. As a SMC nominee, I am applying for a NEH summer stipend for two months. The enclosed proposal explains what I will be working on. Also enclosed is a reference letter form with a deadline of Oct. 1<sup>st</sup>.

I know you are busy but you are the only person who understands my work better than anyone I know. Thanks.  
My best,  
Kusum

**Reference Letter Form**  
**NEH FELLOWSHIPS AND SUMMER STIPENDS**

OMB No. 3136-0134

Expires: 7/31/97

- **Program:**  Fellowships for University Teachers - Deadline of May 1, 1997  
 Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars - Deadline of May 1, 1997  
 Summer Stipends - Deadline of October 1, 1997

■ **To Be Completed by the Applicant**

Name of *Applicant*: Dr. Kusum J. Singh

Employing Institution:

Saint Mary's College of CA

Project Title: Integrative

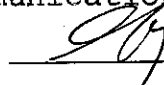
Nonviolence: A Transcultural Paradigm

■ **To Be Completed by the Referee**

Name of *Referee*: Professor George Gerbner

Department:

Employing Institution: Annenberg School  
of Communications

Signature: 

Date: Oct 12

■ **Referee's comments.** (See the back of this page for guidelines and additional writing space.)

I am writing on behalf of Dr. Kusum Singh who was my dissertation advisee, student, and later professional colleague.

Dr. Singh is an exceptionally talented scholar and teacher. I published some of her work in books and journals I have edited. I read her proposal and find it significant and timely.

I have every confidence that Dr. Singh's work will make a unique and lasting contribution to knowledge and recommend her highly..

George Gerbner  
Bell Atlantic Professor of Telecommunication  
Temple University, Philadelphia

## GUIDELINES FOR REFEREES

The person identified as "applicant" on the reverse of this sheet is seeking a Fellowship or Summer Stipend from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Endowment would appreciate receiving from you an assessment of the applicant and the proposed project. NEH Fellowships and Summer Stipends support projects of compelling quality and importance, and applicants must demonstrate that their projects will make significant contributions to the humanities. You should judge the application according to the following criteria:

1. the significance of the contribution that the proposed project will make to thought and knowledge in the field of the project and to the humanities generally;
2. the quality or the promise of quality of the applicant's work as an interpreter of the humanities;
3. the quality of the conception, definition, organization, and description of the proposed project; and

4. the likelihood that the applicant will complete the entire project.

If you prefer to use standard 8 1/2" by 11" paper rather than this form, please indicate clearly on each sheet the full name of the applicant and the program to which the application has been submitted, and sign the letter.

It is important to the applicant that your letter reach the Endowment as close as possible to the application deadline. The NEH Fellowships application deadline is May 1, 1997. The NEH Summer Stipends application deadline is October 1, 1997. Please send the letter directly to the

**NEH Fellowships and Summer Stipends  
Room 318  
National Endowment for the Humanities  
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20506**

The National Endowment for the Humanities will keep the identity of authors and the content of reference letters confidential to the extent permitted by law.

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■ Referee's comments (continued).

# KUSUM SINGH PROPOSAL FOR SUMMER STIPEND 1

September 22, 1997

Proposal for summer stipend (1998) to help complete book, *INTEGRATIVE NONVIOLENCE: A TRANSCULTURAL PARADIGM*

## Subject and Significance.

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

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 combating 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.

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., Andrei Sakharov, Vaclav Havel and Nelson Mandela, 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 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 incorporate the work of Indian authors rarely read outside of their own country and many women authors neglected everywhere.

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 combating evil--and even in protecting nonviolent activists. I also distinguish between two modes of nonviolence:

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

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

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.

## Contributions resulting from the previous sabbatical and Fulbright grant

During a sabbatical leave in 1989-1990, I did the bulk of the research in India on Gandhi's ideas and practice on nonviolence and democratic communication. My interviews with some of the scholars at the Gandhi Peace Foundation and the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in Delhi, reflected some of the contradictions inherent in Gandhian philosophy. In the United States, at the Einstein Institute for the study of Nonviolence (Boston, February 1990), I noticed similar paradoxes at the conference on "Comprehensive

## KUSUM SINGH PROPOSAL FOR NEH SUMMER STIPEND 2

Strategic Approach to Nonviolent Struggle." While there was much discussion of "nonviolent sanctions," such vital nonviolent actions as voting, lobbying, and education were strangely excluded.

A summary of some of my tentative findings (and current views) on nonviolent handling of ethnic conflicts were presented at the "Political and Nationality Rights" conference in Moscow (June 18-22, 1990) under the joint auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies and the former USSR Academy of Sciences and at a scholarly meeting at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands. This material was also used in my classes on International Communication, Ethics in Human Communication, Communication Theory and January Term class on "Nonviolence in Defense of Human Rights."

Pursuing this matter further as a Fulbright scholar in India (and Prague) September through December 1991, I found that some interviewees were talking of realistic alternatives to an armed struggle rarely using the label "nonviolent." Trips to other countries broadened my focus to include all forms of nonviolence that are uniquely relevant in the post-cold war era.

The questions that my research raises cannot be approached very effectively within the confines of any single discipline. Gandhi's messages (as concretized in his changing life styles) transcend all disciplinary boundaries. They deal with many of the most fundamental economic, political, philosophical, spiritual and religious aspects of the human race. Their analysis requires a rigorous combination of in-depth interviewing with model-building, historical research, content analysis, and semantics.

I have been drawing heavily on close to 200 interviews that I have already conducted with policy-makers, journalists, lawyers and scholars as well as 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"). Also, some riveting interviews and discussions took place in Japan, Russia, South Korea, the Netherlands and Brazil. Most of these in-depth interviews have already been taped and transcribed but not yet fully analyzed. The general ideas have been linked to such concrete cases as the Gandhi-led campaign for India's liberation from the British empire, and the various movements in the United States on behalf of civil rights, women's rights, environmental rights and the imposition of sanctions against apartheid in South Africa. My publications such as "Global Communication: Transcending the Mass Media," (*Administrative Theory & Praxis*, Vol. 16, Number 2, 1994) and "Mass Communicators For Peace: Another Way," (in Elise Boulding, et al., eds., *Peace Culture and Society: Transnational Research and Dialogue*. U.K.: Westview Press, 1991), reflect an attempt toward a kind of synthesis of Gandhian studies, peace studies, communication studies, women's studies, and history.

The manuscript deals 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.

My research indicates that mostly what has been written or spoken about nonviolence has been over-simplified, misunderstood or ignored. Nonviolence is often regarded as a subject discussed by marginal people who do not understand the realities of politics and power. Yet my work reflects that in many parts of the world, so-called "marginal people" have been changing the world. Gandhi's remark that recorded history was a story of "every interruption of the working of the force of love" suggests that most people have been nonviolent for most of their lives.

My major effort has been to make Gandhian nonviolence "a common standard for achievement for all peoples and for all nations." Since I started work on this book, **not only India but the world has changed**. The most obvious changes are the end of the cold war, the dissolution of the USSR, the acceleration of the "information superhighways" that might (despite good intentions) become new threats to peace.