



The dialectic Power and Terror against Democracy in Noam Chomsky's theory

جدل القوة والرعب ضد الديمقراطية في نظرية نعوم تشومسكي

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Abstract:

This article deals with democracy problematic in its relations with moral principles, in the political world nowadays. Therefore, the objective of this research is to analyse this important problem and critic all the practices of the world's great powers such as USA, based on the opinions and ideas of Noam Chomsky. We have to define democracy according to some philosophers mainly Chomsky. Then, we move to analyse and critic the non-democratic tools: power, hegemony and terror, used in foreign policy of US. After that, we focus on the most important political problem today: Americanizing the world related to real democracy, according to Chomsky's criticisms.

Key words: Power; Hegemony; Terror ;Non – Democratic ;Americanization of the world.

المخلص:

تعالج هذه الدراسة الاشكال الديمقراطي في علاقاته بالمبادئ الأخلاقية، في العالم السياسي راهنا. ومن خلال ذلك، علينا تحليل ذات الاشكال الهام ونقد كل الممارسات المقترفة من طرف القوى العظمى في العالم كالولايات المتحدة الامريكية، معتمدين في ذلك علأفكار واء نعوم تشومسكي. ومنه نحدد أولا مفهوم الديمقراطية عند مجموعة من الفلاسفة وخاصة تشومسكي. بعد ذلك، نعرض علستحليل ونقد الاليات اللاديمقراطية: القوة، الهيمنة والرعب المستخدم في السياسة الخارجية لامريكا. ثم نركز على اهم مشكل سياساليوم: امركة العالم في علاقته بالديمقراطية الحقيقية حسب نظرة وانتقادات نعوم تشومسكي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: القوة؛ الهيمنة؛ الرعب؛ اللاديمقراطية؛ امركة العالم.

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Introduction:

Nowadays the political – world discuss Democracy as the best way for both government and peoples, in order to live and find happiness via prosperity. However, that aim would be impossible in fact because there are some dangerous universal political – problems: Terrorism, wars, Nuclear Weapons, Economic profits , Ecological and Democracy Crisis...etc.

For this purpose, we must ask these questions: Is there really Democracy in the political world? What about Terror, hegemony and Power: Are they the Industry of the great states? What is Chomsky's views and arguments? So we have to analyze Chomsky's opinions and views which deal with democracy - problematic in its relations with moral principles such as human dignity , justice , freedom , peace , human rights and equality...etc. . We have also to critic the non – democratic tools used by USA and its allies; these critics are based on Chomsky's political philosophy, in order to clarify the most important political problems in the whole world today. We try to understand Chomsky's positions, his suggestions, his future views concerning these dangerous universal problems, which threaten the future of all humanity. For this purpose, we develop a methodology for this research represented in an introduction in which we try to put on the exact problematic. Then, we try to define the concept of democracy and clarify the paradox between democracy as a principle and as a practise in the political reality of peoples. After that , we go to define Chomsky's life and person , as a philosopher , a scholar of contemporary linguistics , and an American political activist against totalitarianism (Dictatorship) , imperialism , global terrorism , hegemony , wars , globalization ...etc. . Then, we moved on to analysing the undemocratic means in world politics, such as power, terror and hegemony, used especially by USA, against the rest of weak countries of the world. In addition, we try to analyse the US foreign policy from its political orientation, which is Americanizing all the world today by soft power or hard power. Finally, we try to finish on our principle aim, which is real democracy in the world, if it is a political dream (utopia). In conclusion, we have drawn some logical conclusions that we see consistent .Before trying to analyse and critic these questions, we just have a look on Chomsky's intellectual, philosophical and militant journey.

1. Who Is Noam Chomsky ?

He was born on December 7th 1928 in Philadelphia; Pennsylvania state (USA) .His father William Chomsky started his researches in medieval Hebrew. “According to New York Times of July 22nd 1977, he was one of the greatest Hebrew grammarians in the world “. (Barsky, R. 1998 , p 20).

Noam Chomsky is a linguistic professor, philosopher, interested to Logic, History, and Politics. He is the most important political critic in the current world mainly in modern Democracy – conflict. He was professor Emeritus in the department of linguistics and Philosophy at the Institute of Massachusetts (MIT) , where he has worked for fifty years .In addition to his linguistic research's , he interested to political world problems mainly in democracy – practice , so he wrote more than a hundred interesting books . According to the references list

in the Arts and Humanities, Chomsky was an author more than any living scholar was during the period from 1980 to 1992. He is eight for the most cited references ever in a list that includes the Bible, Karl Marx and others. Chomsky is a prominent cultural figure, as he is the most important intellectual in the world (in an opinion poll in 2005).

He integrated in Anarchy – Syndicalism, liberated – socialism and he was one of the major left – wing ideologue in American politics.

Chomsky criticizes also both of American Imperialism and Soviet imperialism: “one of the universe fact is that there are two superpowers, one of them is huge and its boots happen to be on your neck, and the other is a smaller power and its boots happen to be on the necks of others. I believe that anyone in the third world would be making a grave mistake if it succumbed to illusions about these matters “. (Chomsky, 1987, p 51).

By the way, Chomsky opposes Israel government, via USA support, and its treatment of the Palestinian people. He refuses the establishment of the state of Israel as a Jewish state: “I don’t think that establish a Jewish state or a Christian state or Islamic country is a good concept. I refused also if USA is a Christian state “. (Chomsky, 1999, p 594).

Therefore, Chomsky has a special view about Democracy – Conflict, between concept and praxis, and its relation with the other concepts: Power, Terror, Hegemony, Propaganda, Ideology, Peace and Human Rights.

2. Power, Hegemony and terror in the global political reality:

Chomsky declares that the universal principal today is the principal of Strength. Therefore, the appeal to legal obligations and moral principles is, legitimate, against some enemies: why? , he answers “... disguising our positions with a moral position derived from very general moral principles “. (Chomsky, 2004, p 259) .He spoke about three pillars of the post – world second war, which have collapsed the Bretton woods system and the International Charter. However, the third one, which is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, remain in the form of a letter to « Santa Cruz » as the leaders of the relativity campaign see. He confirms elsewhere that the order of dominance is fragile because it depends on subjugating citizens in one way or another, as the end justifies the means. Among the methods used in this regard, we find the following: “Communism, Crime, Drugs, Terrorism ... etc. The pretexts change but the policies remain largely the same “. (Chomsky, 2003, p 91).

For this purpose, we must ask this question: Is it possible to achieve a world without wars? Is it Utopia?

Answer: Chomsky answers through a lecture he gave at the second world social Forum and published by Z magazine on its website on May 29, 2002: “I think we are reassured enough. Either there will be a world free of wars, otherwise there will be no world at all “. (Chomsky, 2003, p 96).

Therefore, he gives us some reasons: Man has developed some of means, which destroys, himself and he has approached dangerously by using these means for fifty years. In addition, some of the world – leaders use to develop these dangerous means, which threaten extinction, but the same leaders carry out this with full awareness and there is even a race between them for the sake of destruction.

Chomsky’s thesis regarding a world free of wars follows the dangerous and destructive wars that USA has led previously and currently , such as its war on the Native Americans , Vietnam , Nicaragua , Japan , Iraq , Libya , Syria , Sudan , Afghanistan and in GAZA in Palestine nowadays , because the war on the Palestinians is waged by Israeli Terrorism

(Zionists) and supported by USA ...etc. . It is a thesis that carries its meaning a kind of utopia and impossibility.

Question: Is it possible to imagine a world free of wars?

Answer: We do not think that it would be possible, because war is the best opposite of Universal Peace. War is necessary in economic side which allows to the strong states in the whole world (G7) , to product more and more dangerous weapons , and sell some of them in the international markets especially to weak states . In the other side, war is a political strategic way to keep what we call: Global Balance by controlling the global political compass or, as Chomsky calls it, the new and renewed world order. In addition, war establishes the Universal dominance philosophy using power and enforces obedience and loyalty to the most powerful master of the world. Therefore, Uncle Sam problematizes the link between Moral and Democracy using Machiavelli's principle as the best pragmatic political approach .They develop this terrible plan for good reasons within the dominant framework of ideology and values, which make survivals on a lower level of hegemony on the scale of priorities. Rather, hegemony remains a desired goal for that control the world as John Pegler called them the new masters of the world (the master and the slave).

Chomsky expects that there will be dangerous world – wars in the near future, because it will be a global water crisis, Energy crisis and some other sources which are necessary for modern human life. There is another aim concerning these new wars which is imposing by force a new system, “It is an unnatural social institution that must often be imposed using violence, and this is considered as a strong reason why Europe entered into bloody wars colonising the rest of the world “. (Chomsky, 2003, p 97). In the same context, John Pegler confirms that: “three slogans in the novel dominate the society: war is peace, freedom is slavery and ignorance is strength .Nowadays, the slogan which is war against terrorism has another meaning: war is terrorism .The most powerful weapon in this war is the false information “. (Pegler .J, 2003, p 7).

The meaning of power does not focused on military side or political diplomat, but it can related to unlawful and unethical practises ,” The growth of drugs cartels in Guatemala has raised acute concern about the fate of the country's nascent democracy and the emergence of Guatemala as a major player in the international drug market. In addition, Honduras and Costa Rica, which are now used as a drug shipping route, have raised acute concern among American diplomats, as it will cause a bitter debate in Congress regarding help to this country, which has just emerged from international isolation after years of military rule”. (Chomsky, 2003, p96). There are also unidentified kidnappings, affecting human rights activists, genocides and duping bodies everywhere as a method of political violence aimed at political domination and imposing a certain model of democracy. In an interview with David Barsamian (1945 -) , Armenian – American radio broadcaster, and writer, concerning crime and dominance, he said “...Huge sectors of society are beginning to become superfluous in order to create wealth, which is considered the only human value. As a result, there is an increase in the crime rate, in addition to other signs of social disintegration “. (Chomsky, 1997, p166). Therefore, we can say that power is a new discourse politico / economic and intellectual / ideological discourse...

3. Americanizing or De – Americanizing the world:

Talking about America's greatness, its policies and its tragedies is a double discourse. America is the dream country, a country of freedom, democracy and human rights. In another side, USA

is the first leader in hegemony in the world by its military arsenal, foreign policy that approves aggressions, exploitation and Imperialism. This foreign policy is intolerable in terms of human relations according to moral principles: "Nations are like individuals who may be completely innocent in their own eyes, but they are intolerable in their human relations". (Niebuhr, 1952, p 42).

American thesis is some suggestions and questions about only America, which this nation presents it to itself and to the whole world at the same time. So, the adherence to the American principles as a form of religiosity, and its national myths that sometimes accompany it are the basis of American Nationalism, "In theory, anyone who accepts the American thesis can be American, regardless of language, culture and national origin, just as anyone can be a soviet if he accepts communism". (Frum.D, 1994, p 130). In addition, the American principles have universal and historical character because they are applicable to all societies in every time and place as said De Tocqueville: "Americans are unanimous in the general principles which should govern human society" (De Tocqueville, 1981, p 21).

The idea of Francis Fukuyama about the end of history and the last man, began indeed since 1980 and still be very strong in the American unconscious. Then, Hofstar Richard (1916 – 1970), confirmed that we are destined, as a nation, not to have ideologies, but rather to be an ideology. This thesis constitutes American soft power in the world and its role as a civilizational empire, "the American doctrine has deeply shaped the rules of conduct of US foreign policy in the past as well as in the present". (Hunt.HM, 1987, p 125). In this purpose, Alexis De Tocqueville identified the most essential elements of the American faith and American civil nationalism which are: "belief in freedom, the constitution, the law, democracy individualism, cultural and political equality. In fact, they have remained as they are throughout America's history". (De Tocqueville, 2000, p 544). We can confirm that the contents of the American doctrine are no longer limited to America only, but have spread outside the American borders. Citizens of other democracies, and the other majority of the world's population, now carry most of its beliefs, American democracy forms part of the underworld of western democratic countries, as American Capitalism, despite what is in it. However, Francis Fukuyama confirmed the exception of America (USA) in the world, he said "... it is possible to talk about a group of political ideas that constitute Americanism in a sense that can never be said about Britishism, or Frenchism, or Germanism, or Japaneism, because Americanism in this sense can be compared to other ideologies and religions. In the sense, that rejecting the political ideas of this doctrine makes you UN – American. This identification of nationalism with lofty faith or values makes the United States practically unique" (Huntington's, 1981, p 23-25).

Question: Is Samuel Huntington chauvinistic?

Answer: this may be the case despite American superiority today in various fields, but that does not mean that USA is the bearer of human rights in the world just as its military fleet carries very advanced warplanes across the oceans.

Question: is there a possibility to de – Americanising the world?

Answering this question, Chomsky said: "during the latest episode of the Washington farce, that has astonished a bemused world. A Chinese commentator wrote that if the United States cannot be a responsible member of the world system, perhaps the world should become de – Americanised, and separate itself from the rogue state that is the reigning military power, but is losing credibility in other domains". (Chomsky, 2015, p135).

So the great problem in US policy is that the business party has two factions : Democrats and Republicans , which still command the American state using double speech : democracy and non – democracy because US policy , interior and exterior , is based on business ,” that is no longer true , the US is still a one – party state , the business party . However, it only has one faction: moderate republicans, now called New Democrats (as the US Congressional coalition styles itself). There is still a Republican organisation, but it long ago abandoned any pretence of being a normal parliamentary party”. (Chomsky, 2015, p 135).

In the same context, Samuel Huntington confirmed that the United States is” becoming the rogue superpower seen as the single greatest external threat to their societies “. (Chomsky, 2015, p 136). In this regard , Robert Jervis (1940 – 2021) , American political scientist , and president of the American Political Science Association , warned that ” in the eyes of much of the world , in fact , the prime rogue state today is the United States “. (Chomsky, 2015, p 136).

The American democracy is collapsing through the relationship that exists between it and other democracies in the world. In other words, the foreign policy of USA is a dual policy. It is moving on the string of contradiction in values, through the equation of power, hegemony and conflicts. .

4. Real Democracy in the whole world: Is it Utopia?

4.1. What is Chomsky’s view of democracy? :

Democracy is the rule of the people for the people, by the people as mentioned the ancient president of USA, Abraham Lincoln.

We can find other definitions to democracy as” democracy is a system in which the government of a country is elected by all of the people”, (Oxford .W, 2015, p 213). Democracy may mean a type of system governed by the recognition of popular sovereignty, which goes back to Greek Origin. As for the current situation, democracy has expanded in terms of its concept and extended to various other field, where practical and legal legitimacy emerges. Therefore, the concept of democracy is not completely clear.

The typological or hierarchical meaning of democracy is in favour of a group of values that are not homogeneous, but rather full of contradictions, differences and problematic. In the dictionary of philosophy, we can find “... what we call people in the more democratic republics was not quite what we call people today ... Athens, with its world – wide reputation, was nothing but an aristocratic republic where all the nobles had equal rights in the republic “. (Larousse, 2005, p 255). Therefore, we can confirm the different philosophical views of this concept: First, Thomas Hobbes conceived democracy as an authentic form of the state, but it focuses on imposing absolute obedience and loyalty on the people. While democracy is a political mechanism that cannot be achieved in reality in history according to Jean Jack Rousseau,” there was not really – democracy and it would never be “. (Rousseau.J.J, 1980, p 68). It may be a problematic in the relationship of the powers as John Locke envisioned (legislative power, judicial power and executive power). However , democracy and virtue must be linked through a critical approach to laws as conceived Montesquieu , who tried to combine ethics and politics in his book "the spirit of the laws ": “ True democracy can be achieved if it is linked to the principle of virtue , in which the spirit of self – denial and working for the public interest is manifested . What is meant by virtue here is political – virtue “. (Montesquieu, 2008, p 75).

However, Chomsky adopted a new political – philosophical approach that differed from the previously mentioned political philosophers. He brought down the concept of democracy from the conceptual framework to the political / practical statue in the people lives nowadays. Although there are some ideas, he derived from previous philosophers, such as the idea of the realization in fact of true democracy mentioned by Jean Jack Rousseau, through his (Chomsky) severe criticism of American democracy and its repercussions on the global political community. There is also the idea of linking Ethics / Politics through Montesquieu's principle of virtue. Therefore, Chomsky criticizes especially economic globalization and its recent effects on democracy in the whole world, as it leads to an imbalance in the new world order, such as political conflict based on new liberal ideas. From this purpose, he proposed his thesis of fair globalization and his criticism of propaganda as a political mechanism that strikes democracy from the ground up.

Chomsky discussed the concept of democracy and its various applications through its different relationships with other concepts such as democracy and economic structure in his thesis "Deterring Democracy", and his approach of the idea of economic profit / moral principles.

The relation democracy / propaganda in his approach concerning the dominance of media and the amazing achievements of propaganda. After that, he discusses the victories and failures of democracy and its future in the political world through his preoccupations with the new world order and contemporary human rights. Finally, there is the problem of world peace, globalization and the making of the future ...etc.

So, democracy in the view of Chomsky is: "the term democracy refers to a system of government in which the elite of the established society, the business community, dominates the state because of its control over the private sector, while the population of the state watches on in silence". (Chomsky, 1978, p06).

We can realize the link between democracy and Neo – Liberalism. In another side, Chomsky confirms that democracy in USA is nothing, but a democracy of spectators where citizens, or the mob as he puts it, should not make the decisive political decisions because they would pose a danger to the state apparatus and the interests of the American political system. Chomsky says in this case: "In this understanding democracy – as in USA – is a system in which the elite makes decisions that are approved by the public, and therefore the participation of the people in the formulation of general policy is a serious threat". (Chomsky, 1978, p06). We can confirm here the intersection of ideas between Chomsky and Hegel. In addition, democracy is a deceptive and fallacious political mechanism because there are immoral foundations.

4.2. Real Democracy: is it possible?

Finally, we can ask the most important question: Is there really democracy in the political world today? Is it Utopia?

Answer: If we pretend that democracy in USA, is the first and the best democracy in the world due to human rights inside the country with its free opinion, free belief or doctrine, free media...etc., but American democracy is crumbling through its relations with other democracies in the world. American foreign policy is a dual policy that moves on the string of contradiction in values through the equation of power, hegemony and conflict. In addition, the call for global peace, security and real human rights which always put it in the position of the convicted accused by the peoples of the whole world, and also by the free – minded

organizations calling for the perpetuation of a culture of equality , justice and actual human rights .

The American collapse has become effectively since the USA reached its maximum power after the Second World War, the shame victory after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the eastern bloc. The world has turned into a multiple world, despite that fact to this day; no real competitor to Uncle Sam has emerged in terms of power, terror and global dominance.

Opposing this global dominance, a group of American university professors, writers and artists wrote a statement in which they disavowed the military foreign policy pursued by Bush administration. So , after the of 09/11/2001 attacks on the WTC in New York , there were a lot of signatories , among them we can find : Noam Chomsky , the American historical and politician Howard Zinn (1922 – 2010) , Edward Said (1935 – 2003) , and a long list that included about seventy people . This statement is a real opposition to American foreign policy , in order to hear that appeal and call for resistance against the dangers , resulting from the declared war on terrorism in the world , “ ... that is why we call on all Americans to oppose the war and oppression that president Bush’s administration is waging against the world . This war is unjust, immoral and illegal. We have chosen here to stand in solidarity with the peoples of the world “. (Chomsky, 2003, p 271) .Those who signed this political statement, reject strongly the American military policy in its war on global terrorism because it does not exclude anyone, meaning that innocent people pay a high price in exchange for the real terrorists who are few, in a global numerical approach. They also refuse to let US president Bush 2, speaks on their behalf because they are not a party to these inhumane and immoral wars: “President Bush declared: either you are with us or you are against us. As for our answer to this all – American slogan, we will not give up our rights to accountability. We will not give up our consciences in exchange for an empty promise of safety. We say not in our name. We refuse to be a party to these wars and renounce any conclusion that they waged in our name or for our interests. We extend our hand to those who suffer from these policies around the world, and we will publicly show our solidarity in world and in fact “. (Chomsky, 2003, p 274). In addition, he also confirms that: “...Even the most arbitrary regimes can be democratic, as long as they serve the goals of policy makers “. (Chomsky, 1991, p 297). Therefore, he predicted the collapse of US due to the political and military repercussions resulting from its foreign policy. “The collapse of the US has become a popular topic. This country, which was glorified not so long ago as a huge country with unparalleled power and attractiveness, now faces the possibility of its dissolution “. (Chomsky, 2012, p 250). This result seems logical as the collapse began since America reached the peak of its greatness after the Second World War.

Using a political economic approach, Chomsky analyses the causes of the collapse of democracy in the world in general, and in America in particular, including the dominance of the economic paradigm over the political and moral sphere. Finally, the problem of unemployment in America and in the world as a whole is a source of serious concern, and one of the proposed solutions to unemployment is to impose additional taxes on rich businesspersons and large private companies. This procedure seems impossible to implement because Oligarchs control all the political decisions. Historically, the project of Americanization of the world began after the Second World War, after the Marshall plan until Globalization in all its meanings. This project can fall down because the state of democracy in USA is a sick state in its final stages of history.

CONCLUSION:

Noam Chomsky is a great contemporary philosopher, treats some of the most important global problems today such as democracy conflicts, hegemony, terror, globalization effects...etc. He is also one of the greatest political critic especially USA foreign policy.

Power, hegemony and terror are the main tools in US foreign policy,

Real democracy seems to be a dream if we do not say utopia because USA and its Allies use **Anti – Democratic tendencies** in policy- world today.

Perhaps one day, the political conscience will wake up from its slumber , and will respect human dignity.

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