

## The stand of Georges Labica and Noam Chomsky on modern imperialism

موقف جورج لايبكا ونعوم تشومسكي من الإمبريالية المعاصرة

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### Abstract

Modern philosophy, by definition, is a critical philosophy. The latter's most prominent figure is the German philosopher Kant, who had a long-lasting impact in establishing the philosophy of doubt and suspicion with Nietzsche, Marx, and Freud. This prominent effect has influenced postmodern philosophy with its aim to undermine and destroy Western centralities such as identity, origin, the forgotten, the marginalized, unilateral reality, and neo-imperialism. On the same token, they were criticized by the French philosopher Georges Labica and the American Noam Chomsky, attempting to highlight the techniques and means used by imperialist regimes to control the world and then destroy the centralization of Western power.

**Keywords:** Criticism; Centralism; Imperialism; Propaganda; Terrorism.

### ملخص :

تعد فلسفة الحدائثة فلسفة نقدية بامتياز ولعل أبرز أعلامها الفيلسوف الألماني كانط هذا الأخير كان له الأثر البارز في التأسيس لفلسفة الشك والارتياب مع كل من نيتشه وماركس وفرويد ، و التي أثرت فيما بعد على فلسفة ما بعد الحدائثة باعتبارها تعمل على حفر وتقويض و تهديم المركزية الغربية على غرار الهوية ، الأصل ، المنسي ، المهمش ، الحقيقة الأحادية و النيوإمبريالية هاته الأخيرة كانت محل نقد من طرف الفيلسوف الفرنسي جون لايبكا و الأمريكي نعوم تشومسكي محاولين إبراز الآليات و الوسائل التي تستخدمها الأنظمة الإمبريالية للسيطرة على العالم و من ثم تهديم مركزية السلطة الغربية .

**كلمات مفتاحية:** النقد؛ المركزية؛ الإمبريالية؛ البروبغندا؛ الإرهاب.

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### **1. Introduction**

Modernity Philosophy has sought to demolish and dismantle Western centralisms such as origin, voice, identity, and imperialism. The latter was introduced for the first time during the 18th and 19th centuries and was directly related to the colonial movements that aimed to expand their power and influence but ended with World War II. However, the concept quickly reappeared under the name of neo-imperialism. As a result, it cannot be considered stagnant due to its shift from the colonial context to the cultural and technological ones, and then it touched upon other contexts and life aspects such as climate, political, ideological, and economic.

On this basis, this study aims to identify the demolition and critique of both Georges Labica and Noam Chomsky of neo-imperialism, which used a range of techniques and means to control the world in the name of media, democracy and terrorism, which eventually led to wars and troubling tensions in societies distorted by class and ethnic divisions. This resulted in increasing the gap between the developed world and the third world because of the double international standards that are issued by organizations that support imperialism. The latter glorifies the spirit and culture of Western thought in the name of the media and democracy. Proceeding from this, the present research paper aims to answer the following question: What are the implications of Georges Labica and Noam Chomsky's criticism of savage Western imperialism?

### **2. Georges Labica's Critique of Western Imperialism**

The philosopher Georges Labica was born on December 27, 1930, in the French city of Toulon. He is considered a Marxist philosopher who devoted his life to belligerent towards the various types of exploitation, domination, and class segregation which were embodied by the imperialist system, not just in France but in the whole world. He was also famous for his support of liberation movements around the world; especially the Algerian revolution, through which he denounced the colonial behaviour of his country. His Algerian wife, Nadia, had taken credit for his job as a chief editor for the newspaper Al-Mujahid, the mouthpiece of the Algerian National Liberation Front. He also worked as a university professor in the Algerian West, which had an impact on his philosophical path. Furthermore, he has distinguished himself from the rest of the Marxist professors by his opposing views on the Iraq war and Zionism. He passed away on February 12, 2009, leaving behind the French and international intellectual scene as a thinker and fighter against Western imperialist centralism.

## **2.1. Imperialism as the Dark Side of Western Civilization**

The criticism of the philosopher Labica stems from his emphasis on the role of individual consciousness, which is clearly represented in criticizing, demolishing, and exposing the dark side of the prevailing system. This system aims to control the minds of individuals and societies through manipulation using a set of mechanisms employed by imperialist regimes of Western extremists. In the same line of thought, the most prominent of these mechanisms is the political media, which has worked and is still working to serve Western, imperialist, and colonialist agendas that work according to the interests of the ruling class through “the time and the expressions in terms of events and deep causes as well” (Shatila, 2016). The reference is made to Western imperialism; especially the media, in order to control people through their portrayal of Western civilization as a noble and democratic civilization.

### **2.1.1. Media as the hidden side of imperialism**

Through the observation of the contemporary pattern of Western imperialist policy, it is noted that the assumption of the primacy of the West centralization in media and its control over views, what gets included or not and whether it should compress or reinforce a certain event. Furthermore, the media accordingly tries to shape the world in light of the desire of official European imperialism so that the image of Western power remains prominent. In addition to that, imperialism has known in the early part of this century a cross-unification between the dated codec's of the steady, 'logical' writing of Europe, which imposes a world open to transnational impersonal scrutiny, and a colossal world simultaneously, and the goal of this reinforced and integrated vision is always either a victim or a character” (Said, 2014, p. 229), knowing that the victim only offers two alternatives to imperialism, which are either serving it or destroying it through its continuation of severe punishment despite its virtues and achievements. In line with this, Labica employs a Leninist analysis of global imperialism, emphasizing his distinction from other Marxists such as Rosa Luxemburg. Nonetheless, Lenin is not indebted to others for his theories, which are closely related to practice in light of the ideological struggle within democratic socialism, which allows a rupture and an undeniable separation between reformism and revolution (Shatila, 2016).

Upon Labica's return to France, a symposium was hosted by researchers from both sides of the Mediterranean, during which they discussed the Leninist theory. The latter was more powerful than its Marxist counterparts. The symposium was held in Algeria in March 1969, revolving around the critical aspect of imperialism, or the world among nations' Grand Capitalism and Media Domination. In other words, there is a context dominated by the structural control of grand imperialism over another weaker one. That is, the stronger Western imperialism dominates the rest of the Western world's secondary imperialism (Shatila, 2016). This collapse of socialism is what

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makes socialism possible despite imperialism, especially after the transformation of Marxism to the philosophical side by causing the mind to rely on the media as a means to transform and change public opinion and control it.

This transformation caused Labica to criticize Marxism in its various philosophical and economic forms, which made it buried alive underground by the thought of Marxist philosophers, including Stalinism, which distorted the central space of practice and action. On the same line of thought, human beings in society and history have been concerned with theory at the expense of practices that could have been in harmony with the data of history (Al-Sourani, 2020), aiming to eliminate imperialist capitalism and enlighten the people by paying and directing attention to the media because it played a decisive and effective role in the collapse of socialism and the strengthening of media thought through the media propaganda used by the imperialist regime. Proceeding from this, Labica calls for revolution in its broad sense against the imperialist system.

The first thing that the revolution should start with is the media, which are the hidden mind of the imperialist regimes, and then making people serve the revolution. It is a revolution of creative actions resulting from the control of rights. Because time passes on it and social rights are in the first row, including the right to exist, political rights, civil society rights, freedom, equality and brotherhood; they call for codifying natural rights and subjecting them to special rights (Labica, Robespierre, 1994, p. 82).

On the same token, he strongly attacked George Bush's media policies towards the Gulf War, opposed the occupation of Iraq and defended the Iraqi resistance, considering it legitimate in light of “the imperialist ideological tide that necessitates the convolution of the natural and moral world” (Labica, Robespierre, 1994, p. 13). This is what calls for change in the moral, political, and media systems that imperialism glorifies. We must refer to the American experience that “works to link imperialist policies and culture, which has been warning of the danger of people’s revolutions and has worked hard to conceal the realities of the imperial empire” (Said, 2014, p. 229) through its global agencies, which seek to vindicate them before world public opinion through the propaganda of the media using slogans of freedom, democracy, equality, and human rights, considering that America is a model that the whole world must follow.

### **2.1.2. Globalization as the Other Side of Imperialism**

It is agreed that the countries under the domination of imperialism are in a state of recession which Lenin described in terms of political criteria as “reactionary all the way” (Chezina, 2006, p. 327); we live today in a paradoxical era in which the capitalist system became victorious within the

framework of globalization. On this basis, capitalism aimed to make imperialism global after the demise of the socialist system. The latter is chaotic universally and it governs on a status quo. In fact, globalization involves an illusion because what governs globalization is not political power but rather economic power and the financial and military control associated with it. Furthermore, it is what constitutes the determined world in the global system today (Shatila, 2016).

This regime embodies the greatest manifestations of Western imperialism, especially the US, as the state sponsor of the globalization system through international institutions, organizations, and bodies, as it plays an immoral game that encourages the illegal trade in arms, which is a major reason for igniting crises, strife, and hotbeds within countries that disrespect minorities. In addition to that, it plays the game of democracy or the conflict of sects from which their financial transformation is achieved, and thus the process of imperialist colonialism on the part of globalized capital uses this time the classic pressure of the colonial processes of the 19th century, which is dumping the country that you want to control with debts using economic ideological moulding rather than military coercion.

However, “it does not preclude the use and threat of violence to weaken and exploit the country” (Chezina, 2006, p. 186) and hegemony is what actually happens in the countries of Southeast Asia, Latin America, and Africa, where they have become the centre of the struggle for influence through multinational companies that control the decisions of the aforementioned countries. Africa is not a united front, but rather is full of undeniable ideological, economic, and social debates that led to its inclusion in the global mechanisms of capitalism.

Following that, the corruption of major Western countries through their international organizations that monopolize them through “their imperialism and centralization of decision-making, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the Security Council, they exercise continuous control over African countries” (Chezina, 2006, p. 192). This international system has been, and still witnesses, the most heinous crimes and massacres in the 20th century in Africa and did not intervene. Such is the case of the genocide in Rwanda against the Muslim Tutsi minority and against the extremist Hutu group with French support.

Western imperialism in the era of neoliberal globalisation did not stop at the political and economic spheres alone but transcended into the cultural sphere by obliterating the customs, ideas, cultures and peoples of the third world. It was rejected even by the pioneers of Western imperialism, such as Russian President Putin, who argues that “the responsibility today lies with what is human and in politics, while the issue here has absolutely nothing to do with any interpretation in a particular era made by the hands of certain

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people, that is, in the expression that we are today in a phase of capitalism that raises a state of retreat from various areas of life such as work, health, education, and culture” (Shatila, 2016).

This is what makes modernity, since the 19th century, characterized by violence in all its forms and manifestations, including exploitation, wars, and subjugation, which became one of the most prominent characteristics of exclusive imperialism, through which it encouraged the corruption of rulers by offering gifts and privileges to presidents, leaders, and politicians until they acquiesced to the demands of global imperialism, although “the power of the princes is only a part of the power of the people that is placed in the warehouse in their hands, and therefore they cannot sell it or own it in any way” (Labica, Robespierre, 1994, p. 47).

The Western imperialist system today expresses a pattern of complacency and defeat through the people's rejection of the democratic game that America has made today as a means to achieve their interests, so it worked to create a new enemy in the name of religion, whose name was associated with terrorist groups thanks to media propaganda, which was known as Islamophobia and what is happening in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya and Syria are only conclusive evidence of the brutality of the Western imperialist regime, which, although it is to fight religion, it is difficult for it to Islam can be considered a real opponent of Western barbarism because it can be found to resist opposing views.

### **2.1.3. Terrorism and Imperialistic Politics**

By definition, the rhetoric of terrorism adopted by American imperialism has achieved wide gains, which were considered an ideological support for it. These benefits are not limited to the arms industry but extend to the huge investments in nuclear research and early warning devices, through which it achieved huge sums and reinforced its authoritarian and repressive measures (Shatila, 2016), such as the case in Afghanistan and Iraq, moreover, it is obvious that Labica criticizes the role of the media that denied the name of ‘Iraqi resistance’ and called them terrorists in addition to turning a blind eye to the repressive practices of the French imperial authority against the Parisian suburbs inhabited by immigrants, in other words, “the solidarity of Westerners with the Iraqi resistance is unconditional with any advice, regardless of their reservations about this or that excessive exaggeration, and we know that the occupation army left behind it a state of widespread destruction” (Shatila, 2016). Hence, he renews his rejection of all forms of imperialism.

The name of terrorism has become not only applied to hostile countries to imperialist policy, but to describe the people of these countries who oppose and protest against the measures taken against freedom, democracy, and human rights in the name of terrorists, which is what happened in France, Italy,

England, and Spain, although terrorism is really associated with the Zionist state. Its presence in the land of Palestine confirms that it is an event made by imperialism and serves the interests of Western countries, especially the United States of America, which is working hard to maintain the centralization of power and decision-making and then protect its interests in the region with the complicit Arab regimes that support it and ignore the demands of the cause and the Palestinian people. This makes the situation get worse day by day”, it is a single and unique case in the world.

If we compare it with the Algerian anti-colonial revolution, we find, for example, that the National Liberation Front was in a state of continuous progress. Shatila (2016) argued that it deteriorated to worse than the previous one, and the ongoing settlement policy in the West Bank is evidence of that, as the Israeli imperialist power worked. It is a night of isolating, imprisoning, and deporting residents and demolishing homes without the slightest observance of the international laws, charters, and treaties that the imperialist Western powers have been singing about to protect their interests, trying to apply them to weak countries only. Ethnic, racial, theological and military colonialism, and therefore it is one of the pioneers of savage Western imperialism, and that the national states are nothing but anti-imperialists.

The imperialist countries are those countries that show pride about their rejection of violence and accuse the other of violence; however, they are the ones who are causing this violence which exists in the world due to their marginalisation of the poor working classes, where the violence stems. (Labica, Theory of the violence, 2008, P. 264) , In other words, violence is a result of these classes against the imperialist system is sometimes legitimate

The United Nations is considered as one of the organs of the Western system that calls for peace, adopts hostile stances against some countries, based on this linking democracy and revolution. “Democracy represents the path to revolution.” ( Labica, Dmocracy and Revolution, 2003 ,P. 158). way to eliminate imperialism

According to Labica, Western imperialism did not stop at this point, but was a cause of the destruction and dissipation of the ecosystem because Philadelphiagrowth is its stimulus, and then the ecosystem becomes in constant flux as long as it is captive to the imperialist capitalist system. Imperialism and then work to achieve a common desired goal, which is the construction of an international body that is not like its predecessor, which is just an inclusive of all the meanings of humanity

### **3. Chomsky and neo-imperialism**

Chomsky was born in the United States of America on December 7, 1928; he is considered a contemporary language philosopher, thinker, and political researcher. He is also best known for his writings on transformational

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generative linguistics, which established the pillars of linguistic studies in America and whose roots extended to Europe. Although his fame was associated with his linguistic writings that were characterized by deep philosophical analysis; however, it does not mean he neglected the political side. His writings in the field of politics were characterized by simplicity and ease. Furthermore; they made him infamous due to their critical stance; he devoted his writings and research to exposing the immoral aspects and practices carried on by imperialist regimes using the motto of freedom, human rights, democracy, and the fight against terrorism.

On the same line of thought, Noam Chomsky, like George Labica, proceeds from criticizing, demolishing, and exposing the dark side of Western civilization, especially the American one, which aims to control minds and restrain intellects. The latter are classified into two main categories; the first is people of principles and values who do not mindlessly follow the rulers and officials of states. The second category is those intellectuals who seek to integrate freedom, democracy, and justice, despite the hardships that may be brought against them by the parties clinging to the decision-making positions, and the ruling regime.

In this light, Chomsky argues that the first category devotes itself “to the service of the state receives the usual praise and appreciation of certain thinkers, and those who refuse to devote themselves to serving the state are punished” (Chomsky N., *Who Rules the World*, 2017, p. 13). Therefore, the term dissident used, in fact, is honorific, not humiliating, for the reason that the imperialist countries have worked and are still working to distort the images of intellectuals who have the most values and principles, and attack their opinions and perceptions, as is the case with Labica.

On this basis, Chomsky mentions the most prominent techniques and mechanisms used in neo-imperialism, which are:

### **3.1. Imperialist Media as a Tool to Achieve Control**

Chomsky made several references to the role of the imperialist media, which works to distort the truth and whiten the image of the imperialist state, and in line with that, he emphasizes the American propaganda that sought to realize the dream of imperialist politicians, aiming to hide the truth behind many layers of lies.

The media is among the most used tools in making international relations based on the fabrication of events and distance from reality. As a result, Chomsky emphasizes the role of media propaganda in the embodiment of Western imperialism in general and American imperialism in particular.

The propaganda of the media has had a great favour on the imperialist countries due to the control they achieved through the policy of intimidation in order to accept viewpoints or work to consolidate ideas or reject others in line with their

ideological ambitions based on marginalization and rejection of the opposition, among those methods are the following:

**3.1.1. Inventing the problem and tarnishing the image of the enemy**

One of the infamous and prominent roles played by media propaganda is inventing a problem to elicit some reactions and set the masses to accept certain opinions and behaviours. The media has two sides, one is public with the aim of freedom protection, human rights, democracy and protection of Minority rights and one is hidden and seeks to control and direct minds to given selected propaganda. It attempts through the hidden side to decorate the image of the imperialist state in front of world public opinion as a humanitarian state that represents a model that should be emulated.

Based on this, the image of the media is distorted since it is considered a mirror reflection of imperialist propaganda; this is the case with the Gulf countries in the Gulf War. Chomsky asks a very important question in this regard, to which he said, “Let us be honest and say that when the leaders of the USA and Britain ask us to appreciate the sincerity of their language that it does not democratic transformation, it is rather as if they are teaching us that they are among the rudest liars, as they pushed their country to war because of a single question: Did Saddam Hussein abandon his weapons of mass destruction programs” (chomsky N., 2004, p. 163). However, the question is whether distraction mass weaponry were in Iraq or not but whether they as a country are progressing intellectually, culturally, and economically compared to Saddam’s era?, the answer is clearly no, because the goal of the USA’s Iraq war was only aimed to achieve influence in the region because it was resistant to America and its imperialist allies, and then it created a problem to achieve its goal. Along the lines, the case of Afghanistan is also an illustration in addition to the events of 11 September as an excuse to invade it, and then the media propaganda described the event as having won the admiration and support of the world in order to mobilize the largest number of supporters.

This has changed the world, according to the results of the international Gallup poll after the announcement of the bombing (Chomsky N. , who rules the world, 2017), and thus global support was scarce, unlike what is being promoted by the imperialist media, which uses concepts such as terrorism, drugs and Arab lunatics to frighten people and gain their support, as it works to distort the image of the other which sums up the values that America is striving to eradicate to achieve its material and even religious agenda. Furthermore, one of the most prominent terms that was popularized by imperialist politicians is what is known as Islamophobia, and then attaches the image of crime, murder, terrorism and racism to Muslims, although “most of the charges against them (...) are flimsy and baseless accusations” (Chomsky N. , who rules the world, 2017, p. 29). Not just that, but also the concept of arrogance has been used to refer to outlaw states especially Iraq which has been

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declared a rogue state, and got its reputation tarnished before even getting the international public opinion.

### **3.1.2. Defending the legality of war:**

This technique entails another stage in which the propaganda works to polish the image of war by emphasizing its legitimacy or its results, regardless of the undemocratic and inhuman practices that are practiced with the aim of achieving democracy by non-democratic methods, whether in the Afghanistan war or the intervention on Iraq or even the aggression on Syria in the name of world peace. These events are commented on by Chomsky who argues that “imperialism emphasizes the falsification of history in order to overcome interests, destroy the other and defend oneself (Chomsky, *What does Uncle Sam want?*, 2003, p. 19), and of course justify the previous wars led by America against the Indians, the Japanese, the Vietnamese and many others through the media. Thus, creating such an image has achieved remarkable success when it comes to control the media, the educational and academic institutions which reflect the views and the messages of the elite” (Chomsky, *What does Uncle Sam want?*, 2003, p. 20).

In this regard, critics are silenced and concerns are diverted to what is to come, such as what happened with the exit of USA from Iraq, which was met with the emergence of what is known as the terrorist organization “Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham” ISIS, and then demonstrating the legitimacy of its war. This indicates the role of the propaganda media in consolidating Western imperialism that is based on sabotage and looting of oil and gas sources and it is not surprising that “all the governments of Western democratic countries and their apparatuses adopted the propaganda method” (Chomsky *N. Imperial Ambitions*, 2005, p. 139) by provoking the media under the term of revenge.

### **3.1.3. The slogan of democracy as a pretext for hegemony:**

The imperialist countries’ quest to dominate the world has caused them to use democracy as a basic pretext to achieve their agenda and interests. Chomsky defines it as “a system in which the elite make decisions that are approved by the public” (Chomsky, 1998, p. 06). A game in the hands of the decision-makers who represent the bourgeoisies who attained power through the slogan of democracy as an excuse to justify its actions, even though it suffers from economic, political and ethnic problems that are extremely increasing, especially with the recent crisis of the Corona pandemic. In simpler words, “the local programs of the administrations that followed on the government, which claims democracy, we find that it suffers from health and educational problems, in addition to the increase in the number of prisoners” (Chomsky, 2003, p. 23), along the discrimination between blacks and whites as replicas of the South African apartheid rule.

To sum up, Control over the world is not achieved through the democratic game, which it takes as a slogan for its policies and which Western thinkers are proud of, even though it is deficient. Furthermore, “the majority of people does not have this right, and are convinced of the corruption of the ruling authorities, which have become hostages to major financial interests, as members of Congress collect more than 2.5 million dollars every week to finance electoral campaigns” (Chomsky, 1998, p. 70), and buy receivables in order to reach the White House. People now believe that democracy has become a threat to them; the USA has worked to spread what it names as ‘democracy’ in many countries and set it as a justification to its invasion of Iraq, Chile, Afghanistan and Iran.

The same case with the problem of Iran, even though it was a democratic parliamentary state led by Muhammad Mossadeq, its attempt to recover its oil resources, which were subject to a British company that ended contracts; he made the mistake of submitting to the imperialist policy; “this precipitated his fall from power through the success of the British-American coup” (Chomsky, 2006, p. 45), and was replaced with Chah who had a long history of terrorism, and gave a window to the British and USA who took control of more than forty percent of Iranian oil.

The same thing was repeated with the Cuban regime, which worked hard to achieve socialist democracy and renounce the imperialist Western authority under the leadership of its outstanding leader Fidel Castro, in which Chomsky gives us another example of the desire of the USA to Spread democracy in Iraq and the failure of its media propaganda in representing the possession of nuclear weapons, saying that “i am amazed that the occupation is not on the path to success, and a real talent is required to fail, the occupation of Iraq has failed surprisingly” (Chomsky, 2006, p. 45), and Jawaharlal Nehru noted that the ruling of the British in India are attached to imperialism, where the Indians were insulted, subjugated and humiliated. Hence, it can be said that imperialism is rooted in ethnicity, especially if we see the manifestations of the Zionist occupation in Palestine, where the Palestinians lack their minimum rights and are exposed to the most horrific conditions while the imperialist international bodies and organizations are all silent, “the United States of America is an evil superpower and the greatest external threat” (Chomsky, 2006, p. 56), and therefore it should not be considered the largest of the countries that practice democracy because it digests the most basic human rights and needs, and its attempt to defend the weak and its call for peace and security is nothing but a means to perpetuate a culture of world domination.

The central rationale in American foreign policy for world domination is “the logic of irrationality” (Chomsky, imperialist ambitions, 2006, p. 44), it is rather the world’s largest rogue state. The demise of democracy was no less severe in Europe with the transfer of decision-making on critical issues to the

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Brussels bureaucracy and financial powers, with contempt for democracy in Greece due to the aggravation of its debts and the refusal of its exit from the European Union (Chomsky N. , 2017, p. 09), to extend the hegemony and control of European banks on Greece with high-risk loans made it a puppet of the Western imperialist powers. Therefore, if you lose control of a people by force, you must control their positions.

### **3.2. Terrorism as a strategy of the new imperialism:**

The criticism of western imperialism continues by Chomsky who sought to dig and search for the strategies used to achieve the policy of domination, exclusion and marginalization of the other in the name of violating the laws of civil society. One of the infamous strategies to pursue this aim is the philosophy of terrorism that emerged after the 11 September attacks. By definition, then “terrorism is what our leaders declare it to be” (Chomsky, 1991, p. 2); in other words, its prominent goal is to influence the behaviour of the government and the people through intimidation and coercion.

It is a dangerous act that threatens human life and is considered as a clear violation of international criminal laws (Chomsky, 2005, p. 141). It is a calculated use of violence with the aim of achieving political, religious, and ideological ambitions of the USA and threatens the state sponsor of terrorism, where it worked to establish a group of client states and mercenaries to achieve its imperial ambitions under the name of fighting terrorism in order to spread democracy and self-defense

#### **3.2.1. Preventive war**

The attacks of September 11, 2001, were a pretext for America to achieve its influence and imperial ambition represented in controlling the centralization of decision-making in the world, and for that it launched a new concept based on the war on terrorism and anticipating terrorist strikes. It is a new standard that establishes the use of military force, this standard is not based on war or the pre-emptive strike that we can say falls within the framework of some international mission, but it is a doctrine that does not exist in international law. It is preventive war “and accordingly the USA will rule the world by force and if any challenge to its hegemony appears, whether after a while or made up or imagined or anything, the USA has the right to destroy the challenge before it becomes a threat, and this is a preventive war, not a preemptive war (Chomsky, 2006, p. 10). They contributed to providing support to the terrorists in Guatemala who worked to stop the path of peace there and then the source of democracy and social reform, because the awareness of the Guatemalan people threatens the dominance of the imperialists and their interests. From this, they have worked to inflame the situation.

The same is true in El Salvador, Cuba, Vietnam, and other countries. Iran, Iraq, and Syria currently, “therefore, the United States of America is the

laureate for acts of international terrorism” (Chomsky, 2005, p. 160), because it used means of enormous destructive power to kill innocents and instill fear on them, and despite its prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, it is still working. To manufacture weapons equipped with current destructive nuclear capabilities in anticipation of any possible attack on its interests. Iraq is the best example of a preventive war in the current period, which the brute imperialist power fought in self-defense against the illusory nuclear presence in Iraq. In an amazing propaganda campaign that will go down in history, America made great efforts to convince the Americans alone in the world that Saddam Hussein constitutes a threat to our existence (Chomsky, 2006, p. 10); although the real goal is to reshape the world according to American interests, what is happening today in Yemen, Syria and Libya is nothing but the product of a preventive war with an imperialist, tyrannical goal.

### **3.2.2. Fighting terrorism in the name of democracy**

America has declared that its ultimate goal in its war on terrorism is to spread democracy that is absent in some failed states, as it calls it, and it has taken upon itself the realization of democracy and the protection of rights and freedoms by force and military influence. It was seeking to achieve democracy in the world, as this latter experienced a great decline in the American interior due to what it means from the control of capitals controlling politics, and of course the external goal achieves its imperialist ambitions, and then it declared its war on Iraq and Afghanistan and supported the war in Libya and tried and is still trying Overthrowing the Assad regime in Syria, as it worked to overthrow the government in Venezuela and the various countries opposed to it in the world.

Chomsky argues that on the chord of the contradiction, the criminal Israeli attacks on the headquarters of the United Nations, which were sheltering refugees, are a distinctive feature of politics. Perhaps the most prominent Zionist crimes against the refugees are “the bombing of the UNRWA in Gaza and the bombing of the UN headquarters in Qana during Operation Al-Anaqid, which resulted in the killing of 206 of the defiled. Isolation, on the other hand, praises the Zionists, their humanity, and the humanity of their army. It is the logic of non-logic” (2017, p. 183) This warned of the decline in Palestine’s position on the international agendas with the current President Biden, who called for a two-state solution, stressing Israel’s right to defend itself.

## **4- Conclusion:**

Based on the above, it can be concluded that there are some minor differences that are noticed in Labica and Chomsky regarding their criticism of imperialism, and they are as follows:

1-Media: They call on Labica to pay attention to the media because it plays a central role in the collapse of socialism and may play the same role in the future

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and eliminate imperialism. As for Chomsky, he asserts that the media is a means to achieve hegemony and plunder the wealth of the Third World through its use of media propaganda.

2- Globalisation: Labica emphasises that neoliberal globalisation has negatives in the political, economic, and even cultural fields, in which it has worked to spread immoral culture and obliterate identities, while Chomsky focuses on its political aspect, as it used democracy as an excuse to justify its actions.

3-Terrorism: Labica criticizes terrorism and asserts that it is an imperialist creation in order to maintain the centralization of power, while Chomsky claims that it is being used as a pretext for preventive war under the cover of spreading democracy.

It is well known that anti-Western imperialism was considered as the focus point of an in-depth study by George Labica and Noam Chomsky; both of them attempted to shed light on the dark side of Western civilization and excavate its foundations and policies. Following that, they aimed to unravel its inhuman practices that are wrapped up by the call for democracy, human rights, media freedom and the war on terrorism as pretexts and mechanisms to tighten its control over weak peoples and, of course, support the American presence in various parts of the world. In addition to hegemony and subjugation of third world countries; hence, democracy that aims to kill millions of people is not humane democracy because it is based on the consolidation of Western hegemony.

On this basis, we cannot legitimize homosexuality, prostitution and false formalities in the name of freedoms and it must be emphasized that spreading liberation and democratic awareness rests on the shoulders of the educated thinker, and therefore exposing the inhuman aspect of Western civilization and abandoning any other personal ambitions, because this revelation inevitably leads to the intellect's rejection, exclusion and marginalization of his ideas like what happened to Labica. Moreover, Chomsky has also faced this path due to his political statements and views in which he points out the big role played by international and international economic institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, in efforts to achieve hegemony and control of major countries over decision-making centers in the world by drowning countries in debt.

On the same token, when addressing Imperialism, one should also address the role that multinational companies play in embodying the singularity of decision-making in which globalization did not stop at capital and products, but rather went beyond it to trying to impose lifestyles through the media. Along with freedom of trade which is not accompanied by freedom of sex and why is it not opened all markets, especially the markets of developing countries, in front of all products, why not? Providing it with

technologies that enable it to extract its underground wealth, don't we all live in one village? And then demolished Western narcissistic postmodern philosophy and revealed its dark sides. So what world do we want to live in? People must return to inhuman terms that respect and sanctify the other and make him a major partner in life, not by making him an instrument of control over this world that knows pandemics of viruses that almost eliminated him, and in turn showed the culture of Western countries' dominance over drug-making and marketing centers And its unequal distribution between countries, which increased the gap and the gap even more between the countries of the north and the south, and then the rest of the peoples must take into account the expansionist human aspect of the Western civilization, which used to shine itself, that it is the civilization that brings together all of humanity.

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