

Dear George, you will hear more from me when I get back from Japan - with warm regards,  
SINGH  
Kusum

Draft of July 20, 1992

**THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION:  
An Offset to Tyranny<sup>1</sup>**

by  
Kusum Singh and Bertram Gross<sup>2</sup>

Prepared for the International Peace Research Association's conference on "Challenges of a Changing Global Order," 26-31 July, 1992, at the Risumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan. To be presented at the Communication Study Group's panel on "North-South Communications," 9:20 AM, Thursday, 30 July, 1992.

In this paper we report briefly on a current tendency bearing on "North-South" communication: namely, **the emergence of a new-style world empire**. Yes, we use that word: empire, But not like any other empire in the past, It's a new style mystery. Like many other peace researchers, we are trying to escape dream-world traditions that, in the words of Karl Marx, "weigh like a nightmare on the brain of the living."<sup>3</sup>

In this disorderly world order, a so-called "information age," that task is not easy. It is easier to be uninformed or misinformed.

Our informational effort at this conference is to report on a work-in-progress, MASS COMMUNICATION WITHOUT MASS MEDIA: An Offset to Local and Global Tyranny. This book is based on observations of democratic, charismatic (non-Weberian) leadership in popular movements that have made or are now making improbable progress in resisting evil. We shall draw on many case studies. Our older ones deal with the nonviolent liberation movement led by Mohandas Gandhi and the violent one led by Mao Zedong's Chinese communist party. Both succeeded in achieving what previously was regarded as impossible: throwing out the British in one case, and in the other, beating the Japanese-backed Chiang Kai Shek. Of our more recent cases, the most detailed ones deal with the activism of textile workers in Bombay, environmentalists in some parts of India<sup>4</sup> and the "Euro-Gandhians" who overthrew dictatorships in East Europe.

**Some Premises**

We operate on premises that go far beyond Marshall McLuhan's old axiom that "the medium is the message." We believe that **the message is more important than the medium and that missives should be more important than missiles**.

Another premise concerns democracy in general. We assume that true democracy is more than formal machinery. It is much more than universal suffrage, representative government, competitive political parties, majority decision, minority rights, federalism

## THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION-2

and civilian control of the military. All these things are important, **BUT participation in power is even more important.** In any movement toward true (or truer) democracy, more and more people have the power to influence decisions affecting themselves, their families, the groups to which they belong and the organizations for which they may work. With this empowerment approach to democracy in general, we can best address the theory and the practice of democratic communication.

We have some other premises also: a) Every principle has exceptions, except this one. b) Any single proposition is an over-simplification, including this one. c) All activities have unintended or unpredictable consequences. d) To get attention, a favorite activity is to over-simplify. e) In avoiding over-simplification, one risks the creation of confusion. As a matter of principle, we shall not over-simplify or predict the consequences, if any, of our work.

In this framework, we shall outline a theory of democratic communication that starts with what is essential but not sufficient: demystifying tyranny. The theory also includes many other matters that will be briefly referred to at the end of this paper. Here, we shall merely present a working draft of the demystification chapter.

### DEMYSTIFYING TYRANNY

I believe there are more instances of the abridgment of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations.

James Madison, 1788<sup>5</sup>

The most obvious tyranny is violence--violence against persons, groups, or nations. And the worst violence is war. . . .

With the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union came a brief euphoria. No more threat of a nuclear holocaust! No more cold war conflict between the "First World" led by the USA and the "Second World" of communist dictatorships! And happily, many totalitarian and authoritarian regimes have been replaced by formal democracies. . . .

Yet old and new tyrannies are now coming to the fore--some suddenly, some gradually and at least one barely noticed by anyone. As always, every tyranny seems wrapped in mystery. In retrospect, it is still hard even to identify the many factors leading to the strange and unpredicted collapse of communism. In our judgement, these include the Soviet's over-extension abroad, the economic drains resulting from the arms race, human rights movements at home and abroad (many of which were supported by the C.I.A.), nationalist and separatist movements within the empire (also

## THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION-3

supported by the C.I.A.), widespread disillusionment and alienation with the corruption and inefficiency endemic in the system, and, finally, a loss of confidence among the top leaders themselves. All these factors together seem to have gradually undermined the deep emotional support that the Soviet Union, China or Cuba won by convincing millions of people that "Marxism-Leninism" provided the true path toward economic justice and the end of oppression. As might be expected, the vacuum created by recent disillusionment is being filled by nationalistic extremism or by religious fundamentalism. One adds to the oppression of women. The other promises happiness in heaven for the men (women and children are forgotten) who die in a "just war."

Unmasking future mysteries as they develop is an obvious element in the practice and theory of democratic communication. Peace researchers are already doing much of this difficult work. Investigative reporters outside the realm of formal peace research have also made major contributions. The next section is based largely on the work of both.

### Standard Tyrannies

For millennia, war has been a standard extension of tribal, feudal or national strategy and tactics. It has been justified by religious doctrine, international agreements on how war is to be conducted and myriad policies of defense against aggression or oppression. Much of "peace time" policy, in fact, has been an extension of war. Military terminology--including such phrases as "targeting"-- has become a conventional staple of so-called wars against poverty, crime or drugs.

As the cold war waned, hot wars flamed. The USA used overwhelming force in the brief "Just Storm" invasion of Panama and capture of Manuel Noriega. The number of Panamanians killed is still unknown. <sup>6</sup> During the "Desert Storm" Gulf war the USA mobilized over 500,000 troops from many countries (but most from the USA) for the greatest concentration of aerial bombing in history. Remarkably effective public relations policies concealed the stupidity of "smart bombs," the weaknesses of Iraq's war-wearied armed forces, the extent of damages inflicted on Iraqi soldiers and civilians and Iraq's violations of the cease-fire agreement as helicopters were used to bomb Shiites and Kurds. <sup>7</sup> Unmeasured blood has been spilled in parts of the former Yugoslavia dictatorship and the Soviet empire and in internal warfare in other parts of the world: Afghanistan, Kashmir, the Punjab, Somalia, Ethiopia, Guatemala and Peru.

Even without open warfare, however, people suffer from other standard tyrannies. These include hang-over militarism, ethnic and racial conflict, extreme nationalism, anti-semitism, "free market" and "free trade" ideologies, conspiracy theories, information

## THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION-4

overload, state and anti-state terrorism, and justified violence as a way of life.

The oldest of all standard tyrannies is patriarchy. Institutionalized male supremacy, according to Marilyn French, "probably arose in Mesopotamia in the fourth millennium BCE, and gradually spread across the world."<sup>8</sup> It is still "alive and well." In most societies it is an open part of human culture--although many men and too many women may be like ocean fish; they do not seem to know that the water is salty. In "progressive" societies, where women have won enormous victories, the patriarchal principle of female inferiority also lives. It has merely gone underground, where it still does grave damage. It also nourishes another mode of standard tyranny: child abuse. Even in the United States, according to representative Jim McDermott, some children's lives have become so hopeless that "it is not uncommon now to see children under the age of 12 attempting to take their own lives."<sup>9</sup>

These difficulties are exacerbated by socio-economic-political conditions. Many are so systemic as to be taken for granted. Among them are slow growth, irresponsible growth, widespread recession, localized depressions, un- and underemployment, economic insecurity, the Aids epidemic, drug addiction, crime in the suites and streets, and new waves of economic and political refugees.<sup>10</sup> In coping with these problems, people are often trapped by code words, hate words (particularly those used against ethnic minorities and women),<sup>11</sup> Us vs. Them dichotomies, racial or sexual stereotypes, either-or simplistics, and friendly or unfriendly fascistics.<sup>12</sup>

To communicate with people who are not yet fully adjusted to changes in the world, we must often use obsolescent or obsolete terms. These include the Group of 77,<sup>13</sup> East-West,<sup>14</sup> Non-Aligned Nations,<sup>15</sup> the South,<sup>16</sup> the North,<sup>17</sup> Third World<sup>18</sup> and Fourth World<sup>19</sup>. The use of "America" or "American" in referring to the United States of America (the USA), only one of the 21 American countries, is another illustration of linguistic tyranny.

People also suffer from TV tyranny. As the number of available channels enlarges (even to include worthwhile programs), TV watching displaces direct communication among people. provides escapist distraction from the real world and disseminates misinformation or disinformation along with imagery that has the effect of legitimating violence.

### A New Global Empire?

But the biggest tyranny of all seems to be overlooked: the tyranny of a New Global Empire.

## THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION-5

In 1975 many people called for a New International Economic Order. Then came the idea of a New International Communication Order. Well, a New World Order is really emerging. It is an economic order, a communication order, a political order and above all a frightening world order. It is a form of empire that has no precedent in human history.

The earliest empires fought wars locally or regionally. In this century every empire has sought an undisputed global magnitude. In World Wars I and II, while more children, women and men were slaughtered than in all previous wars, that reach was not grasped. With the collapse of the Soviet empire, unless we are completely mistaken, "transnational capitalism" (to use a term that needs considerable elaboration) now grasps the entire planet.

Even before this recent event, the transnational corporation began to change the world. At the beginning of the 1980's, one of us described its operations this way:

No transnational operates as an island unto itself. The legal entity is merely the central node at the heart of a far-flung cluster of supporting organizations. Each large cluster, in turn, usually operates as part of what we may call a constellation, a still larger group of organizations [often called a "consortium" or "group"]. Sometimes competing groups that are dependent on each other work together in a duopoly--as in the case of OPEC and the giant Western oil companies through which OPEC enforces its decisions.

The most dynamic groups invented new forms of economic tyranny. They now imbed their activities within loose, flexible networks or "complexes" of private and public organizations, institutions, foundations, research institutes, law and accounting firms, and strategically placed individuals. The so-called "military-industrial complex" is no unique institutional form. The "complex" has become the standard mode of structuring the planning and control activities of corporate banking, agribusiness, and mass communications.

In all the complexes or networks, the older forms of integration--financial groups, cartels, trade associations, interlocking directorates, and interlocking stock ownership--still exist. Indeed, they seem to have expanded. But the new interlocks are wider (covering more sectors and territorial space), deeper (covering more levels of activity) and more flexible. And decision making within the network is far more complex than in the old-style cartel or zaibatsu. The older practices of centralized hierarchy (still adhered to by some components) have been incorporated in a more flexible polyarchic system of mutual accommodation. The

## THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION-6

request "Take me to your leader" cannot be honored. In this new-style, faceless system no one knows his name; he does not exist. The web is spidery, but there is no single spider.<sup>20</sup>

These observations still stand. But, in a world that never stands still, some important things have changed. Old theories -- including the Hobson, Lenin and Schumpeter theories of imperialism -- need substantial revision. More recent distinctions between "center" and "periphery" have less meaning. And as managers are recruited globally and subsidiaries operate more freely, there is less meaning in the old distinction between a transnational corporation's "home base" and its subsidiary. With capital more transnational and global business networks more intensive than ever before, the parochialism of organized labor has increased relatively. More and more companies are closing down in the more developed countries, and expanding operations in the developing countries. Instead of merely squeezing profits from the developing companies and producing "underdevelopment," they are disinvesting in developed countries and investing in accelerated industrialism in developing countries, where they can more readily find skilled workers willing to accept wages and working conditions far less costly than in the developed countries. Under these conditions, the labor surplus expands throughout the world. So does productive capacity.

We wish we could clarify the changing relation between the system of sovereign states and the transnational corporate establishment. In earlier decades, according to Raymond Vernon, sovereignty was "at bay."<sup>21</sup> Things are no longer so simple. True, there are now more limits on sovereign regimes. Some of these are self-imposed, as when the USA, Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Japan and Germany join in an international "Board of Directors" called G-7--with the addition of Russia, soon to become G-8, and with the addition of China, soon to become G-9.<sup>22</sup>

There are also major extensions of state power--some rather frightening. In many situations, police power is needed to suppress overly dissident views, deflect or curb disruptive actions by environmentalists, and preserve a "union-free environment."

The people in less developed countries are now more clearly the subordinate parts of a multi-polar system dominated by transnational corporations. Their ruling elites can no longer get more aid or trade by playing the "West" (countries following U. S. leadership) against the "East" (an old label for communist countries). The problems in pre-industrial or partly-industrialized countries now come to the surface in baffling complexity.

In remarkable democratic advances, non-violent activists in Latin America and elsewhere have partially displaced oppressive dictatorships. Yet despite formal elections, old tyrants have

## THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION-7

often devised new forms of behind the-scenes control. It has already become harder to blame current evils on the old colonial legacy, the recent communist menace or the transnational corporations. There are local roots also for environmental degradation, the destruction of indigenous peoples, and the indigenous evils of ultra-nationalism, overblown bureaucracy, racism, sexism, homophobia and personalistic individualism.<sup>23</sup> Some transnational corporations, backed up by U. S. government agencies, can be depended upon to water those roots and direct their growth. Under these conditions poverty--in the sense of both absolute and relative deprivation--is likely to grow.

In all parts of the world, we see increasingly powerful imagery of a repressive corporatism run by a minority of globally active and self-selected elites. Such a new I.C.E. Age would freeze most hopes of human progress. It would convert more and more people into passive objects of immoral manipulation.

All of this might be worth the cost if it really meant the end of war. But we may now be seeing a replay of what happened after the 1815 Concert of Europe. Under this agreement, the leaders of the Big Four--England, France, Austria and Russia--ushered in "a hundred years of peace." But wars were fought mercilessly in every one of those hundred years, mostly as the more industrialized countries fought with themselves over colonial acquisitions in Africa and Asia.<sup>24</sup> There was no all-European war until the murder of Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo triggered the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

The 1992 bombing of Sarajevo is merely a passing symbol of the localized wars fought around the world in the 1990s. These have provided a bonanza for the many arms producers who, with the end of the Cold War, were threatened by the sudden loss of their major markets. On the other hand, as we shall now suggest, this has not always been a benefit for transnational capital.

### Divisions in People and Systems

The ordinary processes of demystification often nurture a special form of mystification. This happens when people think of a single, all-powerful central conspiracy of institutionalized omnipotence, if not omniscience. Any such perception naturally leads to apathy, the feeling that "what's the use; nothing can really be done." It can also contribute to the us vs. them dichotomy and a tendency to demonize the elites in the citadels of power.

In his preface to the first volume of Capital, Karl Marx apologized for dealing with individuals "only insofar as they are the personifications of economic categories, embodiments of particular class relations and class interests." His justification was that the process of history makes "the individual responsible

## THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION-8

for relations whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them."<sup>25</sup>

In this spirit, unfortunately, many of us--even those who do not accept the concept of class war--are often too quick to categorize, even demonize, those who are seen as part of "the powers that be." Whenever we do this, we ignore the unique individuality of every person, including her or his personal responsibility for going along with such identifiable evils as oppressing workers, defrauding consumers, and polluting the environment.

Like Gandhi, however, some of us believe that every person--even our most formidable adversary--has a conscience. Assuming that any conscience can be buried, we may use persuasion or pressure to bring it to the surface. An interesting example is provided by Maurice Strong, who became a millionaire through oil and mining company operations that were immensely destructive of the natural environment in the Middle East, Africa, Arizona, Colorado, and his own country of Canada. Yet, Strong chaired the original Earth Summit at Stockholm in 1972 and, after heading the U.N.'s African Famine Relief Program in 1985, organized the U.N.'s Rio de Janeiro Summit of 1992.<sup>26</sup>

Similarly, Stephan Schmidheiny, the fourth generation scion of one of Switzerland's wealthiest entrepreneurial dynasties, "convened the Business Council for Sustainable Development (BCSD) from such companies as Nissan Motor, 3M, Dow Chemical, Volkswagen, and the Royal Dutch/Shell Group." In this capacity, he "works hard to make the case that sustainable development, which would require industry to slash dramatically pollution and resource use, can also create markets, cut costs, and spur technological innovation."<sup>27</sup> We suspect that, had it not been for organized pressure by environmentalists in many countries, neither Strong nor Schmidheiny would have been engaged in these "pro-environment" activities. Nonetheless, we give them credit for being among a minority of transnational CEOs. This fact testifies to the potential power of anti-establishment organizing, a power not yet sufficiently applied to the manufacturers and purveyors of armaments.

The best advertised corporate divisions are among trading blocs. The European Economic Community, while expanding geographically, is also establishing various import barriers. In the U.S.A., steps are on the way to develop a free-trade zone which includes not only Canada and Mexico, but also the rest of the Americas. In a somewhat less formalistic manner, Japan is moving towards re-establishing--without military conquest--what used to be called the "Greater East Asia Prosperity Sphere." Much is made of the so-called "trade war" among the three--particularly by domestic politicians seeking to capitalize upon nationalistic sentiments. There is a small grain of truth in these arguments. A deeper

## THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION-9

analysis, however, indicates that trans-national capital is extremely adept at leaping across any and all trade barriers. The truth of the matter is that we now see neither frenzied "trade wars" (which once existed) nor "free trade" (which never existed) but rather "managed trade." Within managed trade there is some serious competition. This makes it possible for consumers, environmentalists, and organized labor to make some progress with one company in the hope of getting some other companies to go along with the rising standard of corporate responsibility.

There are many other divisions within complex systems. At all levels of any hierarchy there are rebels--some who are just looking for opportunities to fight the system, some who do it or think they are doing it by "burning from within," and some who go public by becoming "whistle blowers." Divisions still persist on religious, ethnic, or nationalistic grounds--any of which can be used through the "divide and weaken" strategy of opposing imperial control.

Strangely, the problem of war presents one of the strongest contradictions within transnational capital. On the one hand, the manufacture of weapons is a very profitable business. Indeed, when one considers the vast number of suppliers and local communities and families dependent upon war production, it is clear that any serious move toward genuine disarmament would create enormous social dislocations, even if accompanied by extensive programs of conversion to environmentally desirable civilian activities. In a larger sense, however, war is bad for business--very bad. Even an ammunition manufacturer could not operate successfully in war-torn Beirut or Sarajevo. Any serious international investment in Russia and Israel, for example, depends upon some basic assurances of a peaceful money-making environment.

Finally, there is also the question of low-level and high-level stupidity or mindless error. This, we suggest, has always been an aspect of imperial rule. If there is a "power of the powerless," to use Vaclav Havel's term, it can best be used by recognizing this inherent "weakness of the powerful." Or, as Mary Parker Follett put it, the "wisdom of the ignorant" may be used against the "ignorance of the wise."<sup>28</sup>

How some people are charting new directions in opposing standard tyranny and imperial rule is the theme of our other chapters. We also report on many unsung Gandhians struggling to develop democratic forms of communication from the private space of families to the United Nations.

Notes

1. The presentation of this paper has been supported by the Faculty Development Fund and the Communications Department of Saint Mary's College of California. Much of this paper is based on field research by Kusun Singh during a Spring 1990 sabbatical and a Fall 1991 Fulbright award for research in India.

2. **Kusum Singh**, Professor of Communications, Saint Mary's College of California. Fulbright Research Scholar in India, Fall 1991. Author: "Elites vs. Democratic Communication: Ronald Reagan and Mohandas Gandhi," Janet Wasko and Vincent Mosco, eds. Democratic Communication in the Information Age, Garamond Press, forthcoming. "Mass Communicators for Peace: Another Way," in Elise Boulding, ed. Peace, Culture and Society: Transnational Research and Dialogue, Westview, 1991; "Beyond Charismacho: Toward Democratic Political Leadership" in Third World Socialists. A Political Journal of the Theory and Practice of Liberation, Summer, 1984; "Mass Line Communication: Liberation Movements in China and India" and "The MacBride Report: The Results and Response," both in Gerbner and Siefert, eds., World Communications: A Handbook. N.Y.: Longman Publishers, 1984; "People against Charisma," Communicator, October 1981; "Gandhi and Mao as Mass Communicators," Journal of Communications, Summer 1979; "Elite Control and Challenge in Changing India," in George Gerbner, ed., Mass Media Policies in Changing Cultures, N.Y.: Wiley Interscience, 1977; and (with Bertram Gross) "Adventures in Learning," Marien and Jennings, eds., What I Have Learned. Greenwood 1987.

**Bertram Gross**, Distinguished Professor Emeritus, City University of New York and Hunter College, 1982 to present; Visiting Professor, Great Books Seminar, Saint Mary's College of California, 1982 to present; Research Associate, Peace and Conflict Studies, University of California at Berkeley; Visiting Professor, Peace and Conflict Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1982 to present; Author: (with Edward Schneier) The Congress and Legislative Strategy, Saint Martins Press, forthcoming 1993; Friendly Fascism: The New Face of Power in America South End Press, 1982; "Toward a Human Rights Century," Human Rights Quarterly, August 1991; "Power, Rights and Peace," Peace Review, August 1991; (with Peter Juviler) "Golden Opportunities. Huge Obstacles" and with Vladimir Kartashkin "Goals for Strengthening the U.N." in Juviler, ed. "Human Rights for the 21st Century: Foundations for Responsible Hope," M. E. Sharpe, forthcoming 1993; and various books and articles on social systems, legislation, planning, and budgeting.

3. The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. International Publishers, 1963, based on an earlier translation and edited by C. P. Dutt of the Marx editions of 1852, 1869 and 1885.

## THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION-11

4. Rajni Kothari refers to such grass-roots movements as the "emergence of non-party formations" which redefine the very nature of politics. "Party and State in Our Times: The Rise of Non-Party Political Formations," in Richard A. Falk et al, The United Nations and a Just World Order, Westview Press, 1991, p. 29-45.
5. Speech in the Virginia Convention, June 16, 1788
6. Kevin Buckler, Panama: The Whole Story, Simon and Schuster, 1991.
7. A fine review of various books on the Gulf War is provided in Gregg Easterbrook, "Operation Desert Shill: A sober look at what was not achieved in the war," New Republic, September 30, 1991.
8. Marilyn French, War Against Women. Summit 1992. French's analysis is strengthened by Naomi Wolf's The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women. William Morrow, 1991.
9. Jim McDermott. "Kids lash out against abuse," Oakland Tribune, July 8 1992.
10. In 1990 the number of refugees was estimated as exceeding 30 million (15 million out of their country and 15 to 20 million "internal refugees"), more than after World War II. Since then, the number has grown.
11. Hate words used in USA (sexual, ageist and ethnic). compiled with help of students at Saint Mary's College of California and the University of California at Berkeley: Women: ass, baby, ball and chain, battle ax, bimbo, bitch, broad, bunny, chick, cow, cunt, dog, doll, douche bag, fag hag, fish taco, frail, furburger, hairpin, heifer, hose bag, hose monster, gash, kitten, meat, muff, old lady, piece, pigeon, pussy, quail, tomahawk wound, tomato, twat, skirt, slut, tail, whore; Men: ass hole, bastard, cock, dick, dick weed, dweeb, fuckhead, geek, goob, jerk, momma's boy, mother fucker, nerd, prick, pussy, sexist pig, shithead, son of a bitch, wimp, wussy; White men: beefcake, beef unit, cracker, Larry, Mister Charlie, honkie, poor white trash, redneck, WASP; Homosexuals: butch dyke, butt pirate, dyke, faggot, fairy, flamer, fruit, limp-wrist, poofter, queen, queer; Old people: biddy, buzzard, alte cocker, codger, coot, dirty old man, fuddy duddy, geezer, old fart; Children: anklebiter, snotfarmer, brat, little shit, rugrat, curtain climber; Military people: jarhead; Handicapped people: cripp, gimp.  
Arab: camel jockey, sand nigger, towel head; Blacks: boogie, coon, darkie, jungle-bunny, nigger, spear-chucker, spook; Chinese: chink, slant-eyed; French: frog; French-Canadian: canuk, pepsi; German: kraut; Hawaiian: pineapple; Hungarian: honkie; Indian: dot head; Irish: mick, paddie, harp; Italian: dago, guinea, wop; Japanese: jap, yellow menace; Jewish: hebe, kike, sheeny, yid; Mexican or

## THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION-12

Puerto Rican: cholo, greaseball, greaser, low rider, Manuel Labor, spick, stoop, wetback; Native American: red skin; Polish: polack; Russian: russy; and Vietnamese: dink, gook, slant, slope.

12. The concept of "friendly fascism" as a form of repressive corporatism was first aired by Bertram Gross in Friendly Fascism: The New Face of Power in America, Evans, 1980, and South End Press paperback with new preface, "The New Bill of Frights," 1982. In 1982 also the book has been published in Japanese by the Japan Television Company. Since 1982 the phrase has been widely used: for example, Chip Berlet "Friendly Fascists: The Far Right tries to move in on the Left," Progressive, June 1992, and Right Woos Left: Populist Party, LaRouchian, and Other Neo-fascist Overtures to Progressives and Why They Must Be Rejected, Political Research Associates, February 29, 1992, 678 Massachusetts Ave, Suite 205, Cambridge, MA 02139. The phrasing and some of the ideas has also been incorporated in the hip-hop rap rock album, both tape and compact disk, Friendly Fascism (Nettwerk, Vancouver, 1991) by the group "Consolidated," who presented their lyrics on the subject in tours through scores of cities in the USA and Western Europe. The album contains a brief 150 word summary written by the author in collaboration with the group members.

13. Years ago representatives of industrializing countries in the General Assembly of the United Nations called themselves the "Group of 77." After expanding to 120, they stuck to the old number 77.

14. Historically, these terms mean East or West of London, Paris or Berlin, the centers of earlier empires. These terms are still applicable, however, when referring to specific geographical regions such as Eastern Europe (rather than the East) or Eastern or Western USA. The label MidEast still lingers despite United Nations efforts to replace it with West Asia.

15. Many of these were previously aligned with the Soviet Union.

16. Leaders in industrializing countries often refer to themselves collectively as the "South." Strangely, at least 90 member countries (or 70 percent) of the "South" are--like China, India, Pakistan and Mexico--entirely north of the equator. More relevant classifications divide such countries by their status as exporters or non-exporters of petroleum or by levels of national income that distinguish between poor, poorer and poorest. In most of them, whatever their national income, the majority of the people are abysmally poor in contrast with the minority of rich people who control the government and enjoy remarkable levels of conspicuous opulence.

## THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION-13

17. Ever since maps have been drawn, Northern countries have been located at the top, others below. "On top," "over" and "above" are widely equated with superiority, while "down there," "beneath" and "below" imply the reverse. This style of graphic imagery can easily lead to misconceptions and misjudgments. Under the heading of "A New World of Understanding," Jesse Levine has produced a "Turnabout Map" of the Americas to correct this imbalance. It is distributed by Laguna Sales, 7040 Via Valverde, San Jose, CA 95135. Showing Argentina and Chile at the top and Canada, Alaska and Greenland at the bottom, it is geographically correct. Only the perspective has been changed.

18. Uncomfortable with such terms as "under-developed," "less developed" or "developing," the leaders of pre-industrial or industrializing countries accepted the label "Third World" despite the tacit implication of national inferiority in comparison with the "advanced" First World. With the disappearance of the Second World, the term has less meaning than before. In the USA, nonetheless, the term is still used in referring to poor people, particularly African-, Hispanic- and Native-Americans suffering from institutionalized oppression. The users are not always aware that the current regimes of nations previously labelled Third World are led by elites who benefit from the oppression of the poor majorities and indigenous people in their own countries. Among philosophers, however, we have no hesitation in using the terminology of our philosopher teacher and friend, Karl Popper: the First World as the world out there, the Second as the world we perceive, and the Third as the world of theory.

19. Many of these governments, in turn, exploit indigenous nations or peoples (previously called "Fourth World") such as the Karen people of East Asia, the Oromo people of East Africa, the Mayans in Guatemala, the Tamils in Sri Lanka the Miskito people in Nicaragua and Honduras, the Palestinians in Israel and the Arab countries, the Kurds in Syria, Iraq, Turkey and the Soviet Union, the Native Americans in the USA, the laplanders in Sweden and many groups in the various republics of the former Soviet Union. According to Bernard Nietschmann, these stateless nations "about a third of the world's population." Many are constantly attacked by governments seeking to "annex territory and resources under the guise of national integration... social progress and the eradication of communists, mercenaries, bandits or terrorists" (Nietschmann, 1988).

20. Bertram Gross, Friendly Fascism, South End Press, 1982, p. 40-41.

21. Raymond Vernon, Sovereignty At Bay: The Multinational Spread of U. S. Enterprises, Basic Books, 1971.

22. Franz Schurmann, Oakland Tribune, June 17, 1992

THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION-14

23. Possessive individualism (as with "personalismo," "caudillismo and "machismo") has long coexisted within cultures emphasizing strong familial ties and nationalist identities.

24. Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time, Beacon, 1957.

25. Karl Marx, Capital, A Critique of Political Economy, 1867, translators from the third German edition, Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, International Publishers, 1967, p. 10.

26. David Segal, "Strong's Wrongs," New Republic, June 22, 1992.

27. Emily T. Smith, "Reaping the Spoils--Without Spoiling the Earth," Business Week, June 22, 1992.

28. Mary Parker Follett, The New State, Longmans, Green, 1918, reprinted by Peter Smith, 1965.

Draft of July 20, 1992

**Reluctant Embraces of Nonviolence**

by

Kusum Singh and Bertram Gross

This draft chapter reports on work-in-process toward re-creating Gandhi's non-violent legacy in our high technology age of widespread violence.

It is based on many years of research and publication by the co-authors. When completed (hopefully before mid-1994), it will be the first of 12 chapters in a book entitled MASS COMMUNICATION WITHOUT MASS MEDIA: An Offset to Local and Global Tyranny. Another draft chapter, "Demystifying Tyranny," (based largely on library research and current history) has been prepared for presentation at a July 1992 international conference at the Risumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan. Three other historical chapters are also in rough draft form.

The other seven chapters require additional field work. During a sabbatical in 1990 and as a Fulbright research scholar in India during the Fall of 1991, Kusum Singh conducted over 105 interviews with feminists, local activists, journalists, scholars, planning commissioners, lawyers, jurists, etc. These were supplemented by 10 interviews in Prague and 14 in Washington, D.C. Out of these 129 interviews, only 42 have thus far been transcribed. Too few have as yet been thoroughly analyzed and drawn upon as basic materials for major chapters of the book.

*members of Gandhi*

Before completion, Kusum Singh plans to re-interview some of the persons previously interviewed and to interview some people for the first time--in Japan, India and Prague as well as in the United States. These interviews will include social scientists, artists, poets, alternative media activists, and rural people thus far not sufficiently covered. It will also be necessary to spend some time with the remarkable Gandhi collection at the Library of Congress and at the Martin Luther King, Jr. and Carter centers in Atlanta.

*& Gandhi's Center, Memphis.*