

MIGRATION OF IDEAS' PERLOCUTIONARY EFFECT. HOW MARINETTI BOMBED HIROSHIMA

Adrian LESENCIUC

Department of Fundamental Sciences and Management, "Henri Coandă" Air Force Academy, Braşov, Romania

Abstract: *The present paper aims at studying the perlocutionary effects of the Italian futurism's ideas. Should illocutionary acts involve the speaker's intentions immediately and explicitly expressed, performatives loaded with ideological influence, i.e. those that are perlocutionary acts (Austin, 1975), involve acquiring effects by discursive engagement in time. These effects become noticeable after long periods of germination, when they have activated themselves through subsequent discursive engagements, also loaded with ideological influence.*

Although they do not fall under the category of colonial critical discourse, subject of the larger Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that uses discursive tools in relation with macro-social changes within certain major social changes, perlocutionary acts involving germination of ideas also seek macro-social changes, yet, these social events may not exist or they may be minor. A perlocutionary effect produced through ideological germination of ideas benefits from ideological flows of spreading ideas, within channels of scientific knowledge or literary creation. Our purpose is to study the perlocutionary effects of the Italian futurism and pre-futuristic literary environment on the Italian military thinking of the early twentieth century and, consequently, their spread and production of subsequent effects against humankind. Gabriele d'Annunzio's ideas and, especially, the manifestos of F.T. Marinetti, including Ucidiamo il chiaro di luna! (1909) or Guerra sola igiene del mondo (1915), radically influenced General Giulio Douhet (1921), an amateur writer, to propose the strategic bombing solution. After years, his proposal constituted the foundation for the homonymous American strategy and guided its implementation under the umbrella-concept of Terrorangriffe (terror attacks) by Nazi troops. Nuclear bombing was a particular manner of understanding the strategic bombing implementation. This paper aims at highlighting routes of such ideas, their perlocutionary effects and their ideological tools used in circulation, from the perspective of the critical discourse studies.

Keywords: *migration of ideas; acts of language; perlocutionary effect; ideology; futurism; strategic bombing; nuclear bombing*

1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of 'migration of ideas' is one of the most consistent sociological concepts, whose paternity lies with the Polish sociologist of Marxist orientation, Ludwik Krzywicki (1859-1941). In the beginning of the unstable twentieth-century, on the background of the increasingly persistent dissemination of the Marxist thesis according to which ideas – given the limited autonomy of social consciousness development – play the fundamental role in social development, Krzywicki (1923) proposes the concept of 'migration of ideas' (*wędrówka idei*). This concept is viewed equally as a space-based dissemination and as a transfer over time, both forms of dynamic manifestations of a migration of social ideas and related to the concept of social development: "the migratory idea becomes a factor preceding and stimulating social

development" (Schaff, 2013:85). Obviously, the meaning of the 'migration of ideas' concept has not remained in the field of studies on social change and Marxist ideologies. For example, in 1954, the American writer of Scottish origins Gilbert Highet, published the work *The Migration of Ideas* (a concept he had already used in other books like *Man's Unconquerable Mind*, published in the same year) through which he referred to the educational force and to the influence of great ideas on society. In Highet's case 'migration of ideas' is the result of cultural influence, it involves cultural consequences due to interaction, it aims at social dimension, but the concept comes from the field of literature and it emphasizes the role of great ideas produced in the fictional field, through a transfer in time and space onto a social reality. History and social change are implicitly seen as the result of a process of contamination between

cultures through learning. Can we therefore discuss the effects of some fictional ideas that have ‘became consistent’ over time and whose effects could have been felt on a broad social scale? This is the question from which I designed the analysis of ‘migration of ideas’ of Italian futurism in the social field. We are not looking for the confirmation of Highet’s supposition; we try to propose a communicative-linguistic analysis from the critical discourse perspective. We consider the perlocutionary effects of ideas that are felt in time, a phenomenon that is largely neglected by Critical Discourse Analyzes (CDA) specialists.

2. “WORDS-IN-FREEDOM” OR “IDEAS IN MOVEMENT”? ITALIAN FUTURIST FERVOR

2.1 Migration of military ideas. Fascist modernism originates in the artistic sources of the aesthetics and the celebration of the war machine. With the famous paraphrase after Cicero *Inter arma silent musae*¹ resonating in our minds, this statement can be considered at least atypical, in the absence of a very consistent argumentation. We started from Azar Gat’s statement (2001:561), in the introduction of the chapter *Futurism, Proto-Fascist Italian Culture, and the Sources of Douhetism*:

Nowhere, did it [n.a. fascist modernism] flourish more powerfully than in proto-fascist Italian culture; and in its arsenal of dynamic machines nothing equaled the symbolic potency of the aeroplane.

The Israeli military history researcher Azar Gat, author of an impressive *History of Military Thought* (2001), was not only interested in military thinking itself, but also in its sources, in “ideas in movement”, starting with *Enlightenment* up to the *Cold War*, that, by emerging with different disciplinary fields, would greatly influence military thinking. Practically, beyond the French school of military thinking in the nineteenth century, we find Enlightenment ideas and the geometrical science of strategy, beyond the Prussian school of the same century where we find both counter-Enlightenment and Kantian and Hegelian idealism. The first half of the twentieth century military thinking bears the mark of the proto-fascist sources, of the role of war machine (originated in the avant-garde literary movement called *futurism*) and of the revival of

Clausewitzianism, through Friedrich Engels and Vladimir I. Lenin on the one hand (General Beaufre, 1974:3, even considered that Clausewitz imposed himself through Lenin), respectively by Adolf Hitler and his *Mein Kampf* (1941), on the other hand. In the case of Clausewitzianism, for example, things are clearer and easier to explain in the meaning of the Prussian general's scientific discourse: though having roots in the German idealistic philosophy, the work *On War* is a military one, with military and strategic effects, and with emerging ideas at the social level, through the projection of Leninist-based communism. The source field of such ideas does not change over time with that of the ideas put into practice that are already transformed into ideology. In the case of futuristic proto-fascism, things are much more complicated, because ideas migrate from the literary sphere (in fact, from a strongly socially committed literature, of manifestos) to the military strategic area of the great powers in the first half of the 20th century. Practically, through this positioning, the migration of futuristic ideas becomes a distinct and singular case and requires proper analysis.

2.2 The Italian Futurism. Futurism, the most virulent form of avant-garde and the first of the movements included in the so-called “historical avant-garde”, originates in the famous *Manifesto of Futurism (Manifesto del Futurismo)* signed by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti and published on February 20th, 1909 in *Le Figaro*. The origins of futurism are found in the early 20th century Italian cultural environment before the Great War. In a cultural space where the main exponent (as public manifestation), the writer and politician Gabriele d’Annunzio, influenced by German nihilist ideas, played an important role in mobilizing masses for ‘highly nationalist interests’, the avant-garde movement took over from the position and vehemence of its most important representative and began the action of explicit denial. Firstly extended to the Florentine group around *Leonardo* publication that included Giovanni Papini, Giuseppe Prezzolini and Ardengo Soffici (to whom the young Benito Mussolini joined, as well), d’Annunzio’s ideas propagated later on in the futuristic environment, with which it enters by confluence (Gat, 2001:563). From many researchers’ perspective, the historical avant-garde begins with futurism, even though the vehemence of denying the social, moral and cultural order, democracy and parliamentarism, specific to an aging modernity had previously manifested itself without the vitality of an avant-garde. Moreover, futurism is not claimed to be an avant-garde from the

¹ Cicero’s maxim from *Pro Milone* actually aims at the impossibility of law enforcement in times of war, *Inter arma silent leges*.

beginning, but only since the mid-1920s. Futurism positions itself primarily against a decadent culture, against some outdated cultural institutions, against a literature that has reached exhaustion. This engagement through denial (destructuring in essence), has not been able to bring what the term in itself, *futurism*, would claim, the reconstruction, a future projection. Even through the fundamental artistic concept resulted from the futuristic emanation and engagement, that of 'words-in-freedom' (*parole in liberta*) Marinetti (1912/2009) does not propose the reconstruction, but the destruction of the syntax, the abolition of the adjective and the adverb, the elimination of the verbal modes and tenses, the abandon of syntax. The futuristic movement is therefore fundamentally negative, qualifying itself as an exponent of the European avant-garde movement. In the literature of futuristic manifestos, only technology is praised. In fact, one of the possible names of the movement, as F.T. Marinetti himself proposed, was that of *electricism* (Drogoreanu, 2004:19). A constant of the direction opened by Gabrielle d'Annunzio and continued by Florentine avant-garde groups (around *Leonardo* and *Lacerba* magazines) and Milanese (futuristic) is the celebration of electrification, industrial beauties, mass industry, refineries, factories, plants, means of transport, speed, combat machines. Not by chance, the broadest movement fuelled by the ideas of the Italian society before the First World War induces the technological implant into the literary creation sphere, mechanizing the writing and miming the apparent freedom of words. Read according to this key, the futuristic literary manifestos become tools to promote an ideology the fascist projections will later be based on.

3. THE FUTURISM MANIFESTOS. PRAISE OF WAR AND AIRPLANE SUPREMACY

3.1 The literature of manifestos. Together with Marinetti's movement, it is also born, what would later on be called 'the literature of manifestos'. More important than the futuristic literature itself, this form of literary expression through manifestos, programmatically claiming the change of order, rupture, subversion, decadence, deconstruction, even destruction, can be read as literature (Marino 1973:200), can be interpreted from the perspective of critical discourse in a certain socio-cultural context and with a certain political touch. More precisely, the literature of manifestos can be accepted as literature, its fundamental role being infiltration, twisting some ideas in the public debate space.

Futurism manages to infiltrate in the public space as an avant-garde, preserves the negating action of the avant-gardes with its principles and prepares the ground for the other movements of the 'historical avant-garde'. These are the visible aspects and effects of futurism studied by literary historians. But futuristic manifestos are not simply innocent writings, with ideological potential in a space where it cannot spread; collaterally, these manifestations produced effects among military thinkers and political decision-makers, although their march in the literary field seemed to have a different audience.

3.2. Research corpus. Thematically, two aspects derived from emphatic rhetoric, the glorification of violence and technology are not omitted in futuristic manifestos: the praise of war and flight equipment. In order to study the two distinct or convergent themes, we analyzed the forty futuristic manifestos of: Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, as single author or in collaboration with Umberto Boccioni, Carlo Dalmazzo Carrà, Luigi Russolo, C.R. Newinson, Emilio Settimelli, Bruno Corra, Arnaldo Ginna, Giacomo Balla, Remo Chiti, Francesco Cangiullo, Tato, Benedetta Marinetti, Fortunato Depero, Gerardo Dottori, Fillia, Enrico Prampolini, Mino Somenzi, Pino Masnata, Luigi Scrivo, Pietro Bellanova and Antonio Sant'Elia, published in Romanian in the book *Manifestele futurismului* (2009), to which *Guera sola igiene del mondo* (1915/1968) is added, that was not translated into Romanian. Additionally, we also considered the poems *Le Monoplan du pape* and *Zang tumb tumb*.

3.3 Dislocating ideas through manifesto. Themes, slogans, obsessions. Waiting for Italy to enter World War I on May 23, 1915, F.T. Marinetti, in collaboration with Emilio Settimelli and Bruno Corra, launched the manifesto entitled *The Futurist Synthetic Theatre (Netehnic-dinamic-simultan-autonom-alogic-ireal)* (11 January 1915 – 18 February, 1915), where the violent action involving the curative role of war and the artistic action intertwines a wide-ranging movement, with effects on all sectors of life, not just on the artistic one:

As we await our much prayed-for great war, we Futurists carry out violent antineutralist action from city square to university and back again, using our art to prepare the Italian sensibility for the great hour of maximum danger. (...) War – Futurism intensified – obliges us to march and not to rot² in libraries and reading rooms. **Therefore, we think that the only way to inspire Italy with the**

² Wordplay, „marciare e non marcire” in original.

warlike spirit today is through the theatre.
(Marinetti *et al.*, 1915/2009:145)

Until the explicit description of the characteristics of the theatre proposed by the manifesto, the text is invaded by bellicose terms, which incite to violence and destruction: ‘our much great war’, ‘our violent antineutralist action’, ‘the great hour of maximum danger’, ‘fearless’, ‘as impassible at the news of a victory that may have cost fifty thousand dead’, ‘War – Futurism intensified’, ‘to march’, ‘warlike spirit’ etc. In the scenery of 1915, when the world war had already begun, and when Italy’s entry was imminent, such a text had some justification. In fact, the bellicose rhetoric and the glorification of war were announced from the first futuristic manifesto, in 1909:

9. We will glorify war – the world’s only hygiene – militarism, patriotism, the destructive gesture of freedom-bringers, beautiful ideas worth dying for, and scorn for woman (Marinetti, 1909/2009:75)

Marinetti’s ideas do not change, they preserve their destructive energy over time, regardless of the stages of futuristic expression: „Italian futurism shakes immediately, like a flag, those slogans he preferred” (Marinetti, 2009:231), and the themes encountered in the first manifesto become self-manifesting manifestos such as *Guerra sola igiene del mondo* (War: The World’s Only Hygiene) in 1915. The futuristic aesthetics is transformed into a weapon, violence is spread by word, culture is undermined and vehemently denied, social order is overturned. The tool through which all these are accomplished is war, which by benefiting from the supremacy of human-machine technology and hybridization can demolish everything. War itself takes the form of a poem, the most beautiful futuristic poem: “La guerra attuale è il più bel poema futurista apparso finora” (Marinetti, 1915/1968:286) and the most representative exponent of the technique, the airplane, a powerful futurist (later fascist) symbol of supremacy in the war, announcing the future ‘airplane life’ (*la nova vita aeroplanica che prepariamo*), becomes itself a way of artistic expression: aeropainting, aeropoesis. In fact, one of the stages of Marinetti’s literature of manifests is called Aeropoesis³; it proves to be more than a species of lyricism that has flight as a theme. The interest in aeroplanes and forms of artistic expression, aeropainting and

aeropoesis, are the result of convergence of the decisive role of the aircraft on the battlefield and the promise of defeating space and time as a form of expanding human powers through technology (prefiguring the technological determinism of Marshall McLuhan as an extension of the human nervous system on a planetary scale):

Marinetti and the Futurists reserved their most emotive imagery for the aeroplane. (...) The aeroplane promised the conquering of time and space, the vast extension of man’s rule over nature and of the white man’s domination over the world (Gat, 2001:565).

Gabrielle d’Annunzio had already invoked the flight, and after Italy’s entry into the war he had guessed the decisive role that aviation could play on the battlefield. Marinetti, as well, as a self-declared ‘aeropoet’, had taken into account the revolutionary role of aviation since 1909, the year of publication of the well-known *Let’s Murder the Moonlight*, but he also saw in aviation a form of aristocracy capable of changing the existing order. The airplane serves directly the purpose of changing order by positioning it in an intangible space and using the same instrument of war in the cockpit capable of producing the planned violent change:

Here it is: my multi-split biplane with steering tail: 100 HP, 8 cylinders, 80 kilograms... I have a tiny machine gun between my legs, which I can unload by pressing a steel button... (Marinetti, 1909/2009:84)

The airplane serves both as a ‘war flag’ and a ‘passionate mistress’ and allows - the text of the futurist manifesto is explicit - the crossing of the frontline and the bombardment (the ideas that migrated and produced the appearance of Giulio Douhet’s doctrine):

This hill will soon be overtaken!... My aeroplane runs on its own wheels, slides on the skates and rises again in flight!... I fly against the wind!... Very good, crazy!... Continue the massacre!... Look! I stop the engine and slowly descend, gliding, with a magnificent stability, to touch the ground where the battle is in the thick! “This is the frenzied pairing of the battle, a gigantic vulva, craving for courage, a deformed vulva that splits to give more to the terrible spasm of imminent victory!” (Marinetti, 1909/2009:85)

Marinetti’s work, both manifestos and futuristic literature, delivers the necessary ideas to be put into motion, to produce theoretical and practical effects in time. The Marinetti’s speech, especially

³ Enrico Falqui distinguishes between the phase of *verslibrismo*, that of *paroliberismo* and that of aeropoesis, *apud* David Drogoreanu (2009:13).
258

in his manifestos, is a critical discourse that announces change, without producing direct influence, through a critical discourse that is not the subject of the CDA study.

3.4 Critical discourse of manifestos. Critical discourse is a distinct rhetorical genre that manages to produce effects in an action sphere based on an ideological flow. Normally, a critical discourse is associated with a certain power of the enunciator and a form of emotional effervescence linking the enunciator to audience. A critical discourse implies macro-social changes produced in major discursive contexts, as well as on events of great social importance. Critical discourse is a hegemonic cultural construction, producing quasi-instantaneous change on affective level and immediate on the action level. In relation to these characteristics of the critical discourse, the futuristic manifestos distance and define themselves differently. Even if F.T. Marinetti was considered a personality in Italy at the beginning of the century, he did not benefit from the power of influence needed for macro-social instantaneous change. The effects of futurism were not immediately intentional (for example, Italy's entry into war four months after the appearance of the manifesto *The Futurist Synthetic Theater* that prefigured the event cannot be considered a effect of the futuristic manifesto). The effects, on a huge scale, occurred at a great distance in time and space, losing their contact with the origin of ideas driven by futuristic action. These aspects clearly differentiate the discourse of the manifesto from the critical discourse. Then, what brings the manifesto discourse closer to the critical one?

First, the enunciator (Marinetti) addresses the receivers as members of a group (of a movement) and activate them ideologically as actors of the same futuristic movement. From the textual organization point of view, Marinetti induces a cleavage between his own actions (his or of the movement), or between those he assumes and glorifies (and to which he attaches the futuristic attribute: the war becomes intensified futurism, the futuristic airplane poem) and the actions of others, representatives of the old order. In relation to all these, he recommends a categorical, violent / destructive position: "We want to destroy museums, libraries, academies of any kind and fight against morality, feminism [...]" (Marinetti, 1909/2009:75). Own actions, subjected to another morality than the classical one, imply the emphasis on a generalised "We" – for example, in the *Manifesto of Futurism*, seven of the eleven programmatic points begin with this generalised

"We", with two other points containing it. From a semantics point of view, the topics in question are assumed rehearsals – the slogans 'March not rotten', 'Down with museums and libraries', 'The only hygiene of the world is war', 'The word Italy has to prevail over the word liberty', 'Glory to the car aesthetics', 'Death to Verism' etc., cross the entire literature of futuristic manifests by imposing global meanings through semantic macrostructures. From the perspective of form, syntax elements produce rhetorical, possibly prosodic effects, fuelling the antagonistic positioning that futuristic manifests suggest. All these elements are clearly marks of ideological structures and critical speech strategy from Teun A. van Dijk's point of view, exponential researcher in the field of Critical Discourse and Text Linguistics (see, for example, Table 1. Some expressions of ideology in discourse, in *Ideology and discourse analysis*, van Dijk, 2006:125-126).

How can then the incontestable similarities between critical discourses and futuristic manifestations be explained, both of which produce major social effects, as the futurist enunciator does not have the power of influence to produce immediate effects? Through 'migration of ideas', more precisely through 'migration of perlocutionary effect of futurist ideas'. In 1975, John L. Austin, referring to the use of the language in concrete communication situations as speech acts, identified three types, or more precisely, three components: locutionary, referring to the proper statement, illocutionary, expressing the communicative intent and designing a conscious object in relation to the receiver by informing, ordering, alerting, promising, etc., i.e. by statements with a certain conventional force, respectively perlocutionary, meaning the effect on the receiver, that is to say the achievement of the goal of the enunciator - "What we produce or acquire by saying something, such as convincing, persuading, banning or even surprising or misleading" (Austin, 1975: 109). If the CDA critical discourse implies immediate effects through the power of the enunciator and the major discourse context that is connected to the macro-social change, in futuristic manifestos there is a 'migration of ideas' and a germination of them, producing perlocutionary cascading effects.

4. ANALYSIS OF PERLOCUTIONARY EFFECTS OF FUTURIST IDEAS

4.1 Giulio Douhet's strategic thinking. Even though the role of aviation in the new type of conflict, with an emphasis on bombing beyond the

frontline (in the tactical depth of the operations area), was suggested in 1909 by the manifest *Ucidiamo il chiaro di luna!*, an explicit formulation of what was to be the theory put forward by Giulio Douhet was made in May 1917 by Gabrielle d'Annunzio. The Italian writer proposed Luigi Cadorna, chief of the Italian army general staff, within a memorandum based on fine calculations, to take into account that aviation can play the role to strike enemy's industrial centres and disorganize his activities:

The air force, he suggested, would support the other arms through reconnaissance and bombing; but primarily it had the potential for an even more promising line of action. The giant planes were capable of striking at the centres of the enemy's industrial production. They would destroy and disorganize the armament and munitions plants and irreparably disrupt the work process. D'Annunzio calculated the carrying loads and distances for great air raids from France on Essen, which would deliver more than 100 tons of bombs. (Gat, 2001:565).

Through a common friend, aviation engineer Gianni Caproni, d'Annunzio's memorandum reached Lieutenant Colonel Giulio Douhet, Chief of Staff of the Milan Division when Italy entered in war. But, Giulio Douhet, born in 1869 at Caserta, a graduate of artillery studies at the Italian Academy in 1888, and later of the Polytechnic of Turin, was not a simple Italian army officer at the beginning of the 20th century. Giulio Douhet was an amateur writer, novelist, and poet, author of dramatic plays; he also painted. Douhet ideologically aligned himself with the Italian Proto-fascist thinking. He was strongly influenced by the Italian cultural and ideological atmosphere of the beginning of the century; he aligned himself to fascism and, in literary/ artistic terms, to Marinetti's futuristic ideas, to which he adhered. He attached himself to the mechanistic ideals of this movement and fuelled his position through self-cultured self-esteem in years of study in polytechnics, under the power of electricity, industry and airplane. Unlike Marinetti or d'Annunzio, Giulio Douhet relies on scientific fundamentals in this confidence in the power of technology. Moreover, d'Annunzio's memorandum found Douhet already connected to futuristic ideas and attitude. In 1909, the futuristic manifestations had already depicted the artillery officer's thinking, which wrote about the 'importance of air domination,' for, at the 1913 Polytechnics course in Turin, to state that:

A new weapon arose: an air weapon; a new battlefield opened: the sky; so very present everywhere that a new took place in the history of war: the principles of war in the air (Giulio Douhet, *Prolosure al corso preparatorio di aviazione*, apud Gat, 2001:575 and Soare, 1999:145)

More importantly, in the lecture at Torino, Douhet referred directly to two of the futuristic ideas, the imminence of the war and the desire of engagement: "a new unknown strength infused everyone: War!" (apud Gat, 2001:575), respectively, aviation supremacy. The complete belief in the futuristic movement and in its ideology ("We Love Futurists") did take place until 1914, with the publication of the *Futurismo* article in *La gazzeta del popolo* (Douhet, 1914, in Curami, 1993:574). Therefore, d'Annunzio's memo appeared as a confirmation of the Italian officer's thinking. Encouraged by futuristic ideological engagement and confidence in 'flying machines' that Polytechnic studies have given him, Giulio Douhet proposed the accelerated aviation development based on calculations for the establishment of an *Air Armada* to ensure the launch of bombs, the destruction of the enemy means of production, the interruption of communication lines, the control of the area behind the front line and the attack of the front line, as Marinetti had predicted in *Ucidiamo il chiaro di luna!* But, unlike d'Annunzio, and especially Marinetti's science fiction projection, Douhet has solid engineering knowledge and specialized military language to describe, for example, in *Man and the Machine* published in 1914, the futuristic perspective in terms of techniques:

While Douhet's article was coached in a realistic military language as opposed to the sham-mythological science fiction of Marinetti's 'Electrical War' written about the same time, the parallels between two visions are striking (Gat, 2001:576).

In addition to the articles published in the futuristic period of maximal effervescence, Giulio Douhet, who became General after the war, published a series of books in which the same themes of futurism in the functional scientific style with vague affective elements, very attractive, are found. More important are *Il dominio dell'aria* (1921), *Sintesi critica della grande guerra* (1925) and *Probabili aspetti della guerra futura* (1927), the first of which is fundamental in defining the strategy that bears its name, based on the strategic bombardment. Douhet anticipated the change of character and forms of war using aviation; he

proposed the foundation of Air Force and the development of air power: "in order to meet the demands of aerial warfare, it became necessary step by step to increase aerial power" (Douhet, 1921/2009:4). He proposes strategic bombing in the tactical / operative depth of the operation area, and by completely bombarding the chosen goal, the achievement of a moral effect with enormous repercussions:

At this point I want to stress one aspect of the problem – namely, that the effect of such aerial offensives upon moral may well have more influence upon the conduct of the war than their material effects. For example, take the center of a large city and imagine what would happen among the civilian population during a single attack by a single bombing unit. For my part, I have no doubt that its impact upon the people would be terrible (Douhet, 1921/1983:126).

Through the paper from 1921, Douhet (1984:128-129) synthesizes the principles of air warfare, whose objective is to control the air (obtaining and maintaining air supremacy) and, subsequently, to destroy the morale and material resistance of the enemy 'with utmost violence' (term taken from Clausewitz), by what would be later on called strategic bombing.

4.2 Strategic bombing or obtaining the perlocutionary effect. Giulio Douhet's paper *Il dominio dell'aria (The Command of the Air)* was considered to represent itself "a dogmatic manifesto promising victory through strategic bombing" (Clode, 2011). The influence of the Italian general's thinking (a recognized authority in terms of air war and air power) on military thinkers and on military and political people were unquestionable. In the United Kingdom, Frederick Sykes and Hugh Trenchard joined the ideas put forward by General Douhet, but they were opposed to conservative military thinking. In the United States, Douhet's ideas were spread through William Mitchell, who took over from English General Hugh Trenchard. However, the major effect was reached in Germany, where Douhet's work was translated in 1935, published episodically in *Militär-Wochenblatt* and subsequently transformed into the foundation of the organization of the Army Air, *Luftwaffe*:

In the mid-1930s the new and independent Luftwaffe was attracted to strategic bombing (albeit as one among several roles) and was paying considerable attention to Douhet's ideas (Gat, 2001:588).

The German aviation was not only pleased to include the concept in the doctrine and in the technological development necessary for its implementation; starting with the Civil War in Spain, but especially during the Battle for England – the one that was understood as the great air battle foreseen by Douhet – the German troops turned the strategic bombing into *Terrorangriffe* (terror attacks) against human settlements. The effect of German bombings on English cities did not have the morally expected effect. However, the concept of 'strategic bombardment' crossed the border of British and American doctrines, and in response to the 1940 German operation, Anglo-American aviation bombed German cities. The climax of the concept application was the appeal to the nuclear weapon. The well-known American Nuclear Bombing Action on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945 constitutes a black page in the history of humanity, as well as the greatest perlocutionary effect achieved by the futurist exaltation, transmitted through ideas in migration, in space and time. 36 years and 9,463.6 kilometers (5,880.4 miles) have separated, in time and space, the illocutionary act and the perlocutionary effect of a speech act in Austin's meaning, of a communicative act, in our meaning. The effect was felt in an artistic, social, cultural whole, that only history and neutral and equidistant scientific analysis can bring into discussion, in order to measure the illocutionary force through the extent of perlocutionary effects.

5. INSTEAD OF CONCLUSIONS

Talking Marinetti's about the bombing of Hiroshima is, in a way, incorrect. But Marinetti and the futuristic art are not alienated by the public influence and consensus over the negative ideas promoted, as the sociologist Ilaria Riccioni states (2009:45) in the study *L'arte contemporanea e il suo pubblico. Teorie e ricerche*, coordinated by Mariselda Tessarolo⁴. Our study, focused on the enunciator's critical discourse who does not have

⁴ „Al tempo stesso la volontà di incidere sulla sensibilità contemporanea si sviluppa per contrasto piuttosto che per consenso. Paradossalmente i due elementi sono compresenti nell'opera futurista: la ricerca di pubblico e la necessità di entrare in contrasto piuttosto che quella di suscitare consenso, quasi e seguito della conoscenza di una raffinata modalità psichica che genera un consolidamento immediato direttamente proporzionale alla violenza di impatto negativo che essa ha suscitato sull'osservatore, l'attrazione della sfida, la sottile soddisfazione della conquista di un terreno non altrimenti raggiungibile”.

the power to produce immediate effects, but through a repeated discourse action that does not benefit from a major discourse context, succeeds in disseminating ideas. This kind of critical discourse put ideas in motion and produce through them, after long periods of germination, effects in time and space. That's why we aim at drawing attention to the effects of speech acts. Somewhat imputable to the Clausewitz's doctrine (Douhet is building his strategic projection in accordance with this doctrine, bringing about a new environment for military action and a new combat weapon), the bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki could have been analyzed, from the perspective of critical discourse, and in relation to the migration of the ideas of the Prussian General Carl von Clausewitz. Such an engagement would have been in the nature of actions, where ideas within the boundaries of a field of science – military sciences – produce effects by applying them in the same field. This analysis brings into discussion the effects of repeated literary discourse, the effects of ideas shifted from a consistent ideological apparatus – the futurist one – through global implementation. The intention of futurists resonates in our minds, to define itself as an integral project of the revolution of the universe, as the Marinettian expression resonates: 'a victory that may have cost fifty thousand dead'. In relation to an active projection that morally activates society, our paper cannot fail to draw conclusions about the moral dimension. These conclusions concern the effective efficiency of the verb out of control, even in literary terms, when the promise of 'words-in-freedom' is replaced by the real action of 'ideas-in-motion'.

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