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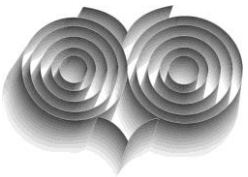

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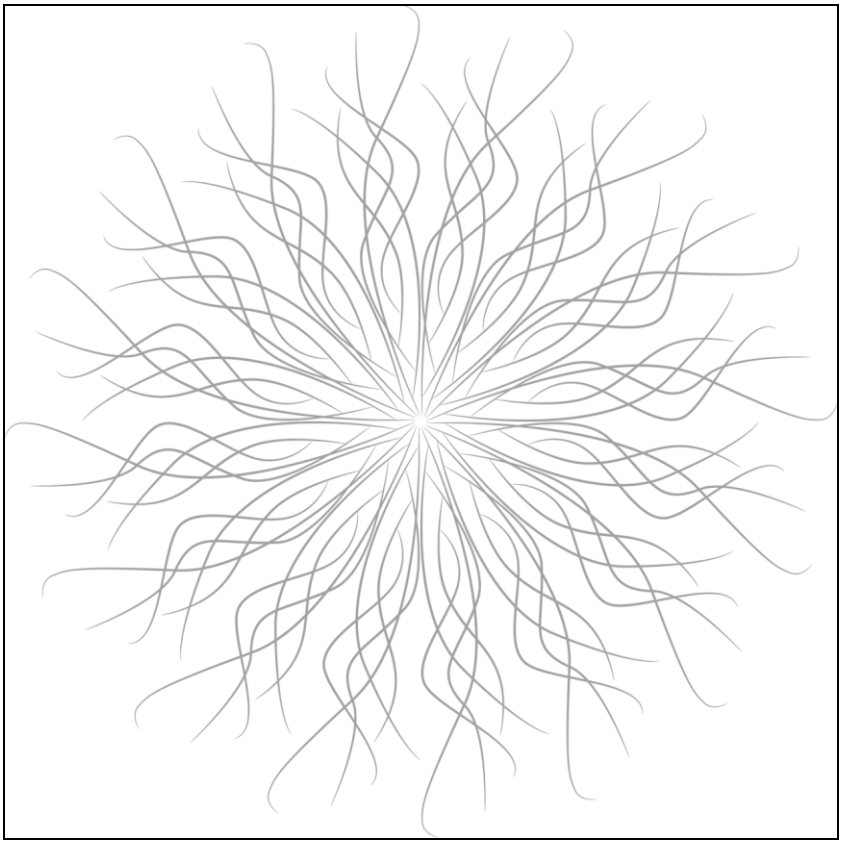
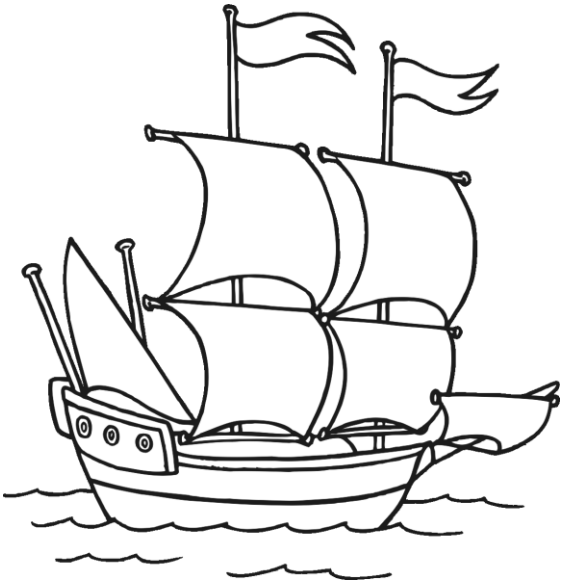
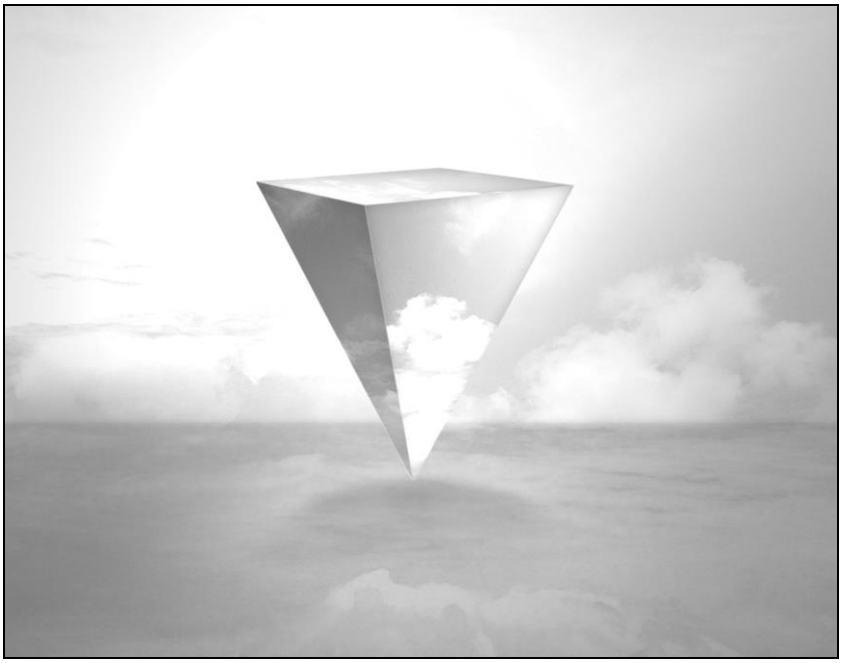




History



FOR A HISTORICAL CRITICISM AGAINST MEDIA POWER HISTORY VS. INFORMATION

PhD Alessandro DENTI

Abstract: *When the organizer of this Conference[1] had proposed the guidelines of the topic under consideration, climate, history and information, I asked myself: how can I offer a contribution, from my position and expertise, especially on the information side, and in general on communication and philosophy? Yes, climate, history and information... But yes - at a certain point I understood the possible key to my intervention, worthy of some interest: not "climate, history and information", simply compared, but more directly "history versus information ": that is, trying to follow the line of a real contrast that, on the climate as on the rest, seemed to emerge between the reasons, we would say, of History and the concrete current implementations of the so-called "Information".*

FIRST PART: INFORMATION AND POWER

I. The informative statement and its moments of "revelation"

It is a question of understanding how, in fact, we find ourselves forced today to recognize a real negative trend that has emerged over the course of recent decades and connected to the so-called "information", an often abused fetish concept to be brought back into the broader context that contains it, that is, the vast phenomenon of "communication", and more specifically modern, technological mass communications. In fact, information would be one of the fundamental macrogenres within mass

[1] This essay was prepared on an initial occasion for the History Conference 2021 - How the climate has changed our history, Rome 27-28 November 2021, then subsequently developed and written for the Conference Proceedings, edited by Giovanna Canzano, forthcoming, in 2024, at Solfanelli Editore.

communications themselves, that part defined by a peculiar enunciative modality based on the factuality of its messages[2], i.e. on a reading contract of such messages connected to states of the world are real, and not fictional (as happens with the fictional enunciative modality, relating to the narrative macro-genre referring to plausible, possible, but not real facts). If on the one hand the alteration of information, in this ever-changing multimedia context, is the result of a natural "hybridization of genres" which does not always necessarily lead to negative developments, on the other it is difficult from a detached glance do not register, as mentioned, a very serious problem regarding the status of power and the ambiguous and distorting role of this information genre within contemporary society. An analysis, however rapid, is therefore necessary in this decisive step; it will therefore be what we will now propose, through an essential scheme for different integrated moments of "revelation".

In certain aspects, it is possible to trace the "denunciation" of the dangers connected to communication - as well as to the debate sparked by the Frankfurt School, or by contemporary anthropological views - already to the pressing critical reading proposed, immediately after the mid-60s , by Guy Débord in his book which has become classic in its own way *The society of the spectacle*[3]: if the word "spectacle" is replaced by the other word "communication", it is largely possible to transfer representations and meanings in a fairly coherent way from one to the other, where Débord with the concept of spectacle thought he had identified, we would say, the new mechanism of capitalist functioning, the spectacle itself being for the French philosopher "the new mode of relationship" and the renewed constitutive logic of capital in society advanced industrial.

We could say that time, in the following decades, has basically confirmed Débord's intuition to a large extent, but in fact replaced "spectacle" with the more generic but perhaps also more seductive concept of "communication", which really invaded the advanced industrial

[2] "Factual" is contrasted in this with "fictional"; two fundamental modes of enunciation, according to the French scholar Francois Jost, completed by a third mode of enunciation, that of the "ludic". It may be useful to consult F. JOST, Realità/Fizione. The Empire of the False, Il Castoro, Milan 2002, as well as a look at the works of Gianfranco BETTETINI, audiovisual semiotician and theorist of media enunciation.

[3] G. DEBORD, The society of the spectacle, and Commentaries on the society of the spectacle, Sugarco, Milan 1990. The original French edition was from 1971

imagination, penetrating with its aura of modernist liberation into a thousand areas, from the economics of management to the commercial-advertising context, up to naturally covering the areas of the cultural industry, which has now become entirely "communication", as such . And here is the first type of "revelation", that is, a sort of quantitative revelation with respect to the invasion that communication - bringing with it its major macro-genre, information - has ended up imposing at all levels for some decades now, determining a its decisive prevalence in every social sphere, from the political to the economic dimension, in the meantime also transfiguring every cultural dimension with its touch and passage. Communication, and information with it, we must admit have become an expanded and overwhelming system, even more so since, with the advent of the presumed liberating revolution of the digital and informational society[4], the technotronic dimension has increasingly welded the communicative acts of human beings to infrastructures and industrial equipment.

On the one hand, communicative expansion develops through an uncontrolled production of "discursive flows", which however run parallel, on the other hand, to an equally powerful extension of the media production structures themselves. The alternation between the sound of the word and the silence that gives it meaning, the separation between representation and its reality, in such a context of omnipervasive communicative occupation, increasingly risk being confused, if not lost, in a communicative noise. which, the more it grows and expands, the more it loses its strength of sense and meaning, and therefore of information. A theme addressed since the 1980s by Jean Baudrillard[5], for example, when he noted the almost "entropic" horizon of the communicative life of contemporary society, surprised to lose, every day more, the very strength of its devices of signification and symbolic production. An information void looms, according to the French sociologist, establishing a process of "entropic prevalence", we could say, of noise over meaning.

[4] Perhaps among the best and most up-to-date analyzes on digital, and as an authoritative introduction to the informational society, is that proposed by L. MANOVICH, The language of new media, Olivares, Milan 2002

[5] The anthology contained in J. BAUDRILLARD, The dream of merchandise, Lupetti, Milan 1994-2002, can be a good summary of Jean Baudrillard and communicative themes. But it will also be worth returning to one of the most evocative texts by the French author, such as J. BAUDRILLARD, Simulacres et simulation, galilée, Paris 1981

The increasingly pervasive sensation that the techno-communicative development of the contemporary world was producing an obsessive horror vacui[6], a fear of silence and of the communicative void to be filled at all costs and at all times, seen from another sphere such as the aesthetic-artistic one, accompanied in turn the observations of a philosophical master like Gillo Dorfles, faced with the multimedia and compulsive "spectacle" of the end of the last century. An effective synthesis of this "quantitative and invasive revelation" of communication is offered by the more or less contemporary reflection of another author who is little known in Italy, Lucien Sfez, who in his Critique de la communication[7] - to which we will return later - addresses precisely this problem: the concept of "communication" expanded without any more limits ends up coinciding with the limits of society itself, defined, as we then often began to say, as the "communication society", that is, a society that has become communication. But, having reached this point, for Sfez there is a risk of ending up in what he called a "tautisme", that is, a sort of tautology with no outlets, a space with no depth or value, which however also allows a fundamental sensation, that is, that of a "totalizing" claim pertaining to communication as such towards every occupyable social space, of a certain totalitarian implication that can be felt when passing through its coils.

One striking fact in this regard is that what in Sfez at the end of the last century was still, perhaps, a sensation or a metaphor, in these times instead resonates tremendously, almost like a prophecy: that aspect on the totalitarian quantitative level of communication which had aroused the attention of the mediologist of the time seems today to reveal itself in a clear way and at various levels, in the current heavy information context, in Italy as often in the West if not in a large part of the world; an increasingly exclusionary, liquidating and mystifying media context. The intimate totalitarian element, predicted to push the expansive engine of communication more than twenty years ago, today seems to reveal itself on the level of exclusive and oligarchic control of media production, as well as on the level of information control of its produced contents; quantitative revelation, thus, offers the tangible awareness of an uncontrollable drift of the communicative-informative processes in our society, both in terms of the loss of meaning in its uncontrolled flow, and in terms of the multiple

[6] G. DORFLES, Horror Pleni. The (In)civilization of noise, Castelvecchi, Rome 2008

[7] L. SFEZ, Critique de la communication, Seuil, Paris 1988-1992

control - on the contrary - of the effects of meaning and persuasion that a new type of power, over time, has evidently been able to develop in the industrial management of messages, thus constituting the force of a certain "totalitarianism" always at work in, and above, the flow itself.

All this brings us directly to the second movement of revelation to be addressed here, that is, to an economic-political revelation regarding the production system of media content and, in general, communicative content as such. It is certainly not an unknown story that, from the beginning, the electronic media and the printed paper itself are mostly organized and produced by a few monopolistic subjects, starting with the State, whose "public service" has represented for decades the only formula of management and control of the radio-TV sectors in many countries around the world. At a certain point, a prejudice and an illusion emerged, when with "openness to private individuals" it was believed that this sphere of communication would become a kind of 'free' and pluralistic space, stimulated by "free competition". What happened instead, revealing itself more than thirty years ago in America, and not long after also in Italy and Europe, is the increasingly invasive establishment of a system of increasingly vertical, oligarchic and monopolistic controls of the media - which from the public service to the private network has always reconstituted strong lobbying cartels of interests, and above all control, of communication itself. It is a broad subject, but we are especially interested here in one aspect, namely the "propaganda system" that derives from it: it has been well reconstructed by the analyzes of Noam Chomsky, who deduced from those analyzes at the end of the last century , a real, renewed theory of propaganda[8].

Time has then worsened this situation, also because this monopoly of a few subjects and lobbies of TV, radio, film productions, newspapers in the "democratic" West - with serious situations, in Italy at most, of conflicts of interest, etc. - it then also expanded into that territory believed to be free and liberating, i.e. the web. The decisive word here is "concentration", a phenomenon which is therefore anything but plural and open, at least in its proprietary aspects: in which the quantity of capital, the strength of money, has ended up prevailing once again, as well as the alleged "commercial interest" imposed by the sponsors, on the possibility of true "cultural

[8] A contemporary "propaganda model" is proposed in the essay N. CHOMSKY, E.S. HERMAN, The consensus factory, Marco Tropea publisher, Milan 1998

freedom". Despite the multiplicity of channels, information and culture have for years appeared debased and emptied of their strength and value.

II. The "revelation" of Declarative Power

Now, however, a real leap in quality has taken place before our eyes compared to all this. In the past two years, in fact, at least observing the phenomenon from Italy, the "democratic" status of the media seems fatally worsened, in the almost tragic and tangible experience of a systematic exclusion of every different opinion, in almost all those media places more or less central to communication, a phenomenon parallel to a disturbing censorial dilution of the information itself. But it is not a random or temporary "worsening", without, we would say, systemic consequences; no, it is a real structural and functional change relating to the media themselves. In the "pandemic" phase, a new type of power has emerged, what we will originally call "declarative power". It is based on an established link - without any further interruptions - between the government sphere and the media sphere: the executive decisions of the institution pass without any critical or documentary treatment as they are to the media, which return them augmented by propagating them , identical, for all possible times and spaces of their domain. The alleged "dialectical", pluralistic scaffolding of the mass media, all the dialogic aura of these dapper lay priests supposedly called "journalists" has been transformed into an oppressive gallery of continuous declarative demands, which are imposed by governments and their decrees without filters in the annoying media rumors, in fact without changing substance from one area of this movement to another.

On the one hand, it is as if that limited periodic mission of Advertising Progress or of the various institutional spaces on television or radio during electoral campaigns and the like, managed by ministries or parties for short episodic clippings, had expanded from those small limited spaces practically to entire television-media schedule; on the other hand, we see how the romantic presentation of themselves as "watchdogs of democracy" by journalists and their class has been completely reversed into "pro-government watchdogs". Mind you, we were saying "governmental sphere" - not "State", or simply "political sphere": since the axis of Institution-Media continuity that has emerged today does not develop through a broader relationship, we would say, with the instance-function parliamentary of the

Discourse, with a profile that is at least basically debate-based and of pluralistic guarantee, but rather with the Government Apparatus, and with its governmental instance-function of the Discourse, directly executive as such, decree-making and decision-making as it wanted to be and could become . Here is the point: the now privileged order of Discourse is not, as we were saying, the dialectical-dialogical one, but the executive-declarative one, which changes the current supposedly democratic communication scenario in Italy in a much more serious sense. In fact, the communication flow imposed with the presumed emergency declares - it does not "discuss", it orders - it does not "propose", it decrees - it does not "advise and debate". We could say with a joke about it, the "three Ds" of the new despotism: Declare, Arrange, Decree.

Here then is the rise of a renewed type of power, Declarative Power, imposed by the fatal union of Government Power and Media Power united, with their peculiar model and order of discourse. What in fact every time "declares" and imposes the disposition of reality, and no longer "discusses" its merits.

This is a dizzying epochal change, which will undoubtedly have to be reversed as soon as possible, if a glimmer of freedom and livability is to be recovered, for the unfortunate generations who have happened upon a similar transition of system and power. In the meantime, we see how the victim most affected by this restructuring imposed by the Declarative Power is precisely information: here, around it, a complex textual struggle has been unleashed, the result of which increasingly appears to be a new era of censorship , as of silencing or hiding everything that dissents or changes the "scripts" designed by the dominant lobbies and then made to descend, through the coils of the named Declarative Power, in the daily work of government-media propaganda that derives from it. The expansion of the lobby-government-media structure finds its emblematic fulfillment in Declarative Power, in the process of political-economic revelation of the power connected to communication.

This "new level" is only a further figure of this same "political-economic revelation" which already emerged, as we said, several decades ago. What was already glimpsed and suspected in past decades has therefore been revealed in reality, but the problem of "communication" and "information" has certainly manifested itself even more seriously in such a capitalist-technological society; and not only that, because if we observe even more carefully the many deteriorating phenomena that have now

been revealed, we see how two theoretical fetishes that have so far been taken for granted, namely that the economic constraint of profit was - in the fatal relationship between audience and sponsor - the major indisputable cornerstone of contemporary media functioning, and that this media evolution spoke a language of the "people" for a "representation of the people", that is, it was based on the lowest and easiest tastes present in society (the lowest common denominator), now it is reveal themselves to be cornerstones that have been completely refuted by the facts. In fact, we have seen how, in order to tyrannize over privileged contents, forms and moral directions, the media system has calmly done without both the audience and the contents coming from the "people" or the populace on which, if anything, every day it was a question of bringing down that indigestible mixture of terror, morality, and spasmodic tones, typical of current continuous infotainment.

III. Physiognomy of the Media Story and "fake-news" ideology

A further way of problematic disclosure of the media, now called into question, deepens and explains these processes even further: this time it can be assumed as a textual-discursive revelation, that is, modulating the observation of media functioning through an analysis of its modes of narrative construction. Following an Italian newspaper or TV news program these days actually means filling yourself with continuous alarm, proceeding in a tom-tom of anguish with a fearful psychophysical attempt at sound, rhythmic and narrative envelopment. Not only, as seen, does the Media Discourse - increasingly, in fact, tailored to the television one, by all the other media - take on the arrogance of Declarative Power, but his Daily Story, moreover, appears that of one polarized scheme, quite simple as well as obsessive, since it is resolved by a simple game of constant binary oppositions: in an interpretation that would deserve worthy theoretical insights in further research interventions, we hypothesize here that the functioning of said "media stories" develops following a dynamic contrary to that of "literary stories". That is, instead of unfolding from an original intuitive nucleus in the long extensive narrative material, through an opening-draft which gradually unfolds, unfolding as happens in the work of a novel, story or essay accomplished, on the contrary the Media Story lives by contracting, that is, offering itself in easy identical repeated reading patterns, and whose strength therefore does not lie in the narrative

evolution and in the scriptural plot that opens up to the author's elaboration and thus becomes a text extended, but in the closure itself, and above all in the bewitching game of the weight of everything that is not precisely extended/extended, but presupposed, that is, in its implicit presuppositional force[9]. Once the basic concept words have been found with respect to, for example, the "narrative" on emergencies, conflicts, political positions, etc., the media then build their characteristic story on them, offered in the formula of a scheme that is all the more effective the more identical it is. to itself, each time it is repeated.

We don't have too much space here to show and reason about illuminating examples in this regard, but it will suffice to say that the Media Report on the climate, during these years for some time now, has presented itself in the form of a pure scheme, we would say oriented, in which every time the mantra of "climate dangers" is repeated - the favored formulaic scheme in discursive terms - with its now usual specific declination as "climate change". To the point that, for some time, it has only been enough to say "climate" to imply - in the always active game of presuppositions, induced by every act of language - "climate change" itself, as such. The same goes for the presumed/real war scenarios: saying "Bucha massacre" at this moment also means/implies "crime of the Russians" - indeed, "the Russians have (always, anyway) been criminals"; where finding the formula also means soliciting, in reality, a whole underlying imaginary, always liable to be recalled from the depths in the game of the most intimate psychological references to the population to which it communicates.

Within these evolutions there are well thought out operations of conditioning and neurolinguistic orientation, evidently as old as the world but increasingly acute and updated in the hands of those who try to "penetrate", as much as possible, among the conditioned minds of the population. But after such a rapid examination, we can still see how the status of information filtered by techno-tronic means has matured into a transversal space of domination and heavy social conditioning, now far from any credibility and claim of "honest ability to inform".

[9] Studies on the presuppositional force of language are primarily due to the works of Paul Grice, on whose author and topic one can consult G. COSENZA, La pragmatica di Paul Grice. Intentions, meaning, communication, Bompiani, Milan 2002

The analysis just proposed relating to the functioning model of Media Stories, however, is certainly not an inconsistent digression with respect to the economic-political revelation of information as a system of power, from which we started just above: since it is precisely through the extension as far as the eye can see of this media-information sector controlled by a few oligarchic and monopolistic centres, that it becomes possible to construct a similar series of "schematic-narrative" operations, which in fact are very poor in documentary quality and as mentioned are always based on easy opposition binary good-evil in the representation of the world and things. That is, the quantity of repetitions fills the poverty of the representations, in an effective game precisely because, in the meantime, the communicative-informative control system has concentrated in a few properties and equally few wills; the quantitative extension of the same properties accompanies and allows this oriented polarity - in an ideological, political and moral sense - of information which has become a "schematic narrative", condensed and concentrated.

In relation to this, a mention should be made of the claim of these times, coming from the same monopolist government-media axis, to establish, as already noted above, a kind of "ministry of truth", in the hairy undertaking of giving a perpetual hunt for the so-called "fake news", wherever they are, especially among the so-called counter-information and the depths of social media. Here, just by liquidating the matter for a few words here - the question deserves important in-depth analysis - we will say that, in reality, if we look at this question with a critical textual-analytical eye we understand how it is precisely the functioning of information reconstructed above, based on the type of the "Media Story" just recognized in its "schematic-oppositional" features, to show the true and essential problem of contemporary informative textuality, because it is precisely the poverty identified in the Media Story itself that characterizes the most equivocal, misleading and mystifying model of "information". In this schematic attitude, in fact, the always punctual and always central operation is the decontextualization of the contents reported: by maliciously selecting the specific contents to be "informed" about, much, too much information connected to these contents themselves is overlooked, and whose informative reporting, in reality, would completely change the meaning and orientation of the narrative as such.

When, for example, I overlook the fact that many doctors, following the independence of their knowledge and decisions, went to treat

presumed "covid" patients at home, always saving them all, in fact I simultaneously allow the "dominant narrative" - that is, the one based on the idea of the existence of a "covid" that is treatable, perhaps, only in hospital and with often negative or tragic results (hence the implicit parallel need for the "vaccine") - of continue their work, which at this point turns out not to be "information" but rather real propaganda. The problem emerging here does not seem to be so much achievable behind the false trail of fake news, a poor concept compared to a real phenomenon, and which seems above all to operate on the side of this political-media Declarative Power - but rather by reasoning on the work of textual decontextualization so fatally widespread in the current spasmodic and insistent multimedia communication production.

Even the climate, in this sense, can serve as a coherent example, since when the fact that in some parts of Greenland the ice on the coasts is neglected in some parts of Greenland is more extensive than before, or that the average temperatures of Paris, A few summers ago, London or Berlin were lower, or at most similar, to those of always - as a professor at the Mercati Traianei showed us, with projected data in hand, at the end of a Roman Summer, already a few years ago - the The entire ideological system relating to "global warming" can easily continue without too many consequences, especially when in the meantime the UN itself, perhaps with the parallel help of some catchy phrase or title introduced in National Geographic documentaries, contributes to this stereotypical narrative scheme (since the media oligarchy coincides with the diplomatic and political one). On the contrary, if the greater wealth of data, information and contextual extensions of the discourse could better circulate in public opinion, at the claimed center of the media, the increase in general awareness in public opinion itself and in populations would be very different, so more worthily informed - that is, recontextualized in content - and therefore also more critical and prepared[10].

[10] In this re-proposal of our essay, we can here in Note insert, updating the problem, some further illuminating references on the merits, such as for example the birth and growth of a real "academic movement" to contest the false scientific nature of the alleged "climate change ", as can be deduced for example from this interview with a Full Professor of Applied Geology and Geological Risks at the Sapienza University of Rome: The climate emergency does not exist. Word of 1500 scientists. Conversation with prof. Prestininzi, 5 June 2023, reported in the magazine "Start Magazine", web address:

IV. The multi-perspective paradigm of History

Here, then, an essential comparison can begin to be proposed between similar narrative-textual poverty imposed by the current dominant information-media model and the basic models of the historiographical work: since the schematic module inherent to the Media Story finds, already at just a first glance surface, precisely in the manner of scientific and textual construction-reconstruction by historiographical writing, a kind of its opposite, that is, a model that finds in the accumulated documentary development, in the open multi-perspective of comprehensive views, in the patient elaboration of possible reconstructions of the facts l the only possible compass and paradigm of one's own episteme, of its sensible possible proceeding, and of being able to present itself as such.

Making, studying, disseminating history means - if one does not remain in the simple propaganda operation - moving through a spirit and direction that is very contrary to any schematic reductionism, in a constitution in itself founded on the critical explanation of the past time completely opposed to the presentation simple and bipolar dualistic, as happens instead in current information. If the schematic reduction of the Media Tale is reduced to small presumed concentrated truths, the work of the historian and the historiographical work instead always unfold through a scientific position of constant openness, in a continuous updating whenever possible of critical reopening - in the face of large or small reconstructions of history, as well as of one's own experience, which can always be rethought and reinterpreted through the work of time, combined with the strength of memory[11].

In this sense, the work of history by definition and essence is constituted as a path of elaboration, documentation as well as interpretation - and it always culminates with portions on offer of multipolar critical constructs, such as perspectives of constant rethinking towards the past. Elaboration, what instead seems to be missing from the agitated and

https://www.startmag.it/energia/lemergency-climatica-non-esiste-parola-di-1500-scienziati-conversazione-con-il-prof-prestininzi/?fbclid=IwAR3OPmT71Z-rG22RC8h4iLLLRZGiHBn2vc9BMiggVQeaXFFnEc3OSLBp5xA

[11] In many respects an essential author in the reflection between history, memory and story was Paul Ricoeur, whose far-reaching volume can be highlighted here: P. RICOEUR, La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli, Seuil, Paris 2000

agitated noise of current industrial communication, and its more equivocal and cumbersome daughter information - and now so polluting, in the widespread social mind.

Frequenting history, even better observing, means positioning oneself in relation to reality mostly by following residual traces, initially starting from simple spies, but capable of revealing - perhaps only in part - the paths that could open up behind them. Once again, a method contrary to the schematic absolutism of popular media shouting, in which everything is presented instead as if reality appeared whole, immediate and total in the face of the gaze and its revelation; while in the game of traces that the "text of history" leaves behind itself, the parallel game of hypothesis and the possible rediscovery of remote realities dispersed in the depths of history itself opens up, as Carlo Ginzburg's applied reflection[12] on the matter has shown, master of history as investigation of the trace, and of historiographical intuition starting from the small residual spies left by time, in search of the true, the false, the possible.

PART TWO: MARIO PERNIOLA AND HIS ANALYSIS "AGAINST COMMUNICATION"

I. On "Communicative Despotism"

In several respects, we could more or less close our Information-History opposition at this point with the examinations carried out so far. But it is worth enriching this path by recalling a further, precious critical reference which is completely relevant to the reflections brought into question thus far, if not as a true seal of acute philosophical recomposition on the entire question. We are talking about an original and not distant contribution, but largely already ignored and forgotten, developed by a great contemporary Italian thinker, Mario Perniola, who in the middle of the first decade of the 2000s proposed a concentrated dissertation entitled, emblematically, *Against communication*[13]: a text that is sometimes very complex to deal with, and whose placement is in turn not entirely obvious,

[12] C. GINZBURG, Myths, spy emblems. Morphology and history, Turin, Einaudi 1986. On the Italian theorist and historian, see also C.GINZBURG, The thread and the traces. True False Fake, Feltrinelli, Milan 2015

[13] M. PERNIOLA, Against communication, Vol. I and II, Einaudi, Turin 2004

since Perniola's thought in this sort of contemporary militant pamphlet does not address the communicative problem on the level of political-economic observation, or of analysis of some more specific contents. Rather, it seems to move on the deepest levels, among the essential drives of the communicative organism as such: we could then define this memorable contribution of the Italian master as that of a philosophical unveiling, capable of enriching if not completing in the best coherent way way the path of "critical revelation" of information followed thus far, during our intervention.

As can be seen from the title, Perniola's is not a "conciliatory" dissertation, but a real philosophical corpus to reconstruct the negative profile of a real polluting space that has become a central device of contemporary society, where "communication" is recognized as a pretentious and dominant factor in the very heart of this multimedia era, in the equivocal and abused function of its claimed "cultural" position. What is affirmed instead, according to the Italian thinker, is a real "communicative populism", which every day, crossing shreds of cultural effects and disseminated knowledge, glides over the cognitive territory with its continuous noisy flow, actually suffocating and repressing every concrete exercise of reason and culture.

What lies behind a claimed superficial pluralism in one's media spaces turns out to be rather a basic principle of exclusion: it acts in the very essence of the communication society, to exclude - by principle itself - all the forms that Perniola defines as "autonomous mediation", i.e. that which is based on the freedom and autonomy of individual judgement. Well before the sensational evidence revealed in recent times bordering on inquisitorial fanaticism, in the media Perniola already recognized almost twenty years ago a space of extreme and systematic polarizations, essentially foreign to tolerating as such any irreducible temporality and spatiality of the work of the spirit, which instead precisely in the continuous work of mediation - we said above: of elaboration, in relation to historiographical work - seeks and finds the real product of culture, knowledge and learning. The forms of mediation live by combining the work of critical ability with that of the strength of imagination, offering in following these paths each time finally a response to experience, an outcome of the spirit called in our tradition "knowledge", later "culture".

Through the coils of communication wrapped up and imposed in a thousand spaces of contemporary relationships, however, what the

philosopher calls a real communicative despotism is affirmed: but, be careful, it is not implemented through a simple exclusionary operation - what Perniola would still have attributed to strength of the "ideologies" capable of maintaining as such a contact with a "determination", that is, a relationship with something specific - but through the appearance of a "totalizing appropriation" of every aspect as well as its opposite, in the intrusive and false democracy of momentary attention, “vitalistic, instantaneous and sudden”[14]. As Perniola says, "communication therefore seems to put values out of play not by opposing them, but by appropriating them", since it "escapes any determination", "aspires to be simultaneously one thing, its opposite and what lies in between between the two opposites”; communication in this sense turns out to be "totalitarian to a much greater extent than traditional political totalitarianism, which also and above all includes anti-totalitarianism. It is global in the sense that it also includes that which denies globality."[15] Therefore, communication actually aims at the dissolution of "all contents".

On the other hand, communication understood in this way is distinguished both from the possibilities and developments of what, a few years ago, was called the "new economy" - the one founded on a strategic reconfiguration of informational capital - and from the evolutions connected to the so-called cognitive society , that is, the new possibilities for the growth of intellectual power in the post-industrial era, as the situation seemed to present itself at the turn of this new century. But what happened precisely at that moment - and recorded by Perniola with extraordinary acuteness, almost at the same historical moment - was the ability of the power to "play the card of populist vitalism", insinuating precisely through the work of communication a debasement from within that same "intellectual and liberating power" made up of "informational capital", and available almost without limits in the era of networks: here comes the birth of Communicative Despotism as such, distinct and contrary to cognitive society since it implements "a strategy aimed at enslaving not only professors, scientists and journalists, but also all sorts of intellectuals and specialists with claims to autonomous legitimation"[16].

Precisely here the attack on the "autonomous mediation" mentioned above begins to operate, in a systematic spoil system action, through what

[14] Idem, p. 23
[15] *Ibidem* p.9
[16] *Ibidem*, p.26

we could call the reconstitution of the Apparatus, in every management area of the different social spheres. Following Perniola's analysis, there emerges an implication of power that has now sensationally revealed itself, in almost tangible terms, compared to fifteen or twenty years ago, in which communicative populism is welded to the bureaucratic power of the apparatus, we would say to unified networks - in the monotonous hypervisible noise imposed by Declarative Power - finally revealing itself as a "manifestation of false consciousness" that appeared once more on the scene of history. In this sense, the Italian professor said, the essential work of communicative despotism is "barring the way to the proponents of the cognitive society, rejecting any discussion of magnitudes and values and envisaging the universe of communication, that is, a world without judgments and without legitimate evidence, in which the strong, endowed with unspecified powers (and often not specified because they are illegal), immediately prevailed over the others"[17].

These words, written around 2004, take on an almost sinister aspect when faced with the disturbing "spectacle" of the false "scientific" theater shown by television in the era of the health emergency, which itself evidently operates with a similar Communicative Despotism, since what this pseudo-medical spectacle has shown is precisely a fatal bond between the obsessive information flow and a world, we would say, beyond judgments and without legitimate proof, paraphrasing Perniola's words, an organic bond moreover to that between its inquisitorial daily protagonists who appeared on the scene and the universe of their properly "strong, endowed with unspecified powers" and presumably illegal instigators, who in fact at the end of every false television debate "have immediately gotten the better of the others". While, regarding the current coverage of the Ukrainian war, the representation of the central media - those that we previously called "generalist" - appears even more obsessive and maniacal, despite claiming itself in that space of presumed "progressive openness" with which it always claims to present itself, but in this revealing precisely how "the very civilized West" becomes "through communication the place par excellence of obscurantism, despotism and barbarism"[18].

[17] *Ibidem*, p.24
[18] *Ibidem*, p.21

Seen from the perspective of discourse analysis applied to the observation of the "television word" several years ago[19], this same despotic and obscurantist situation revealed today is confirmed in turn, in the impressive dominant representation in which, a system of media and communication offered through a thousand channels and apparently multiple distinct voices, however corresponds each time to a single narrative identical, to finally remain alone on the field; a deceptive "democratic representation", already promised by the talkshow at the time in its proclaimed direct access granted to the people in the territories of communication, and which in reality constituted and constitutes instead a selection in the sense of the poverty of the contents and of the representations themselves, as the aforementioned Mininni and Ghiglione already demonstrated in this regard in their psycho-linguistic works, applied to this "fictional communication" created by "social" television, the ambiguous direct contact.

II. Claim of immediacy and absolute transparency

The claim of immediacy between media space and social space, the true foundation of communicative populism, corresponds to a parallel and constant claim of absolute transparency that the media themselves would like to attribute to themselves in the face of the complex manifestation of reality: again Perniola underlines this aspect capable of bordering on the pathological of the contemporary communicative drive, in its claim to "say everything" and in some way "be everything" almost as if in an aspiration for the absolute, which also recalls Sfez's reflections regarding the aforementioned totalitarian "tautisme" and the same claim of transparency, reported by the French author to the communication itself. And in fact, Perniola, in the wake of the masters of psychoanalysis, especially Lacan, fully ventures a similarity between a certain functioning attributed to psychosis and the functioning now recognized to communication: since in this alleged absolute embrace with the world, all-encompassing and all-encompassing, the communication ends up recalling, as in the Freudian case of Schreber, the psychotic's ability to dissolve all differences,

[19] See the works in this regard by G.MININNI, R. GHIGLIONE, La comunicazione finzionante. I, television, Franco Angeli, Milan 1995, and P. CHARAUDEAU, R. GHIGLIONE, La parole confisquée. Un genre télévisuel: le talkshow, Dunod, Paris 1997

superimpose himself on any otherness of reality, fleeing from the world but at the very moment in which he merges with it.

In this regard, one might think of the peculiar situation created during the long days of the health quarantine, when the television-media apparatus attempted to immerse itself completely in the epidemic drama - but, at the same time, the true curative, epidemiological, more broadly social reality that in the meantime it resisted and existed in the world in that context it was not even able to detect this apparatus in the slightest, nor even more so to explain the reasons and the complex existential divergences, so to speak; because the totalitarian attitude of communication was able in those moments - totalitarian also at a governmental and political level - to unfold without limits, revealing every communicative space precisely as marked by a similar psychotic tendency, in which while one claims to touch, deepen and exhaust the representation of the world, the world itself is completely missed and eluded by this representation itself. And as Perniola already taught, this "psychotic" condition of communication destroys as such the order of the symbolic: in fact it tends to deny the value of proof - the "doctors who cure", the real pandemic data omitted, or those on the climate , equally hidden - as well as that of true rational discussion and challenge, not called to confront but rather repressed or silenced through omission. The double psychotic procedure already intuited by Perniola was revealed in contemporary information communication in the full implementation of his procedure, based on two successive movements, the first that of "taking everything" of the world, the second following that of "excluding everything" - that is to say, to merge with the world, on the condition, however, of denying it.

This overall movement based on negation thus neutralizes the reality that is proposed and opposed to it, thus revealing at the same time its essential inability to "stay in the conflict", that is, to tolerate the very unveiling of the complexity of the world, and therefore of not having an authentic inter-esse - that is, interest as the ability to "stay in being". Every authentic difference of being and spirit escapes in this way, just as the enunciating subject itself tends to escape[20], who in the role of host-opinionist at the center of the media arena lets his assertions come and go in the fleeting whim of the moment, being guaranteed because, as

[20] How ambiguous and elusive the positioning of the "true enunciator" on television can be, observed through the semiotic-discursive perspective, was also addressed in G. BETTETINI, La conversation audiovisiva, Bompiani, Milan 1984

mentioned above, "strong, endowed with unspecified powers". We could add - in the wake of the aforementioned psychoanalytic views - as dominated by an "imaginary and narcissistic ego". The dissolution of all contents implies, then, the true catastrophe of every possible symbolic order.

Referring to Freud, rather, Perniola identifies the profitable life of the symbolic order itself in the ability to think opposition, to practice/tolerate opposition and contradiction, since opposition as well as ambivalence reside in the deepest depths of the language and the psyche, as demonstrated starting with Freud. The symbolic order, the strength of real knowledge cannot ignore this oppositional and ambivalent opening, in its authentic being and proceeding.

At the same time, the Italian thinker recovers the entire tradition of the arts, philosophy and above all aesthetics, conceived as spaces in which knowledge is applied and proceeds through the continuous exercise of successive and distinct degrees of recognition of reality, developed and protected in the wise order of discretion. Discretion, the attitude of wisdom, modulates the true cognitive approach to reality, distilled in the subtle arts of moderation and disinterest through which to advance by degrees and distinctions in the revelation of the world, each time described and reconstructed in its symbolic order following the patient work of interpretation and understanding over time, of temporality left to the work of hypotheses and infinite possibilities.

PART THREE: UNDERSTANDING IN INFO-TECHNOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL TIME BY KOSELLECK

I. Technology and oblivion. The critique of communication by Lucien Sfez

Understanding over time, an exercise in the order of cognitive discretion, now allows us to return to the strength of History, as opposed to the current perversion of Information. Sfez himself in his aforementioned study also noted a progressive divergence, between a line of "society with memory" and another line, developed by technological automatism, characterized by being a "society without memory", which Sfez directly

connected to the evolution of "communication"[21]. This contrast repeats the possible one - although not necessary - between machine and organism: the first determined by a condition-continuity of a "being done with", the second determined by a "being inside/being in the environment" - and which he finds precisely in information what "links" him to the surrounding world. Information is what binds the parts, therefore, and in doing so offers an order of awareness, that is, in the consciousness of the parts and their functional union in this re-understood manner. In this way, Sfez identified the importance of maintaining, in the face of the new world of automated machines, characterized by use without memory, an essential space for the "society with memory", still capable of giving meaning to experience and, therefore, to practice the work of historiographical reconstruction and historical memory, in a still and always decisive function.

Symbolic mastery can only arise with the awareness of the unity of the process capable of conceiving and evoking the links between the parts, and therefore of bringing out, in this way, a sense and meaning oriented towards the experience. Having conscience and awareness, ultimately, reveals itself as the human ability to maintain memory with its links that produce symbolic meaning, thus reserving precisely for the exercise of history an insurmountable bulwark against any possible technological or ideological alienation.

In recent times, Paul Connerton has developed a similar reflection[22], with the precious contribution that the time of techno-communicative evolution has in the meantime produced since the years of Sfez's essay, a reflection in which the English scholar highlights the problematic tendency in hyper-technological society to keep the spaces of memory and the awareness of history active, in a context in which "modernity forgets" very easily and oblivion is intimately reconnected to the cycle of consumption itself, in which the almost instantaneous speed of processes - which in today's times often transforms places, objects, situations very quickly - can eliminate precisely that consciousness that memory was able to build and maintain.

[21] L. SFEZ, op. cit., pp. 32-35

[22] P. CONNERTON, How modernity forgets, Einaudi, Turin 2010

II. Reinhart Koselleck and Historica as historical consciousness of the multiple in action

We thus reach the final lines of this intervention, calling into question a worthy conclusive reference capable of framing our convocation of History in an "anti-Informative" function. History, in fact, we have evoked here in the title of the intervention as "Historical": an original category developed by the great German historian and thinker Reinhart Koselleck, through which he proposed a "theory of the conditions of every possible history", following as such the “bilaterality proper to every history”, and thus outlining a “theory of historical times”. The basic idea of a story as an open space of possibilities, of a territory of memory full of oppositions and contradictions - to quote Perniola - finds a fundamental reference in the rich work of the German author, where the different conditions of possibility of history, a starting from finitude, each time they encounter both the inevitable partiality of every historiographical reconstruction and the equally inevitable basic openness that the work of history always maintains in front of itself[23].

In a work capable of crossing several essays and subsequent elaborations[24], Koselleck proposes a view of historical consciousness that is a clear bearer of the perspective and existential complexity of things in the world: for example, in concepts such as that of Zeitschichten, that is, historical time thought of as multiple time of multiple stratifications, connected to that of wiederholung Strukturen, that is, "historical structures that repeat themselves", as "geological" elements of social life capable of resisting over time even great transformations, within the same society. An

[23] Regarding the fruitful dialectic between interpretation and history, see the stimulating dialogue in R. KOSELLECK, H.G. GADAMER, Hermeneutics and history, Il Melangolo, Genoa 1990

[24] We owe to our companion in philosophical adventures Diego Fusaro the interception of Koselleck's work, the lesser-known and mostly untranslated one, of the German original: see in this regard Fusaro's dense essay entitled The concept of historical temporality in Reinhart's reflection Koselleck, in D. FUSARO, Modernità e futuro in Reinhart Koselleck, Il Mulino, Bologna 2012. Of Koselleck himself, at least R. KOSELLECK, Zeitschichten should be noted. Studien zur Historik, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main 2000, R. KOSELLECK, Future past: for a semantics of historical times, Marietti, Genoa 1986, and the intervention in Begriffsgeschichte, Sozialgeschichte, begriffene Geschichte. Reinhart Koselleck im Gespräch mit Christof Dipper, in “Neue politische Literatur”, n. 43 (1998)

intense reflection to understand the constant tension between the infinite "eventual vortex" and the "anthropological constants" we would call meta-historical characterized the thought of the German historian, whose heritage of notions accompanies today the richest awareness when thinking about history, its conditions of possibility, its methods of functioning and value, of which the Historic becomes the comprehensive category of reference.

What then characterizes the representation and information regarding the climate at this moment, when the news speaks, or when a certain Klaus Schwab expresses himself, for example, almost always seems to be the most inferior statement into which communication has fallen as up to now in these pages we have reconstructed it in its problematic and equivocal parable, a phenomenon whereby information has become a propaganda moment bordering on the psychotic. An exclusionary situation based on a stereotyped narrative of reality, characterized in turn by a fundamental lack - that of an adequate recourse to the decisive categories of history - or "Historical" - even better to be called into question. A clear example of this current fundamental contrast is the media narrative of the war in Ukraine: it, through the propaganda of a Western imperialist ideology, flattens out by definition into the decontextualized instantaneity of a few supporting images-emblems, parallel to the few, schematic words- concepts with which to exhaust the very representation of that reality, promptly reduced to a binary oppositional scheme, concerted on a good-bad outcome that is already arranged. Even by hastily deleting various articles or testimonies from their own historical archives regarding the true profile of power in Ukraine - because they attest to something different from the narrative scheme prevailing now - some Italian newspapers or Western newspapers have revealed something disturbing about themselves, demonstrating the existence in oneself both of that "bad conscience" identified above at the bottom of Communicative Despotism, and of traits perfectly consistent with the "psychotic functioning" which in turn flashes in the deepest communicative drive.

But a simple cognitive operation, based on a minimum historiographical recovery and historical memory relating to the places of the Ukrainian and Russian conflict allows the displacement, if not the upheaval, of the Media Story itself: becoming aware of a conflict that in reality has already been going on for eight years at least, acquire knowledge of the many attacks suffered by the Russian population in those

territories often affected by the Ukrainian power during these same years, broaden one's gaze to the historical legacy of the Ukrainian lands subjected to tsarist and then Stalinist power, to the cultural complexity of the "many Russias" existing in the ethnic and historical perception of those spaces, for example, allows each time to recompose the most complex picture of the situation and to be able to arrive, if anything, at something of that autonomous mediation referred to, capable of bringing judgment and awareness[25].

The Declarative Power, as we have at the moment identified and described it only with a few traits, today seems to infest the space of more or less official information through many, too many of its own "official versions": from narratives - "Media Stories", how we have renamed them - health, terrorist or climate emergencies to the alleged pollution of agriculture and related "eco-compatibility", from easy reading schemes of the war in Palestine or Ukraine to the old opposition "progressivism" - "autocracy", and the like. On this complex situation, where a decontextualized representation to the point of falsification and manipulation now dominates the information territory, the testimonies could be almost unlimited, which we refer to a more in-depth and elaborate study.

Precisely the historical operation, the calling into question of History and Historica allows us to break the noisy flow of Information which has become alienation of the spirit and conscience. The cognitive operation of History, then, constitutes the healthiest exercise to distance oneself from the pathological immediatism imposed as a psychological pollution of attention by Communicative Despotism at work every day, with its new topic and its new obsession of the moment.

In truth, there are many dangers that loom today over the Western civilization of which we are heirs, often hidden in areas of our spirit believed to be progressive, in methods and perspectives with a liberating and falsely renewing aspect. Communication, with its sharp-edged information genre, has revealed itself to be one of these areas, moreover since its inception as a concept and as a project tinged with an uncontrolled utopian and

[25] In this regard, Italy is preparing the translation of a very recent work by the scholar Maksim Grigoriev, already translated into English, on the history of Ukraine, considered by various specialist observers to be more complete and less partial than the current one. mostly propaganda proposal at the center of public opinion. The publisher Sandro Teti is preparing the Italian publication

totalizing claim[26], which then often relapses into dystopian and totalitarian realities.

At this moment, then, the good use of historical perspective, of its taste by definition cultivated by a thousand differences and continuous openings, can offer a safeguard from Communicative Despotism. History reveals itself to be the true science of the multiple in action, and a thaumaturgical bulwark against the coils of any alleged transparency or immediacy of declarative and impositional Information, which it contrasts with the taste for nuances, the pleasure of the fragment, the play of coexisting differences. It constitutes the true cognitive model disposed to the art of the possible and the possible, a virtuous exercise focused on the whys, as well as the what and the how.

And on this path, the critical action of an ever-vigilant Historian can truly represent a sort of "science of the people" capable of protecting them from the psycholinguistic work of Power, which has today become an insidious programmer of informational anguish and mental conditioning - since knowing and controlling the past, as Milan Kundera said in The Book of Laughter and Forgetting[27], is the only truly fatal writing that the work of power would always like to sequester.

[26] In this regard, see the works of the great communication historian Armand Mattelart, among which we can mention A. MATTELART, The invention of communication. The ways of ideas, Il Saggiatore, Milan 1998, but also the theoretical and historiographical fresco present in A. MATTELART, History of planetary utopia, Einaudi, Turin 2000

[27] M. KUNDERA, The book of laughter and oblivion, Adelphi, Milan 1991. The volume by A. GIANNULI, The public abuse of history, can also coherently approach the theme. How and why political power falsifies the past, Guanda, Parma 2009

TRIANON - JUNE 1920: AN ONGOING CASE STUDY

PhD Viorica MOISUC

The achievement of Romania's sovereignty within its national territory and in international relations, the consolidation of this sovereignty on a political and legal level through the fundamental acts of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919-1920 represents, especially in the perspective of time, a positive historical experience and, through this, a contribution to international theory and practice in the political, diplomatic and legal fields.

The value of this experience resides in the fact that the modern Romanian unitary national state was the objective result of a long process of development and affirmation of the Romanian nation in the economic, cultural and political realm, it was the expression of the struggle and will of this nation in its entirety, in 1918; also, the value of this experience is also given by the plebiscite Decisions of March, November and December 1918 (Chisinau, Chernivtsi and Alba-Iulia) which expressed the historical progress from that stage in the sense of establishing a new international political order based on the acceptance of the principle of nationalities and national self-determination, of real equality between states, the elimination of the use of war, of force, in interstate relations, the renunciation of secret diplomacy; this new order announced the opening of an era of peace and collaboration between peoples and states, regardless of their size, within the framework of the application and respect of the principles of international law.

The establishment of the Romanian national-unitary state in 1918 was part of a vast process of political-economic-social restructuring in Central and South-Eastern Europe, a process fueled by the irreversible crisis of the anachronistic multinational empires that held under occupation, by force and threat of force, dozens of nations and foreign territories: the war of aggression of Austria-Hungary and Germany against Serbia started in 1914 and quickly expanded on a world scale, hastened the process mentioned above, completed in 1918 in this entire geographical space. The Paris Peace Conference of 1919-1920 registered the new political-territorial

configuration decided by the will of the liberated nations and gave it international recognition through the Peace Treaties of Versailles (Germany), Saint-Germain (Austria), Trianon (Hungary) and by the Covenant of the League of Nations (document that constitutes the Preamble of each peace treaty); through its provisions, the Pact guaranteed precisely the new order established by the nations in 1918.

This is actually the fundamental positive feature of the Peace Treaties after the First World War, recognized, moreover, by the defeated states by signing and ratifying the treaties that concerned them.

Starting from the postulate that history has never recorded a satisfactory peace for both the victors of a war and the vanquished, it is explainable that the defeated states were affected more or less by some provisions of the peace treaties, especially in the territorial fields, war reparations, military restrictions and many others. Equally explainable were their attempts to obtain, by various means, the modification of those undesirable provisions[1]. All this is explainable but, transformed into imperative and priority objectives of foreign and domestic policy, they became unacceptable and extremely dangerous because they undermined peace and general security more and more and threw humanity into the chaos of a new war.

For Germany, the culmination was the regime and policies of Adolf Hitler, which failed miserably with the end of World War II; his acolyte, Miklos Horthy, took Hungary down the same path, with the same end.

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Am afirmat că Trianon-ul poate fi considerat „*un studiu de caz în continuă actualitate*" pentru că, o privire retrospectivă asupra celor **o sută șase ani** care s-au scurs de la prăbușirea sistemului monarhic dualist austro-ungar arată că de-a lungul acestei lungi perioade nu s-a ostoit plânsul Budapestei după „*Ungaria milenară"*, nu s-a modificat cu nimic politica sa revendicativă privind teritoriile cândva ocupate *manu militari* de regii „*apostolici"*, politică îmbrăcată , după caz, în haine nu doar ungurești, ci și nemțești, rusești, britanice, franțuzești; în fruntea listei de revendicări s-a aflat întotdeauna părți ale teritoriului național al României .

[1] See this issue in Viorica Moisuc, The Premises of Romania's Political Isolation 1919-1840, Second Edition, revised and added, Foundation Publishing House, Bucharest, 2023, p. 20-39.

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On December 1, 1918, in Alba-Iulia – the fortress that symbolizes the moment of the first union of the historical Romanian provinces carried out in 1659-1600 by Prince Michael the Brave –, "The National Assembly of all Romanians from Transylvania, Banat and Hungary, gathered through their representatives entitled to Alba-Iulia – as it is stated in the Declaration of the National Assembly – decrees the union of those Romanians and all the territories inhabited by them with Romania"[2]. Seen in the retrospect of history, this Decision affirms the inalienable rights of the Romanian people over the territory they have always inhabited, a territory on which the Romanian language, unitary of the Romanian people, was built, civilization and culture were built, one and the same throughout this territory. Alba-Iulia was the last act of the Great Union of Romanians, carried out in a first stage in Chisinau, on March 27, 1918, then in Chernivtsi, on November 28, 1918.

It should be noted that on the entire geographical area between the Dniester-Wooded Carpathians-Danube and the Black Sea-Tisa, archaeological research confirms, starting from the Paleolithic era, the uninterrupted existence of a population with the same way of life, with the same features of material and spiritual culture. These characteristics have not undergone any change over time.

I will resume, to begin with, a short fragment from an excellent study written three years after the signing of the Trianon, by I. Dimitriu (professor at the University of Iasi), at a time when Hungary, a signatory of the Trianon Treaty (but which refused to recognize the legitimacy of the sovereign unitary states created on the ruins of the dualist monarchy) and had embroiled in a mad war for the restoration of the "Millennium Hungary" against Romania, Czechoslovakia and the Slovene Serbo-Croatian Kingdom, in criminal collusion with Lenin. Prof. I. Dimitriu writes:

[2] Bessarabia, Bucovina, Transylvania – Unity 1918, Annotated documents and introductory study by prof. univ. Dr. Viorica Moisuc, Department of Public Information, Publications Office for Foreign Affairs, Bucharest 1996, doc. no. 152, p. 500-528. "Minutes of the Great National Assembly of the Romanian People from Transylvania, Banat and the Hungarian Parts, held on Sunday 1 December 1918 in Alba-Iulia in the hall of the Military Circle in the Cetate".

"*…ne descendons pas trop dans la nuit sombre de l'antiquité, et raportons-nous seulement au moment où la gloire de Trajane eu raison de la vaillance de Décébal, au moment où l'empire des Daces fut soumis à la domination romaine. C'était au commencement du II-e siècle : la Dacie était limitée à l'Est par le Dniestr, au Sud par la Mer Noire et par le Danube, à l'Ouest par la Tissa (Theiss) et au Nord par la chaîne des Carpathes et la partie supérieure du Dniestr. Elle comprenait donc la Bessarabie, la Bukovine , la Moldavie, la Valachie , l'Olténie, La Transylvanie, le Banat de Temishana, le Banat de Crishana et le Maramouresh*"[3].("…let us not descend too far into the dark night of antiquity, and let us only refer to the moment when the glory of Trajan got the better of the valor of Decebal, to the moment when the Dacian empire was subjected to Roman domination. It was at the beginning of the 2nd century: Dacia was limited to the east by the Dniester, to the south by the Black Sea and the Danube, to the west by the Tissa (Theiss) and to the north by the chain of the Carpathians and the upper part of the Dniester. It therefore included Bessarabia, Bukovina, Moldavia, Wallachia, Oltenia, Transylvania, Banat of Temishana, Banat of Crishana and Maramouresh.") (in french in the original text).

In 1918, Romania, a unitary national state, included all these territories.

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In the last century of the first millennium - during which the territory inhabited by the Romanians organized in state formations led by voivods - experienced the invasion of tribes migrating to Europe from distant Asia - the warlike tribes of the Hungarians appeared who entered the Romanian area through North. Their settlement in Pannonia and the establishment of a state formation that wanted to continue the old Hun kingdom led by Attila, marked the sedentarization of the nomadic tribes but not the beginning of a peaceful development in those places. He was attracted to the "Country beyond the forests![4]" – which they knew from the time of the migration.

[3] I . Dimitriu, professeur à l'Université de Iassy, *Les Droits de la Roumanie sur la Bukovine . Rapports de la Bukovine avec la Pologne el l'Ukraine, î*n volumul T. Ionesco, D. Hurmuzesco, V. Dimitriu ,|E. Pangrati. C-M Sipson, J. Gavanesco, D. Negulesco, J. Ursu, *Les Questions roumaines du Temps présent. Avant-Propos de M . Raymond Poincaré,* Paris, Félix Alcan, 1921, p. 43.

[4] G.Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele istoriei Românilor (The Origins of the Romanians)*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1934, pp. 73-117. See also Viorica Mosuc, The Ordeal of the Romanians in the Struggle for Liberation and National Integration, vol. II, Romanian and also French edition, Publishing House of the Romania of Tomorrow Foundation, Bucharest, 2022, chapter XXVIII Anonymus versus Rőssler, pp. 225-241.

Because, as can be read in the Chronicle of the Anonymous Notary of King Bela, "that land is watered by the best rivers... gold is gathered from their sand, that the gold in that country is the best gold, that salt is extracted from there and salty substances…"[5].

The chronicler talks about the "people of the earth"-"the inhabitants of the country" who were in constant armed conflict with the nomads. "The inhabitants feared the cruelty of the Hungarians more than can be said, and no one believed that they would be able to live by the kindness of Arpad[6]*;* **they saved themselves as best they could, some by running away, others by submission**". Anonymus talks about "the land of the Gelu Lake", rich in gold and salt, about the attack of the Hungarian tribes on the fortress in Bihor defended by "Duke Menumorut", about the attack on the fortress of "Duke Glad" in the Banat area which" was conquered, looted, the inhabitants plundered, the imprisoned hostages"[7]*.* It should be added that the accounts of the anonymous notary of the Hungarian king Bela are confirmed by another well-known chronicle, that of the Russian Nestor. Referring to the march of the Hungarian nomadic tribes led by Arpad to the West, he specifies: "*Les Hongrois, après avoir franchi de hautes montagnes - ce sont bien les Carpathes - se mirent à lutter contre les Valaques et les Slaves qui y vivaient*"[8]. ("The Hungarians, after having crossed high mountains – these are indeed the Carpathians – began to fight against the Vlachs and the Slavs who lived there") (in french in the original text).

So this was the "vacuum" found by the Hungarian nomadic tribes in Transylvania, a vacuum that they conquered by hard fighting against a

[5] Gesta Hungarorum (Deeds of the Hungarians) - the chronicle written by Anonymus, the notary of King Bela, was discovered in 1746 in the imperial library in Vienna by Johannes Georgius Schwandtner and published under the title Anonymi Belae regis Notarii Historia Hungarica, in 1765. In Romanian, the first translation (accompanied by the Latin text) was published in Sibiu in 1899. In Hungarian historiography, this document - the oldest writing on the history of the Hungarians - was vehemently contested, first by Sulzer, Engel and Rőssler, who denied the existence and continuity of the Romanians in the Transylvanian space (the "vacuum" theory) and the theory of their "migration" to Transylvania in the 12th-14th centuries, coming from Albania/. These theses were taken up by Hungarian historians, publicists, politicians and are still used today.

[6] Apud *Calvarul Românilor…,* vol. II, p. 240.

[7] *Ibidem.*

[8] N. S. Govora, *La Transylvanie roumaine,* Carpați Publishing House, Madrid, 1981, p. 13.

peaceful population of cultivators and animal breeders. Population that lived in this "void."

The testimonies of the chroniclers – appreciated positively until the appearance of Roesler's politicizing theories – were later declared apocryphal, the consequence being known: the exacerbation of historical falsifications, the launch of theories such as that of the "vacuum", of the "tolerance" of the political regime in Hungary towards the subjugated nations, to the various religious cults other than Catholicism; finally, two theses whose scientific inconsistency is beyond any comment and which borders on elementary morality: "Hungary's historical rights" over Transylvania" and the "Millennium Hungary" thesis.

Let us specify that Hungary has "historical rights" through the Trianon Peace Treaty of June 1920, when its territory was fixed within the limits of old Pannonia – the area where the nomadic Hungarian tribes came from Asia, organized their first state and they converted to Christianity in the year 1000: as far as "Millennium Hungary" is concerned, it is an elementary calculation error. The period when Hungary was under Ottoman military occupation with the status of pashalic (in 1526 - Mohacs), Transylvania with the status of autonomy under Ottoman suzerainty (as well as the status of the Romanian Principalities – Wallachia and Moldova) was omitted; The Austrian Empire freed Hungary from Ottoman occupation (peace of Karlowitz,1699) and included it in the empire. In 1867, the Austro-Hungarian agreement regarding the creation of the anachronistic Austro-Hungarian union also provided for the incorporation of Transylvania into Hungary, a situation that was maintained until 1918, that is exactly 51 years. The period before the events of 1526 is added, but it must be specified that Transylvania had the status of a voivodeship. Therefore, where is the "Millennium Hungary"?[9]

The obsessive mentality regarding "Millennium Hungary" and its corollary - the reconstitution of the "Apostolic Kingdom of St. Stephen", which dominated and dominates Hungarian politics and propaganda since Trianon, is perfectly illustrated by the list of works published only in the first

[9] A long discussion on these aberrant theses supported from Roessler onwards (i.e. for three centuries) by Hungarian and pro-Hungarian propaganda, see Calvarul...vol. I: chap. II (Mihai Eminescu in defense of Romanians from Transylvania and Bessarabia), chap. XI (The history of a criminal plan of the Hungarian government against the Romanians in 1907. Vol. II: chap. XXIV (Transylvania in the mixer of history inventors, chap. XXIII (Anonymus versus Roessler).

ten years after Trianon and brought to the attention of the general public in the book "Justice pour la Hongrie" printed by the publishing house of the "Pesti Hirlap" newspaper in 1931: 23 books and two maps in French, 24 volumes in English, 20 in Italian and 8 in German. Articles from magazines and newspapers, brochures etc etc are added. Who knows their numbers in the years that followed?

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In 2014, the French historian Catherine Horel published a book of particular interest: knowing perfectly the history of Hungary after Trianon and analyzing the annexationist policy of the Horthy regime from 1938-1940 supported and carried out under the baton of Hitler, Mussolini and no less to Chamberlain and Daladier, the author tries to decipher the roots of Hungarian revisionism, a formula that covered the aggressive annexationist aims of the Horthy regime; Art. 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which provided for the possibility of revising "treaties that have become inapplicable" was used as a support for the "legal" promotion of requests for the revision of peace treaties. Anyway. it was obstinately invoked by states that saw in this article the possibility of modifying or even canceling peace treaties or even unwanted clauses.[10]

"Revisionism as the raison d'être of the Horthy regime – writes Catherine Horel – is the leading thread throughout the period between the two wars. The inability to emerge from the defeated camp in World War I draws Hungary into the Italo-German orbit. Revisionism becomes a system, it is the main propaganda tool of the regime, and the reconquest of some territories between 1938 and 1941 is glorified as the victory of the Regent"[11].

The historical support of Horthyst revisionism is the doctrine of the Holy Crown. "King Stephen the Holy becomes the privileged propaganda

[10] The great jurists of the time, such as Nicolae Titulescu, Olof Hoijer, Mihai A. Antonescu, Ovidiu Vlădescu and many others, as well as great historians such as Nicolae Iorga, Gheorghe Brătianu, Gh. Sofronie demonstrated that the implementation of the provisions of art. 19 would have been practically impossible due to the extremely complicated procedure provided by the Pact. Anyway, the Peace Treaties that confirmed the new order based on the principle of self-determination of nations, could not be discussed.

[11] Catherine Horel, Admiral Horthy, regent of Hungary (original title: L'Amiral Horthy, Régent de Hongrie, Perrin, Paris, 2014), Humanitas, Bucharest, 2019, p. 19.

figure of the Horthy regime. Hungarian revisionism – states C. Horel – is built on the territorial integrity of Royal Hungary and only Croatian separatism justified by state law and the personal union of the two kingdoms is admitted. The other lost territories are considered as lands belonging to the Crown of the Empire". The French historian also noted the specifics of Horthyst revisionism: "Hungarian revisionism is directed especially against Romania, because Transylvania is considered an essential element of Hungarian identity, and against Czechoslovakia in order to recover at least the south of Slovakia where Hungarians are numerous...". His conclusion is that "revisionism poisoned Hungary's relations with its neighbors and with Westerners and also generated a rhetoric of victimization"[12].

The "official" anti-Trianon propaganda asserted itself in Hungary's domestic and foreign policy – reduced to its national territory – with the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian colossus and the proclamation of successor states. The Károlyi government established the National Propaganda Committee which launched the famous slogan "Can this stay like this? No, no, never!" (*Maradhat ez igy? Nem, nem, soha!)(in hungarian in the original text).* In the following period, paramilitary organizations were established, not only on Hungarian territory, but also on the territories of Romania, Czechoslovakia, the Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom - everywhere where Hungary had territorial claims; "Everything forms - emphasizes Horel - a heterogeneous ensemble in which racial theories and historical phantasms mix." Turning to the current situation, the French historian does not lose sight of how the phantom of the "drama" of Trianon, the illusion of the Kingdom of St. Stephen and the "Millennium Hungary", continues to disturb interstate relations, the good coexistence between the various ethnic groups living in the same geographical space. "The trauma caused by Trianon is still used in its own interest by Jobbik, the current far-right organization ... the rehabilitation we are witnessing after the transition to democracy in Hungary masks the analysis of the man and the system. The repatriation of the Regent's ashes in 1993 occasioned a semi-official reburial, the significance of which must be analyzed"[13] – drows attention Catherine Horel.

Indeed, without the intention of recalling the horrors committed by Horthy and his henchmen in the territories annexed by force by Hungary –

[12] *Ibidem, p. 168.*See also *Calvarul…,* vol . II . p. 162-163.

[13] Ibidem , p. 14-19. Calvarul…vol II, p. 163.

with the help of his allies Hitler and Mussolini, in the years 1938-194, I believe that the national or semi-national funerals, official events organized on the occasion of the repatriation of Horthy's ashes have a special meaning: Horthy stands next to his ally Hitler, a war criminal, and next to Stalin, the author of equally heinous crimes, who encouraged and stimulated the Hungarian annexationist demands; the victims of the Horthist terror in Slovakia, Transylvania and the other territories occupied by Hungary in those years numbered in the hundreds of thousands, the destruction, the looting, the arrests and the mass murders, the terror with all their processions are not forgotten and cannot be forgotten because they remained buried in the collective memory. A war criminal with such a dark past became Hungary's national hero. It is a defiance to humanity. Today's Hungary is "in mourning" on June 4th and no less on December 1st. For one hundred and six years he has wept for the chimera of Great Hungary, and he has isolated himself in his great grief! Qui prodest?

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The fierceness of Hungary against the recognition by the Peace Conference of the self-determination of the nations that had been under its occupation, was also given on the diplomatic level with methods and means not at all diplomatic. The so-called "defense" of Hungary's rights was based on lies, gross material errors, misrepresentation the facts, the total lack of lucidity in formulating some value judgments regarding the internal situation in Hungary, the regime of nationalities, the exacerbation of some dangers to Europe, to the Western states that only a royal Hungary, with a strong army, sitting on the ridges of the Carpathians could have to counter them.

Some examples.

At the Conference,y Count Apponyi, the head of the Hungarian delegation, denied the objective realities through a tendentious and false documentation and made statements that damaged elementary logic. "The Hungarian government's memorandum of protest against the provisions of the Peace Treaty with Hungary, presented by the head of the delegation on May 17, specifies: "The Hungarian government protests in particular

against the obvious violation of the principle of self-determination which is the only means of removing the causes of disturbances and overthrows"[14].

The self-determination that this document spoke of had been achieved in the Central European area in 1918, including Hungary - which was a republic. On the other hand, Apponyi claimed before the Congress that in Hungary "there was no national problem"[15] and, therefore, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia would have been "imperialist creations" that would not have resulted from the application of the principle of nationalities, that "the mutilation of millennial Hungary appears as a historical mistake" that will lead to ruin and chaos throughout central and southern Europe you're like. Hungary demanded from the Peace Conference that it be assigned territories belonging to Austria, on which it threw the entire responsibility for the outbreak of the war.[16] In this context, the involvement of the Vatican in the action of the Hungarian delegation at the Peace Conference should also be mentioned. Monsignor Majlath, the Hungarian bishop of Transylvania, addressed a message to the "Western peoples" on October 27, 1919, following the memorandum of September 8 of the same year, sent to the five members of the Peace Conference, in which, using a non-Christian language, he uttered many insults to the peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe, claiming the "superiority" of Hungarian culture over "Orthodox Balkan culture"; he also emphasized, so that it would be known once and for all: "We belong to Western Europe and we do not want to become Balkans"[17].

Another head of the Hungarian Catholic Church, Monsignor Boros, was appointed by the Budapest government at the end of 1918 as a member of the Commission in charge of preparing documentation for the

[14] Romanian Foreign Affaire Archive, Convention Fund, vol I, Report of the Romanian Delegation to the Peace Conference, reg. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with no. 13702/June 20, 1920.

[15] *Arh, MAE -Paris, Série A- Paix, „Notes de la Délégation hongroise", vol. 121-122. Anexa 34 : La réesponsabilité de la nation magyare dans la guerre"* și anexa 40 :„Les principes du traité de paix *autrichienne peuvent être appliqués à la Hongrie*".

[16] See these matters in detail in Viorica Moisuc, The premises of the political isolation of Romania 1919-1940, 2nd edition revised and added, Romania de Mâine Foundation Publishing House, Bucharest, 2023, chap. III, The danger of Hungarian revisionism. The project of the Danubian Confederation. Attempt to reinstate the Habsburgs, 73.

[17] Apud Silviu Dragomir, *La Transylvanie roumaine et ses minorités ethniques, București, „Monitorul Oficial", 1934 p. 147-148.* Vezi și Viorica Moisuc, *Premisele, ,,p. 74-75.*

Hungarian delegation to the Peace Conference and then became a member of the delegation. Using the context, he carried out, for two years, a fierce propaganda against Romania in France, Holland and England[18].

This kind of subversive actions aimed at destabilizing and causing hatred were well known at the time. American professor Andrew C. Janos, chairman of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, wrote: "it is significant that in 1920 the Hungarian Catholic Church asserted itself as the champion of the revisionist cause", collaborating closely with the Vatican"[19].

This offensive action of Hungary at the Peace Conference took place in a context conducive to the idea - agreed in Paris, London, Rome and even in Washington - that the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian colossus from Central Europe would sharpen the dangers that may come from the East. The fall of Tsarism and the establishment of the Bolshevik regime in Russia created many unknowns in front of which the security of the West felt threatened. As a result, many Western political circles did not frown upon the maintenance of the Astro-Hungarian colossus in Central Europe as a counterweight to a reborn Russian empire.

At the end of 1919, Romania, Czechoslovakia and the Kingdom of Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian carried out a joint action in Paris and other capitals against the way the Hungarian delegation vehemently asserted its demand to preserve the borders of the old Hungary. From the capital of Czechoslovakia, the French ambassador Clément-Simon wrote to the Quai d'Orsay on December 31, 1919: The Hungarian action created a lot of concern in the South-Eastern European states, because "personalities from the Entente countries are discussing this eventuality as if it were it is a perfectly admissible possibility. This reproach is directed more at the English than at the French.[20]

On January 2, 1920, the French government was forced to send to its diplomatic representatives, through a circular telegram, a number of

[18] After completing his mission, he returned to Romania in 1921 and resumed his old positions as vicar of the Unitarian Episcopate and professor at the Theological Academy. By Royal Decree, Boros was confirmed as bishop of the Unitarian cult in Romania, receiving substantial stipendia from the Romanian state.

[19] Andrew C. Janos, *The Politics of backwardness in Hungary 1925-1945*. See these matters extensively in *Calvarul, …*vol . II, cap XXX.

[20] Archives of the French Land Army (EMAT-Vincennes), Board 7-N 3054 (unpaged), telegram no. 453, Prague, December 31, 1919, signed Clément-Simon.

clarifications that specified: "We do not ignore the fact that the Hungarians are preparing to claim before the Conference a good part of the territories assigned by it to the allied nations.We also know that in some official English circles, especially outside the Foreign-Office, there is a regrettable complacency towards the Hungarians.

The French Government is determined, as far as it is concerned, to be firmly opposed to any reversal, on the part of the Conference, of decisions which have been long considered and which have taken into account all the elements of the question[21].

While in Paris the Conference was debating the Peace Treaty with Hungary, in Budapest the government was drawing the lines of a large-scale action intended to lead to the realization, if not total, at least partial, of the ghostly "Millennium Hungary". It was about the Project of the "Danube Confederation" - cherished dream in Budapest, with ancient origins. On May 30, 1918, The Council of Ministers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, concerned about the extent of national movements, penciled in a series of foreign policy directions, namely:

• ["The idea of a Yugoslav state is against the interests of the monarchy!"

• "The idea of a Czechoslovak state is also contrary to the interests of the Monarchy"

• "A Romania including Transylvania is inadmissible"]

It was proposed "the annexation of Serbia and Montenegro to Austria and Hungary, respectively, specifying that both Serbs and Montenegrins will be quickly assimilated by the German and Hungarian elements, respectively"[22].

It would not be useless to recall that the oldest German-Austro-Hungarian bilateral agreements already provided for a division of the territories of Central and South-Eastern Europe between the two powers as follows:

[21] The General Staff of the French Land Army, Historical Service, Vincennes (in account EMAT – Vincennes), Board 7N (not paginated), tel. circ., Paris, November 2, 1920 signed Berthelot. According to *The Premises*...p. 76-77.

[22] *Protokolle des gemeinsamen Ministerrates der Òsterreichischen-Ungarischen Monarchie (1916-1918),* Budapest, Akademiai Kiado, 1966, p. 662-668.

• The annexation to Germany of the provinces bordering Russia as well as a "rectification" of the border towards Poland

• The extension of Austro-Hungarian rule over Romania, Serbia and Montenegro

When such plans were being hatched in Vienna and Budapest, the dangers that a possible German-Austrian Anschluss heralded for France were intensively discussed in Paris. Hence the idea that a possible Danubian Confederation would cancel Germany's prospect of capturing Austria and would smooth the way for France to attract Austria into its orbit. An interesting analysis material of this problem that concerned the French political and financial circles, was elaborated at the Quai d'Orsay, in September 1939:

"The Danubian confederation is a must - it was obvious from the very beginning. If France really wants to maintain the independence of Austria, it (Austria) must become, if not the co-ruler, at least a headquarters of the Danubian Confederation. European peace and balance will thus be saved"[23].

This issue was related to France's interests in achieving hegemony in Central and South-Eastern Europe. The analysis from the Quai d'Orsay was clear: "The Danubian confederation would provide a wide field of action for France politically, economically, culturally in the entire area of Central and South-Eastern Europe. Vienna lends itself admirably to an action of this kind. Vienna is, by tradition, international. Vienna is the point of contact of trade routes from the West and the East. Its banks still dominate the Balkans, Turkey, Asia Minor." In addition, "The Danubian Confederation with Austria and Vienna as its center could be a barrier both to German imperialism and to possible German-Russian connivance. Contact between Russia and Germanism could very well be overseen by France through Vienna"[24].

In these circumstances, the ruling circles in Budapest moved on to concretize the project of the Danubian Confederation. On March 17 and 18, 1920, Horthy's emissary, Dr. Halmos, held meetings at the Quai d'Orsay with Maurice Paléologue, Secretary General. Starting in his plea, from the idea that "a definitive and stable peace could not be achieved in the Danube countries without a calm and satisfied Hungary", the emissary of

[23] *Arch. MAE Paris,* Série Europe 1918-1929, Allemagne, vol 121, p. 147. P. 147. *„La question d'Autriche, 24 septembre1919."*

[24] *Ibidem.*

Budapest advanced proposals for so-called collaboration with France which actually meant the subordination of the entire Hungarian economy to French interests: "I offer the close rallying of Hungary to France and the other nations friendly to France, both economically and politically, the open inauguration of a net Franco-phile policy and the guarantee of the stability of this process".[25]

A few days later, in the context of the goodwill shown by Paris, Horthy concretized his demands:

• Repairing the injustices done to Hungary, the biggest being "the loss of Transylvania"

• "Modification of the communicated borders so that a large part of Transylvania returns to the Hungarian Motherland", and in the rest of the territory "plebiscite" is organized.

• In the areas inhabited by Szeklers and Saxons, "regional autonomy" should be granted.

• "The takeover by the Romanian state of an important part of the pre-war financial obligations of the Hungarian state"

• "The concession to Hungary of the exploitation of salt mines in Maramureș and the free use of their products"[26].

The so-called Hungarian-French "economic cooperation" meant the handing over of all state enterprises (railways, machine building, blast furnaces, steel mills, Györ cannon works, Diosgyor mechanical works, the construction and operation of Budapest harbor and related canals , the gas companies from Szolnök, the electricity companies, trams, the cement factories from Totis, the mines from Handlova and Uricani, etc.[27]

Secret negotiations began with French industrial groups, such as Schneider-Creuzot, in the presence of government officials.

On May 12, 1920, in the context of these encouragements, the Hungarian Government sends, through the same Halmos, concrete claims of a political nature as a counterpart to the concessions economic, the peace treaty negotiations with Hungary being in the final phase,

[25] *Arh.MAE -Paris*, Série Europe, Hongrie, vol 58, p. 41-47. Lettre de M. Halmos, Paris, le 18 mars 1820.

[26] *Ibidem*, p. 47-50

[27] *Ibidem*, p. 80. Letter of April 14, 1920 from Dr. Halmos to Paléologue. In Paléologue's handwritten Marginal Note, he only states that he "acknowledged" the contents of the letter (p. 93)

Below are some of the political claims made by Hungary:

• Modifying the borders fixed by the peace terms so that the territories with a clear Hungarian character forming a block united with the majority of the Hungarian race are not detached from Hungary.

• Keeping a part of the former territories that produce a minimum of raw materials and motive power, indispensable for maintaining the economic life and especially the industrial production of the country.

• Regional autonomy for territories mostly inhabited by Hungarians, Szeklers and Saxons, under Romanian domination. Freedom of worship, language and security of material existence for Hungarian minorities in territories with a Romanian, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav majority.

• Self-determination of Swabians and Hungarians in the western part of Hungary (located between the borders of Austria.

• Concession for the benefit of Hungary of the salt mines in Maramureș (exploitation and utilization of their products)[28].

It should be noted that the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Maurice Paléologue, distanced himself through a diplomatic formula from the received document. The resolution placed on the last tab of the Note of May 12 stated: "Receiving this Note, I specified that I receive it only à titre d'information, without issuing any opinion on the matters that are listed, Paléologue, May 12."

However, the economic negotiations followed their course, so that on May 16, the Hungarian authorities put the last signatures on the documents containing the economic concessions made by Hungary.

In the following days, things got complicated on several levels:

On June 4, the signing of the peace treaty with Hungary at a time when its demands had not even been discussed, created a very difficult situation for Alexandre Millerand, in his double capacity as President of the Peace Conference and delegate of France. Already in the well-known letter delivered to the Hungarian delegation on May 6, 1920, Millerand was committed to respecting the Peace Treaty. At the same time, information was circulating in the French press about the government's intentions and the existence of secret negotiations with Hungary. The current of opinion created was clearly hostile to such an orientation. Under the headline "Tomorrow peace with Hungary", the "Paris Midi" newspaper of June 3

[28] *Ibidem, p. 122, remitted grade by dr. Halmos to Paléologue, Paris, 12 mai 1920*

wrote: "The object of the concluded agreement would be to give Budapest a dominant economic position in Central Europe. Hungary itself would become a leading center for the neighboring countries that would submit to it. If this is the goal pursued, we must hasten to prevent it. Neither the Czechoslovaks, nor the Romanians, nor the Yugoslavs are at all willing to accept Hungarian economic hegemony. If, unfortunately, French foreign policy has taken this false direction, a wave of protests will rise against France, a situation that is not only regrettable but also humiliating"[29].

Other newspapers directly accused the Foreign Office of "dragging France under public reproach"[30]; the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber was asked to analyze the "extra-governmental" action of M. Paléologue. In the following period, far from putting an end to the Hungarian affair, things were complicated by England's desire to get involved in the economic, financial and political negotiations, the competition with France actually aiming at hegemony in Central and South-Eastern Europe. In this context, Horthy and the militaristic circles around him considered the political moment favorable to trigger the action to restore Greater Hungary, skilfully using the Franco-British differences.

The Bolshevik danger threatening Europe was the motivation Horthy found to assume the role of Europe's savior. In the first decade of July 1920, the Budapest Parliament formulated the request "for Europe to give Hungary a mandate to organize resistance in the Carpathians with its reconstituted army."[31]

Hungary's request was communicated to the governments of the allied states and on July 26, Horthy summoned the diplomatic representatives of the USA, Great Britain, Italy and France to request their support for the respective governments to grant Hungary the authorization to defend the Carpathians in military manner[32].

In his presentation to the summoned diplomats, Teleki stressed: "The Prut line cannot be defended and, once crossed, the wave of invaders will advance without difficulty to the heart of the Carpathians. If the Red Army reaches the Carpathian ridges, it will descend without problems to the

[29] *Paris Midi*, June 3,1920 , *Demain, la paix avec la Hongrie".*

[30] *Bonsoir*, June 15, 1920

[31] *Ibidem*, vol 47, p. 60-64 report 124, Budapest, July 19, 1920, signed Foucher (French High Commissioner) to Millerand

[32] *Ibidem,* p. 78-80, telegram nr. 125-226-127, Budapest, July 26, 1920, signed by Foucher

plains and our current border will not be able to be defended". Communicating the above to his government, Fouchet added: "The authorization which the Hungarians request will enable them to reoccupy a part of their former territories from which they will probably never consent to leave; skillful means for them to evade, at least partially, the execution of the (peace) Treaty, to gain a common border with Poland. In order to play the Czechs' party. These are the cherished dreams here"[33].

In the face of this Hungarian offensive, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia reacted quickly. The three governments sent an ultimatum note to Hungary asking it to immediately ratify the Trianon Peace Treaty. At the same time, each of the three states declared that they had the means to defend their borders[34].

Far from laying down its arms, Hungary insisted in the following period on the imperative need to prevent the "Bolshevik danger" with its rebuilt army, claiming that none of the successor states would have had the ability to defend Europe! The position of France and England, and equally of the three neighboring states, determined the de-escalation of a conflict that was announced to be extremely dangerous.

In Hungary, however, the attempts to recover the lost territories were focused in the following period on the attempt to re-enthrone the Habsburg monarchy. Horthy and Count Bethlen wanted to bring the last king-emperor, Charles of Habsburg, considered to be the "legal holder of the Crown of St. Stephen" to the throne of Hungary as soon as possible. The action was also prepared militarily with the help of a significant number of Austrian monarchists refugees in Hungary who organized armed contingents ready to go into action. Again, the partisans in France of the idea of restoration of the monarchy considered that such a change of situation would serve the hegemonic interests of France in central and south-eastern Europe French High Commissioner in Hungary he had repeated conversations with Archduke Joseph of Habsburg in his "magnificent palace in Buda". The claimant to the Hungarian throne believed that "only the monarchical authority is capable of leading Hungary to its new destiny", which could only have been achieved with the involvement of France. The future king read the text of the Proclamation to Fouchet after the long-awaited event had taken place. Apart from the

[33] *Ibidem.*

[34] *Ibidem, vol. 48, p. 95-96, telegram no. 292-293, Bucharest, July 4, 1920, signed by Daeschner*

declarations regarding relations of good intentions in relations with neighbors, the Proclamation included a special reference to Romania: "As for Romania, I think we could understand each other, proceeding very delicately with Hungarian public opinion; the conventions would first be of an economic nature to then reach political concessions on the part of Romania, in Transylvania, using the support of the French government."[35]

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Throughout the interwar period, Hungarian revisionism undermined the security of the states in Central-South-Eastern Europe. After 1933, the Nazi Germany became the main helper of the Hungarian policy of revising the peace treaties and preparing the war of revenge. Budapest was directly and concretely involved in the organization of international terrorism - the 1934 Marseille Crime, which fell victim to King Alexandru Karagheorghevici of Yugoslavia and Louis Barthou, the Foreign Minister of France, was prepared in the training camps in Hungary.

When Germany launched the action to break up Czechoslovakia, Hungary annexed important parts of the territory of this country, an action which it continued in 1939. In the fall of 1940, Horthyist Hungary with the support of the USSR managed to implement the plan seizure - admittedly partial - of Transylvania. What followed is known. Genocide ordered by Horthy, robbery, destruction, terror. After the war, the ghost of Great Hungary returned. The same demands: Transylvania, the autonomy of the area with a Hungarian population, the undermining of the sovereignty of the Romanian State through visible and invisible means.

For 106 years the Trianon Obsession, the Transylvania obsession remained as alive in the Hungarian mind.

[35] *Ibidem,* vol 47 EMA, 2-e Bureau Paris, August 25, 1920, *„Renseignements de Hongrie au sujet de la politique exterieure hongroise. Secret."*

MANKIND'S DILEMMAS, FROM THE AGE OF ORACLES TO ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

PhD Alexandra RADU

Since ancient times, people have felt the need for a projection of their own force, an out of body experience of their creative intelligence to meet the solitary being and support him when he seems to fail in front of the challenges of the universe. This is how the projection of divinity appeared, on the one hand, which gives authenticity to the human self, and on the other hand, the "institution" of oracles, an external instance, meant to confirm or refute the hopes, fears and sometimes even initiatives of the communities that appealed to them. Relying on these "safety nets", humanity has come a long way, going through tumultuous eras in which spirituality has taken many forms: witchcraft, astrology, numerology, divination, etc. All these stages, even if they are still in the collective consciousness and may sometimes even be used today as consultative means, seem obsolete, outdated, because at present, humanity seems to have solved the problem related to its intrinsic need for unconditional support, creating a new out of body variant, a powerful and versatile alter-ego, Artificial Intelligence.

What was the path taken, whether or not the mind of the human individual has changed and his perception of his external projections and what Artificial Intelligence represents as a stage in becoming humanity, we will see in the article that follows.

1. Oracles and prophets, consultative authorities or domineering alter-egos?

The need of the human individual to permanently communicate with a higher entity to support and advise him has always been supplied, or perhaps exploited, by community leaders.

If we refer to ancient Greece, we must bear in mind that the time of the one prophet, who personally imposed on the community the laws transmitted by divinity, had passed, and Greece, the country of democracy,

had to find a solution that would respond to the rigors of its own population, so that the Greek leaders identified the solution of oracles, before which they did not present personally, but whose sentence was mediated by virgins, under the influence of a magical drink.

But to understand whether oracles and prophets were a tool of support or manipulation, let's take a brief peek into the history of Greek oracles.

The most famous oracles were the Greek temples of Delphi, Phocis, Dodona in Epirus, Lebadea Boeotia and Tenor in Laconia.

Delphi was surrounded on three sides by precipices and placed at the base of Mount Parnassus. The upper part of the city was dominated by the Temple of Apollo, where there was a huge treasure, consisting of offerings of all the peoples of Greece and neighboring peoples. At the entrance to the temple, it read: "Let no one approach these places unless he has pure hands."

Inside the edifice, there was the statue of Apollo, made of solid gold, behind which opened the entrance of a crypt, in which this god made his predictions. From the writings of Plutarch, we learn of how the crypt was discovered: the goats wandering on the rocks of Mount Parnassus were seized with convulsive movements as soon as they approached the site of the crypt; So did shepherds or locals, who also shivered with chills, spoke in delirium, uttering strange words.

The priests consulted decided after these signs that the presence of a god who wanted to communicate with mortals should be recognized.

A virgin, with the sacred name of Pythia, began to descend once a month into the crypt to transmit the prophecies she had received. She wore lacquers on her head and a white woolen scarf on her forehead.

In the beginning, there was only one Pythia at Delphi; Later, three others were created, chosen from among the most beautiful faces of the most important families in the city.

Soon the young women were replaced by fifty-year-old prophetesses of a more obscure condition. They were very well guarded, being kept closed at all times.

Therefore, Pythia's condition was not modest, and she was far from the freedom to convey a personal message, or that was not agreed to by the rulers. However, Pythia's messages did not reach the people directly.

Pythia descended into the crypt and sat on a tripod, having previously been given a drink of water flowing inside the sanctuary and attributed

magical qualities. After a few moments, Pythia's cheeks flushed brightly, then suddenly faded, her body was seized with nervous throbbing; He began to let out long, jerky moans, his eyes became shiny, his mouth frothed, his hair rose on his head. Gradually, amid terrifying screams, Pythia drew bits of words, which the priests hurried to record in order to decode them.

Another great oracle of the Greeks, Trophonius, was in Boeotia, at the source of the Hercyn River, which forms numerous waterfalls in its fall. The name of the oracle was taken from the architect Trophonius who, together with his brother Agamed, had built the temple of Delphi. They were therefore no strangers to how the miracle of oracles worked, nor were they devoid of interest in the community.

Legend has it that after they finished the temple, they asked Apollo to offer them a reward; The god replied that they would receive it in seven days. After the seven days, the brothers fell asleep and never woke up. (or maybe they never showed themselves publicly again).

The cave where the oracle was located offered visitors terrifying surprises: it descended, to some depth, on a ladder; Then you had to slide, feet forward, through a long, very narrow tunnel to the bottom of the underground. On the way back, you were thrown upside down at the same speed.

This strange ritual took place during the night, after detailed preparations. The documents speak of a Theban named Tersidas who arrived to consult the oracle. He was first imprisoned for three days and three nights in a chapel dedicated to the goddess Fortuna, observing an absolute fast. Before he was admitted to the sanctuary, he was given to drink water taken from two springs: the first cup erased memories of the past, and the second prepared the spirit to keep in memory all that it would see and hear. He was then dressed in a woolen cassock and led with torches to the staircase leading down to the grotto. He walked out the next day, pale, dejected, recognizing no one.

Photo: Oracle Trophonius

There are many other descriptions of characters who ventured, or were assigned, to the knowledge of truth through the Greek oracles. They all ended tragically, after they had an initiation rites and going through the experience of consulting oracles. And yet, the human individual, both individually and collectively, tends to periodically replicate the same experiences, seeming to always seek answers outside his being, always trying to identify the universal algorithm that will transform him, to make him immortal and eternally victorious, like the absolute of the being he himself raised to the degree of divinity.

Thus, over the centuries, mankind turns to witch doctors, sorcerers or clergy, and then to psychologists, sociologists or consultants in all fields, in desperate search for absolute answers. Over time, the human individual becomes aware that the entire collective experience must be stored and that from this the longed-for answers can be drawn. This is how the Internet is born, the modern "oracle" that "knows everything about everything" and can be consulted without much initiatory preparation. And yet.... The lack of initiation of those who consult the Internet exposes them to dangers of

which they are not initiated, they are not aware. Humanity is again at an impasse, but, as usual, it is not abandoning the struggle. All it needs is the "magic liquor", the algorithm that thinks for itself, independently processes the stored data and simply offers the ideal solution. This is how Artificial Intelligence is born.

2. Artificial intelligence, the modern oracle and the trap of absolute freedom

Although we would be tempted to say that modern man is much more suspicious and difficult to manipulate, the experience of the emergence of AI and its widespread spread, as well as communication through social networks, seems to offer us a completely different perspective. Paradoxically, the modern individual is more credulous, easier to obey rules, accepts easier and faster patterns of thinking and communication imposed by others, which he takes over without thinking too much about the consequences.

Perhaps due to lack of initiation, perhaps due to an exaggerated desire for integration, which occurs much harder at the level of a very heterogeneous society, the human individual shows himself very willing to believe everything he is told and to do everything he is ordered. He begins to use the precious tool of AI, as a form of divination (guessing the future, the date of his death or lottery numbers) or as a simple, rudimentary tool that saves him from thinking independently (responds to so-called "challenges", mechanically imitating gestures or gesture sequences, distributes without selectivity certain images or texts, It allies itself with initiatives about which it knows nothing and thus creates exacerbated and dangerous collective movements).

At the level of society, Artificial Intelligence meant discovering a tool with which they tried to mystify public speeches (processing the speaker's voice), verify the authenticity of certain information or even certain masterpieces (eg Raphael's paintings), or even relaxation (partner in online games).

What Artificial Intelligence actually is and how it works. AI has become an umbrella term for applications that perform complex tasks and previously required human input, such as communicating online with customers or playing chess. The term is often used interchangeably with its subdomains, which include machine learning (ML) and deep learning.

However, there are differences. For example, machine learning focuses on building systems that can learn or improve performance based on the data they process. It's important to note that while all machine learning systems are AI, not all AI is machine learning.

To get the full value out of AI, many companies are making significant investments in data science teams. Data science combines statistics, computing, and business knowledge to extract value from various data sources.

Here, according to the author of this article, comes the danger of uncontrolled use of Artificial Intelligence at the level of human society and here will prove their usefulness the national and international bodies that the authorities have already established.

Thus, if in the field of medicine artificial intelligence promises to solve important problems, such as home consultation of non-transportable patients, and for the HR sector this is a blessing (staff selection can be performed online, with the possibility of detecting certain hidden behaviors of the human subject), in other areas (advertising, military or even political or financial) the uncontrolled use of certain applications Artificially intelligent can pose a real danger to humanity and free will. Persuasion is the key word for these sectors, and artificial intelligence will not apply a fundamental human attribute that it will have to assume under supervision: ethics.

But will a technical system ever be able to assume values that strictly imply human character? For the scale of moral values to which humanity relates is, as we all know, built with the involvement of affectivity and empathy that human beings enjoy precisely because of the bit of divinity they contain in their intrinsic structure and not only thanks to their external projections.

3. Conclusions

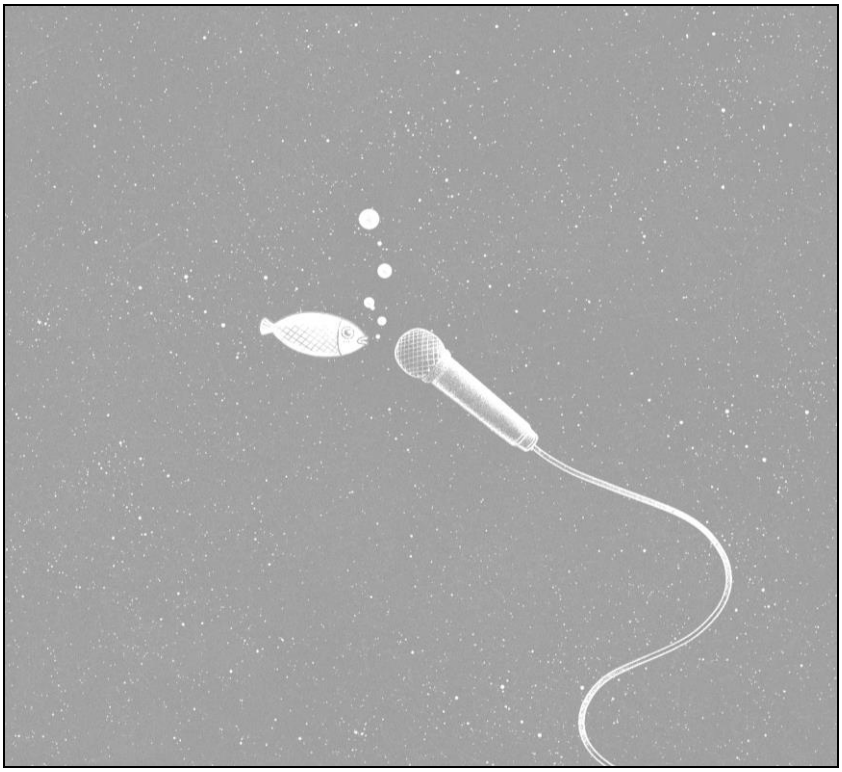
As mentioned in the beginning of this article, humanity has manifested since ancient times an obvious tendency to create support instruments in its journey through the universe, represented by external projections of its own self and collective mind.

These tools, more or less mystical, have certainly played important roles in human evolution, sometimes substituting themselves for real decision-making bodies. If oracles or other forms of divination were occult

formulas, whose origin and functioning was not familiar to everyone and which implied the passage of initiatory stages before consultation, today we are faced with the emergence of forms of manifestation of the projection of the collective mind in a public space, with free access for the initiated and not only.

Here arises the risk of modern society failing in the use of self-created support systems: the fascination that the human individual manifests towards the new "form of divination" puts him in the condition of giving up the rigors of initiation and forgetting about the risks involved in circumventing certain ethical principles. Unfortunately, it seems that the human individual has evolved, becoming easier to manipulate and harder to train.

Here comes the role of authorities monitoring artificial intelligent systems, which will have to intervene to replace humanity's attributes that are not only related to intelligence but also integrity, empathy and good faith.



THE REFUGE – A TRAGIC SUFFERING AND DESPAIR*

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Abstract: *The years of 1940-1941 and 1944-1945 were notable for the massive refuge of the Northern Bukovina population, in the vast majority Romanians, from the wars and the establishment of an aggressive regime of denationalization, collectivization, dispossession of material goods, artificial famine, etc. During this period, there had been fraudulent crossings of the newly installed Romanian-Soviet borders by Romanians from the Northern Bukovina. Comparing the above information taken from the Suceava and Cernăuţi archives with the history of Bukovina, written or rewritten during the Soviet and Ukrainian periods, depending on the political interests of the new scientific institutions, we discover an essential discrepancy in the treatment of events. We learn from the testimonies and publications of the time, for example, about the aggressive measures of the new Soviet administration instituted against the Romanian population wishing to take refuge in Romania, similar to the German population, who was allowed to do so. The reasons that the refugees declared have been also recorded in the documents from the Suceava archive. In the State Archive in Cernăuţi, there are documents containing the findings of Soviet officials about the fraudulent crossings of the border and the drastic measures applied to the population of the Romanian villages on the border and the organizers of these crossings.*

"History teaches us to understand the course of things today and tomorrow. We just have to lean into it. History is not a "story", nor a creation of the "imaginary", it is a science based on the research of documents, of all the testimonies provided by the inexhaustible wealth of archives and which reveal facts, phenomena, events in their political, economic, social, diplomatic. History must be understood and assumed with all that was good and bad - if we want to arrive at the objective knowledge of realities in their natural evolution". (PhD Viorica MOISUC)

History does not repeat itself, history continues. "Death-bringing" weapons, as prince Dimitrie Cantemir of Moldavia wrote in Hieroglyphic History, are being modernized, the destructions are becoming more global, the massacres more horrifying. People are looking for shelters, taking

refuge leaving behind all the agony of a lifetime. They flee in ignorance from the wrath of wars in unknown places, saving their family, hoping that they will return someday... To better understand the present, we need to know the past. But we have a unique experience for the history of Bucovina. The official history that is taught in school is written differently than the one lived in reality. The testimonies of Romanians from northern Bucovina, survivors of the tragic events they went through in the 1940s, 1945-1947, provide us with authentic information in which things are seen more clearly. It is the "small history", but true, that is not written about in the official history. In reality, in war there are no winners or losers, there is only human suffering, the harsh truth of devastating realities, the consequences of irreparable changes. History cannot record them all, it reproduces the events in the sea. Microhistory retains testimonies of some communities that reflect realities that allow us to know the events in depth, to know the true destiny of our ancestors. For the north of Bucovina we have at least four histories, written from different political positions and national interests - by German and Austrian, Soviet, Ukrainian and Romanian historians. In the 90s of the last century, the possibility of writing a single history of Bucovina was discussed for a long time, but without any perspective, which turned out to be impossible, the vision of the two ethnic groups, Ukrainian and Romanian, on the history of Bucovina being different.

In the history of the Upper Country of Moldavia, called by the Austrians after 1775 - Bucovina, we distinguish five periods in which the way of life of the population changed suddenly and essentially, imposing a break with national traditions, language and history: 1) 1359-1774 (415 years) – is part of Moldova; 2) 1775-1918 (143 years), Bucovina was under the rule of the Habsburg Empire; 3) 1918-1940 and 1941-1944 (almost 25 years), Bucovina is a component part of Romania; 4) 1940-1941 and 1944-1991 (almost 48 years), the north of Bucovina together with the Herţa county and the former Hotin county is incorporated into the Soviet Union, thus constituting the current Chernivtsi region; 5) since 1991, the Chernivtsi region, together with the Herţa county and the former Hotin county, is part of Ukraine, as is southern Bessarabia, which is included in the Odesa region; as well as the Romanian localities in the Transcarpathian region. We recall this periodization of the history of Bucovina with the aim of demolishing the widely publicized periodization proposed by Ukrainian historians who claim that Bucovina "is Ukrainian (Slavic) land since the beginning of the ages" without proposing an authentic documentary

support. A periodization of this kind is proposed by the authors Valentina Bogatâreț and Liubov Melniciuc in the article Place of monuments in Bucovina as a factor in the formation of identity1. In Ukrainian historiography, a different periodization of the history of Bukovina is proposed. We note that only in the 20th century, four official languages were established in the north of Bucovina: German, Romanian, Russian and Ukrainian. Thus, every 11th generation had to learn a new official language, but at the same time it kept its mother tongue in communication, for native Romanians perpetuating the struggle to preserve their identity over time. The assimilation of a minority ethnicity through the language it speaks is the first step towards denationalization and loss of identity. Even keeping only the popular traditions - singing, dancing, wearing the national costumes, keeping including the ethnographic customs, if the population, at a certain moment, loses its mother tongue and does not know its history, it will no longer think and feel Romanian, qualities that it is perpetuated through language, faith and history.

There is a risk of becoming "citizens of the universe", or as some German and Ukrainian historians say today, of declaring themselves to be of Bukovina origin, which is also comparable to the well-known phrase "homo sovieticus" instituted by the Soviets, that is, "national in form and communist in content", speaking Russian, today - Ukrainian. The recent Law on the functioning of the Ukrainian language as a state language and the status of regional languages is being applied with difficulty in Ukraine. In Chernivtsi, the Romanian language does not have the status of a regional language at the regional level. The old problem of division into Romanians and Moldovans, respectively the Romanian language/Moldovan language, continues to disturb the community. The false phrase - "Southeast European population or language" is also circulated. The frequent attacks against the Romanian language are manifested, first of all, by the continuous reduction of the teaching hours of the Romanian language and literature in schools. It is also worrying that some parents today transfer their children to schools with Ukrainian language teaching in neighboring villages, thinking that they will ensure a stable career in life. For this purpose, the local administrations have made school buses available to them. Through this, they contribute to the acceleration of the denationalization process of villages with a majority Romanian population. In fact, officially, Bucovina no longer exists. Its fragments, perhaps slightly amplified, have acquired names in Ukraine and Romania related to the

cities that have become the capitals of these parts of the country. For this name given to the northwestern part of medieval Moldavia, Joseph II bribed the Turkish viziers and the supreme commander of the retreating Russian troops after the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774 in order to form a link territorial between the recently annexed region of Galicia (1772) and the Grand Duchy of Transylvania.

As for the myth about Bucovina, it has faded in the consciousness of contemporaries. The young generations whose parents and grandparents lived in Bucovina until the Second World War, especially Germans and Austrians, less Poles and Jews, talk about Bucovina nostalgically, as a myth, as a real miracle. For the first time the Romanians from Bukovina experienced the ordeal of the refuge in the years after the Russian-Turkish war (1768-1774). The historian from Suceava, Prof. Dr. Ștefan Purici, found in his well-documented study, Emigration of the Bucovina population (1775-1848): "The Habsburg policy in the period 1775-1847, the attitude of the new administration towards the Romanian population stirred up the heart of all social strata deep dissatisfaction that manifested itself through various petitions, protests, disturbances, desertions and, above all, through massive emigration to Moldova. This mass displacement of the Bukovinians under the authority of the new masters of their land will include practically all social classes: boyars, priests, mazilis, *razesi* – peasants. So, for example, the great boyars like: Iordache and Lupul Balș, Ion Cantacuzino, Gheorghe Beldiman, Lupul Nacu, Alecu 12 Neculca, Nicolae Russet, Lupul Costache, Ioniță Sturza et al. they had left the territory after 1775, retreating to Moldova. Of the 22 boyars that General Spleny indicates as living in Bucovina as early as 1776, four years later only one remained (V. Balș). Even in the first half of the 19th century, some Romanian landowners from the Aulic Council immigrated illegally to Moldova, as was the case of Ion Brâncian from Sinăuți, in 1820. Out of the total of 164 noble families recorded in Bucovina in 1815, 30 families would emigrate to Moldova, of which 25 from Carapciu on Ceremus. But the most numerous category of emigrants was obviously the peasantry, which made up the overwhelming majority of the population of the land. The peasants did not want to remain under their foreign rule through language, religion, customs, etc., to be subjected to contributions and persecution, as happened to their brothers from Transylvania.

On May 1, 1776, Artillery General Siskowicz reported to the Aulic Council of War on the massive emigration from Bucovina". The theme of

the refuge was also the object of research by the historian from Suceava, Prof. Dr. Mihai Iacobescu3. For Bucovina, the 20th century was marked by the two world wars that resulted in essential territorial and political changes, which changed the way of life of the population. The refuge from the wars to Romania was the only hope of salvation, but also facing unbearable difficulties - death, hunger, the loss of a stable life. The fate of the Filip Țopa family, described in the Story of Bucovina, who took refuge from Chernivtsi during both wars: in the First World War, when the author of the work was a child, and in the Second World War, when the author was already officer in the Romanian army4. The years 1940-1941 and 1944-1945 were notable for the massive refuge of the North Bucovina population, in the vast majority Romanians, from the wars and the establishment of an aggressive regime of denationalization, collectivization, dispossession of material goods, artificial starvation, etc. During this period, there were fraudulent crossings of the newly installed Romanian-Soviet borders by Romanians from North Bucovina. The confrontation of archival documents, historical works and the testimonies of contemporaries of the event allow the reconstruction of the historical truth. Archivist Petru Grior, graduate of the Department of Romanian Philology of the University of Chernivtsi, founder of the "Golgotha" Society from Chernivtsi which was inaugurated in Chernivtsi on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Fântâna Albă massacre (1991), has dedicated himself in recent years researching the archives, proposing to reconstruct the truth about the Lunca and Fântâna Albă massacres, deportations, about the fate of Romanians from other localities in the region during the installation of Soviet power in the current Chernivtsi region. He is the founder of the Historical and Cultural Research Center in Chernivtsi. He worked for a while as deputy director at the State Archives in Chernivtsi. Like his colleague, Dragoş Olaru, they had the opportunity to access documents, which were forbidden to "ordinary" historians for research. They collected and published information that only today allows us to fully understand the tragedy that our nation of martyrs went through. The research results were published in the Book of Pain. Martyrs of Romania, in 6 volumes in Chernivtsi in the years 2011-2016 and in other works. The studies carried out on the basis of official documents recall the cruel truth about the first years of the Stalinist dictatorship, a tragic period for Romanians in the Chernivtsi region: between June 28 and August 31, 1940, 200 "enemies of the 13 people" of origin were arrested, investigated and sent to Siberia Romanian, and out of the total number of

deportees from the Chernivtsi region in 1941, Romanians constituted 6,031 people. The biggest wave of deportees from Bessarabia and northern Bucovina took place on June 12-13, 1941, the most tragic day of the first year of Stalinist rule, archivist Petru Grior informs us, when during the night "22,147 people were deported from different nationalities, ages and professions", of which "6,532 women and 5,240 children... From Herța district – 1,373; from the Hliboca river – 2,290; from Noua Sulita r. – 1,961; from Mahala commune – 700; from Hotin r. – 1,412; from the city Chernivtsi - 6,036". In the last three years, Petru Grior released three more books in which he reconstructs the first period of the installation of Soviet power, marked by reprisals, arrests, deportations, destruction, famine, prisons. In June 1940, when Romania was forced to evacuate the north of Bucovina, Bessarabia and the land of Herța, and in September 1940 and the north of Transylvania, two Romanian universities took refuge, the one from Cernăuți and the one from Cluj. The University of Cluj took refuge in Sibiu and Timișoara.

Only the Faculty of Theology remained from the University of Chernivtsi, which took refuge in Suceava. In the fall of 1941, after the recapture of Chernivtsi, Ion Nistor returned to Chernivtsi in the desire to "take stock of the situation of the University and especially of his personal library, which contained about 20,000 volumes, mostly on the history of the Romanians. The University no longer existed in Chernivtsi, it was replaced by a Polytechnic, which functioned until its withdrawal in 1944". The Faculty of Theology of the University of Chernivtsi was established in Suceava, and after the reunification of 1941 the University was not reopened. On June 13, 1940, after the retirement of Metropolitan Visarion Puiu from the metropolitan see of Chernivtsi, Tit Simedrea, the Bishop of Hotin, was elected as Archbishop of Chernivtsi and Metropolitan of Bucovina. In these circumstances, Tit Simedrea was appointed deputy metropolitan of Bucovina, and his residence during the occupation of Chernivtsi was in Suceava. The historian from Chernivtsi Dumitru Covalciuc writes about the fate of the church and the Metropolis of Chernivtsi: "If after the evacuation of the Romanian civil and military authorities on the reoccupied territory, organs of a new political rule were created, the Orthodox Church of Bucovina was left without its legitimate hierarch. The last archpastor of the Orthodox Church in Bucovina, Tit Simedrea, installed in the metropolitan see of Chernivtsi on June 13, 1940 and returned after the start of the war, returned to Suceava, where he led this administrative unit of the Romanian

Orthodox Church under the title of the Archdiocese of Suceava and Maramureș . In Cernăuți, then, there was no ecclesiastical authority left, in whose care the organization of the activity of the parishes would fall under the new political conditions, i.e. under the atheist-communist regime. The priests, as is well known, left their parishes at the end of March 1944 and took refuge in Romania, and the few remaining in the parishes, old or sick, began to be subjected to persecution". We learn new data about the refuge of the priests from the north of Bucovina from the memories of archpriest Cassian Bohatyreț, who recorded that "Even before the establishment of Soviet power, 112 Orthodox priests, mainly Romanians, together with the metropolitan consistory, evacuated to Romania.

However, at the time of the establishment of Soviet power, 132 priests remained to serve in their parishes. Later, 90 of them, mainly Ukrainians, as well as some Romanians, who did not manage to take refuge in Romania, took advantage of the action to relocate the German population and 14 went abroad"8. After the liberation of Chernivtsi, ÎPS Tit Simedrea, on July 25, 1941, took over the Metropolitan Residence. Church activity began. The first call was to priests to take over the 182 vacated parishes, many of them in a damaged state. The Cathedral and part of the Metropolitan buildings were in a deplorable condition. By the end of 1943, they were all back in service. Metropolitan Tit Simedrea, whose activity is too little known, organized priestly conferences during that period, visited churches in the diocese. In a report from April 12, 1942, we read about the situation of the Metropolis, which included: 10 deaneries, 335 parishes and 58 branches, 31 chapels. Another 15 churches were under reconstruction. There were 429 priests, 58 of whom were Ukrainian. ÎPS Tit Simedrea also solved the problems of the Religious Fund composed at that time of thousands of hectares of forest, agricultural land, stone quarries, ponds, etc. It is known that patronage activities were carried out from the funds of the Metropolis and the churches: helping the families of soldiers on the front, a military hospital was organized at Vatra Dornei, scholarships were granted for students and other charitable activities. According to some materials from the archive and letters kept in personal archives, Metropolitan Tit Simedrea during the war saved many Jewish families in Chernivtsi by sheltering them in the basements of the Metropolitan Palace. Tit Simedrea intervened with the state authorities with proposals to stop the deportation of Jews from Chernivtsi to Transnistria. When Metropolitan Tit

Simedrea returned to Chernivtsi in the period 1941-1944, the Faculty of Theology played an important role in the revival of higher education:

"Thus, writes the Romanian researcher Mircea Grigoroviță, on 5.XII.1942, the constituent meeting of the Institute of History at the Faculty of Theology took place, which had a very rich activity in the few years of its existence". Also in this period, a nucleus was created in Chernivtsi for the creation of a Faculty of Sciences, which included Leca Morariu and Alexandru Ieșan, former professors at the Faculty of Letters, who worked at the Faculty of Theology during this period, later refugees in Romania . Important personalities of cultural, scientific and religious life took refuge from Chernivtsi. Whole volumes can be written about their fate. In March 1944, when the front was approaching Chernivtsi, the evacuation of the Metropolis began in Suceava, then in Vatra Dornei. On January 31, 1945, Tit Simedrea submitted his resignation. "The last archpastor of the Orthodox Church in Bucovina, Tit Simedrea, writes D. Covalciuc, installed in the metropolitan see of Chernivtsi on June 13, 1940 and returned after the start of the war, returned to Suceava, where he led this administrative unit of the Romanian Orthodox Church under the title of the Archbishopric of Suceava and Maramureș". In the spring of the year of the second "liberation", the Orthodox Church in Bucovina was left without a master. But this situation did not last long. Through the circular dated May 28, 1944, the patriarch of Moscow and all Russia Alexie forced the metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia Ioan to proceed without hesitation with the reorganization of the Orthodox Church in Bukovina, passing it under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Metropolitan of Kiev, at the head of the Exarchate of Ukraine, did not immediately find the right man to lead the Eparchy of Chernivtsi and Bukovina, because no representative of the higher clergy remained in the territory annexed by the Soviets. Only on July 19, 1944, Eutimii Pavlovici Kaverninski, a priest who knew neither the local tradition nor the Romanian language, was sent to Chernivtsi to initially occupy the position of eparchial deacon of the Orthodox parishes in northern Bukovina, Herța and northern Bessarabia.

The Putna Monastery - Bucovinian Destiny project proposes another vision of history - the one seen and written from the perspective of the testimonies, the memories of those who survived the events or their descendants, confronting them with the archive documents located in Cernăuți, Suceava and Rădăuți that contain information about the situation created at the newly established Soviet-Romanian border. We discover in

the Soviet documents from the archive in Chernivtsi and those in the Suceava archive contradictory assessments by their content. In the Archives of Suceava I discovered official documents regarding the refuge of Poles in Romania through the Bucovina border. In various crossing points of the newly established Soviet-Romanian border, real bloody massacres took place, provoked by the Soviet border guards and cavalrymen, who organized places for ambushes in forests, at river crossings, etc. Pierced by the bullets of the border guards' machine guns, they were thrown into mass graves, dug in advance, the few survivors of the massacres were deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan and died because of the inhumane conditions in the Soviet camps. Comparing this information from the Sucevan and Chernivtsi archives with the history of Bukovina, written or rewritten during the Soviet and Ukrainian periods, depending on the political interests of the new scientific institutions, we discover an essential discrepancy in the treatment of events. We learn from the testimonies and publications of the time, for example, about the aggressive measures of the new Soviet administration instituted against the Romanian population wishing to take refuge in Romania, as the Germans were allowed to do.

The reasons that the refugees declared are also recorded in the documents from the Suceava Archive. In the State Archive in Chernivtsi there are documents containing the findings of Soviet officials about the fraudulent crossing of the border and the drastic measures applied to the population of the Romanian villages on the border and the organizers of these crossings. (see Document Archive at the end of the article). The first three volumes of the Putna Monastery – Bucovinean Destiny project are based in particular on the testimonies of the survivors of these events: Fântâna albă. Calvary of the nation, (two editions, the last in 2022); The drama of the Romanians from the Chernivtsi region. Massacres. Deportations. Famines in the years 1940-1941, 1944-1947 (2019); The fate of the Romanian church in the north of Bucovina during the Soviet period. Faith. Language. Identity (two editions, the last in 2022). Volume four is dedicated to a theme less researched by historians – Refuge. The years pass, the official documents remain, the newspapers containing testimonies reflecting some (sometimes insincere) events. Memoirs are written less and each confessor, when he travels to the world of the righteous, takes with him precious information about the times he lived in, about the destinies of his contemporaries, facts and events. Most of them do not manage to write their memories, either for fear of the oppressions they went through, or

because they have no one to tell stories to or are not understood, today's young people, in the vast majority, no longer want or have time to listen to "stories ” about events that happened a long time ago, that their parents or grandparents went through. The official history, written and rewritten under the influence of contradictory political trends, does not fully represent the truth or the memory of a time passed through suffering and death, does not reflect the consciousness and state of mind of the North-Bukovinian Romanians, so that their descendants can assimilate the experience historical, to learn, to enlighten.

The years that followed the two world wars, marked by the Soviet occupation (1940-1941 and 1944-1945), caused the refuge of the Bukovinians, in their vast majority Romanians. It is a time that has been very little talked about. The archives keep documents that record the disinformation that the Soviet authorities spread in the occupied territories. "I had to be strong at that time - Queen Maria wrote in her memoirs, when the Royal Court had to take refuge in Iași during the First World War, when Bucharest was occupied - not to shout, to show the way of simple exile, quiet, that the panic may be removed, and that no one may be terrified, when the enemy has struck at the very heart of our land." The shelter significantly changed the fate of people, for better or for worse. Many of the refugees from the north of Bucovina were important personalities of Romanian science and culture: priests, professors, scholars, professors including: Metropolitan Tit Simedrea, Ion Nistor, rector of the University of Chernivtsi, Leca Morariu, Constantin Longhin, poets from Junimea, Claudiu Ștefanelli, professors Vasile Grecu, Filip Țopa, Ovid Țopa and many, many others. I'm looking for that magic word that could capture the state of mind of a man faced with a choice: to stay at home or to flee in haste from the path of war. In both situations he faced the unknown. Those who left, taking with them only the strictly necessary, did not know where they would spend the night and what they would feed their children. He was thinking about the abandoned house, built with so much effort, about the cattle that remained in the yard without anyone to feed them, about the unharvested fruit, about the plot of land separated by an unnatural border between two countries, about the fate of the loved ones left at home. Those who remained faced a new reality - hunger, deportations, prisons... For a long time, it was not known what was happening "beyond", in the places abandoned so hastily. Those in the second refuge, from 1944, had already faced the barbarities of the Soviet power, they knew what awaited them. Fear had taken root deep in their souls, and silence became their "defense shield".

They didn't really talk about the details of what they had experienced, the children were also encouraged to keep quiet. I have always thought that wars hit hard on the innocent population, who mourn their children, parents, brothers and sisters. What was their fate in the end? With this question, we set out together with father Gerasim from Putna Monastery, on May 10, through the villages near the border with northern Bucovina, Ukraine - Straja, Vicovul de Jos and Gura Putnei, Romania - in search of survivors or descendants refugees from the north of Bucovina towards the Homeland, hoping to be protected, to find a shelter. Many hoped that they would someday return to their home. We were aware that we would only meet their descendants who still know something from the stories of their parents and grandparents. I made the first stop at Straja. I knew that here was the strongest resistance to the Soviet invasion. The so-called "black sumanas" made up of Colonel Constantinescu's prisoner platoon and other partisan groups took refuge in the Strajei mountains. In 1940, part of the commune's territories - forests, meadows and hayfields - remained in the USSR. The peasants of Straja also revolted in 1945, confronting the Soviets with pitchforks and axes. It is believed that if it had not revolted, Straja would have gone over to the USSR. History is written differently and the strangers are cautious, they don't talk much about the past, they live a quiet life, rich in popular traditions as in fact in all of Bucovina. Their neighbors: Crasna-Ilschi (Ukraine), Putna and Gura Putnei communes, 17 Vicovul de Sus and Brodina (Romania). In Straja we stayed at the house of Mrs. Zâna Cârciu, from Pâslaru, the second wife of Cârciu Constantin from Straja, born in 1922. He was deported in 1941, to Siberia, Novorosiisk: "Many were deported before, but few returned... They were deported from the territory of Romania after the border was closed, they were caught and taken to the camps, but I don't know how... The husband was in the war and he was caught and taken to the camp, I don't know exactly where he was caught. I know that he spent two years in the camp (according to the documents that were the basis of his wife's pension). He was a sergeant in the army (according to the military book)". They met after the war, in 1971, and she doesn't remember much. He knows that he was tortured: "he told us that the death camp was there, to exterminate them. Those who were strong and resisted returned, but many also died. There were about 300 Romanians in the camp, but around 40 returned, the rest died in these two years... He used to tell, especially when we went to parties/weddings, what it was like in the camps, how troubled they were , the story was that they

also hunted mice to catch and eat them. They kept the dead among them in order to take their portion of bread and theirs, they died especially during the night, they kept them as long as they could, several days". A grandson also intervenes in the discussion: "There are no more people like him. The story is that they walked to the camp. After the armistice they were allowed to go wherever they wanted. Many stayed, married there in those areas, and the rest returned. He returned in 1947: they walked a lot because they arrived late after liberation, they went to people's houses and were given food, they slept wherever they could and he also told stories about what happened in the camp when people came for holidays... A used to be in the village Grigore Leșe, he came and filmed him telling the story of the war. He asked him about the war and the camp. It is a report made, which he gave on TV as he was telling the story here in the house. With Doruț Baimăcean and the major Târnoaga. Let it be about 12 years".

We also talk with Ioan Ursulean Țugui from Straja, who tells us about his parents who were deported and refugees. The father was sentenced to Dej in 1944 with deportation to Russia, in northern Siberia where he stayed for 9 years and 11 months. He returned home after Stalin's death. He was in several camps in the USSR: Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Chechnya. The last place was in Kamceatka, on the border with China, between the Lena and Onisei rivers, an area where there were gold mines, a place from which there was no escape. The work at the gold mines was very hard, you went in and you didn't know if you would come out again, the interlocutor tells us. He was deported "because he fought with the Romanians and the Germans and when the switch was made to the side of the Russians he refused to switch, remaining with the Germans in the future. Dad was a partisan on Matinciuc's side, fighting between information fronts. Matinciuc was from the 1st battalion, North Bucovina, Rădăuți, he did the recruiting. Dad was arrested by the Russians, he was betrayed by his best friend, from here in Straja, by Cafleriu. He had come from the forest to be home for Easter and one morning 12 Russians came and wanted to arrest his parents, his grandfather and grandmother. Dad was sleeping in the attic with the automatic pistol under his head and when he saw what was happening he fired a burst and surrendered, saying why should his parents die. From here to Dej they took them on foot, and there they were tried by a military tribunal (there were several), and they were sentenced to 10 and others to 15 years. They started serving the sentence in Moscow and they took them to Siberia after 5-6 years, they were also all over Russia where they had

camps (2000-3000 people slept on concrete in a hall and ate rats) worse like a former Hitler in Poland were the Russians. Dad also told us about a Bessarabian who had escaped and who had managed to reach the Dniester where he was caught by a wolf dog from customs and was returned to the camp, where for 3 days 18 he dug his hole and on the 4th they shot him and buried him. There were those who died in the mine and buried them in mass graves.

My dad died in 2006, aged 85. He was a neutral and faithful man. He left an Orthodox home and returned as a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses cult, baptized Pentecostal, meeting Jehovists in the camp. He was a bathroom chief to the officers, he ironed their clothes, and in recent years he was a camp chief left by his best friend at the time. The story was that in the camp there happened to be conflicts like between mafia clans. At one point there was a conflict between the Cossacks and the Chechens, where 80 were killed, and because he was neutral he suffered nothing. He had a good friend named Vanea who left him in his place as head of the camp after he was released. Upon his release, he came by train, which he traveled approximately 10-12 thousand km to Bucharest, where he was investigated by the communist authorities who wanted to convince him to adhere to the communist ideology and become a member through which he could find out information, but he refused and this fact also had consequences - 6 months in prison in Jilava. He refused because he was a member of the legionary party that had a different way of thinking". Knowing from archive documents that Russian border guards used to enter Romanian villages to commit crimes and rob Romanian peasants even after 1945, after the border was drawn, I asked him if there were such cases in the village . Mr. Ursachi answered us: "Yes. They robbed them, took the best they had, and even if they saw a more beautiful woman, they took her and dishonored her. There were women who had children with Russians... The old story was that there were women who went with Russians and they did it better because if they didn't, they dishonored them and it was even possible to shoot them.

The Russians were poor compared to the Germans, who had luxury, they were supplied, my father was with the Germans until the Ascension. A detachment of which he was a part when Romania switched sides to fight refused to submit and stick. When he came back, his mother recognized him by a white lock of hair, a birthmark, because they thought he was dead as they had been told." Mr. Ursulean also tells us about the fate of Donciuc

Alexei (1921-1998) originally from Seletin. "His grandparents, who raised me, were refugees. He was married the first time to Ana with whom he had a boy named Vasile, he remarried his grandmother Ileana 1920-1999, a refugee in Dorohoi, from Brodina with whom he had 4 children, 3 boys and a girl. They went through the post-war famine when they ate sorrel and potato skins demanded from the wealthy. We keep the nickname of Țugui from him, a nickname given to the family from Vasile-Vasilică-Tilică-Țugui". He told us how the grandparents met: "they met in the refuge when the border was established at Ulma, both were employed by a rich man (boyar), he by horses and the grandmother took care of the children. They said that they ended up in the war because they ate each other, butchered the horses and ate them...". Gura Putnei (Karlsberg in German) is located not far from Straja, along the Suceava river and Obcinei mountain, and has a special history. It was established by German settlers. Bucovina Germans represented a population that lived in Bucovina between 1780 and 1940, when they took refuge in Germany. Mitric Floarea, whose house we stayed at, is 90 years old, she was born on January 21, 1933, in Ciudei (today Ukraine), parents - Gheorghe and Aurora: "We were 8 children with our parents, 6 boys and 2 girls, 7 born in the refuge in Ciudei. I went to the refuge with my parents in 1944, I left on foot with several others, with two shirts on, I left everything there: the house, the animals. Dad locked the house, because maybe they will come back. He put the key above the door. The house is no longer there, the Russians destroyed it... We left with nothing. Boundary 19 had already been set. The world was filled with us, many left, others, remaining at home, were deported. In the refuge we first settled in Ciocănești and Fratrăuții Noi, but the first house was in Bivolărie, up to the ramp on the right... In 1954 I married Alexandru, also a refugee from Crasna, he also stayed through Vicov. He died in 2018. The Germans left Gura Putnei and some moved to their houses, others built their own houses. They took care of their households. We had nothing, we walked barefoot to weed, to gather hay... We were fed by the people we worked for. After the war there was famine. The husband was a shoemaker. Today when you tell the young people what you went through, they don't believe you. I have two children, the son is at home, the girl - in Germany. I was in Crasna in 1991, at the consecration of the new church. There were a lot of people." Mrs. Mitric also tells us about the situation created in the village after the arrival of the Soviets: "many were put on the train and taken to the camps, it was very difficult. We came on foot when the border was set. I

don't remember how I got through... Each with his own cross. You have to be a man in your place, keep your faith". In Gura Putnei live several families with the name Mitric, characteristic especially for the Crasnei area. In Cernăuți, I met Mr. Ștefan Mitric, a native of Crasna, the director of the school in Ropcea, Storojineț district. He tells us about his family: "Father Ion with two uncles and another family, Mitric Vasile, father's brother, left in 1944. They left for Gura Putnei, there were four brothers. They forgot one at home. The older brother, Pamphilus, returned, but could not find him. Father's cousins also went to Gura Putnei. Those who remained at home were deported by the Russians to Kazakhstan, Finland, Siberia... Some died there. The Mitric family, my father's cousins, stayed in Romania, became sculptors, doctors or worked the land in the villages where they took refuge, founded new households. Dad died in 1995. Our village went through several powers: the Austrians, the Romanians, the Russians and the Ukrainians. But we remained Romanians. Each time, the attitude towards us also changed. We resisted as Romanians". The testimonies of the refugees from the north of Bucovina confirm the fact that the population was taken by surprise by the news of the occupation, put in a situation to decide to remain under occupation or to take refuge in Romania. Many choose refuge: how and with what they could. On March 8, 1941, citizenship of the USSR was imposed on those who remained. Many refugees were still children. After 1989, the Romanian authorities adopted laws on the basis of which compensations were granted (Law 6/1998 – for refugees from Cadrilater and 290/2003 – for citizens who lost their properties in Bessarabia, northern Bucovina and Herța land). Today, requests from refugees from northern Bucovina are submitted to the State Archives in Chernivtsi to confirm the fact that during the war they left material goods: houses, land, etc., in order to receive rewards. Only in 2005, in May, 10,000 applications were submitted, of which only 115 were rejected. More requests also came from America and Israel. At the State Archive in Chernivtsi, where these requests are being researched, their statistics have not yet been completed.

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Document from the State Archive in Chernivtsi,
B – 13/45 December 13, 1940

About the emigration mood of the Romanian population from some villages in the border districts

The disposition of the Office of the Regional Committee of the Bolshevik Communist Party in Chernivtsi dated November 18, 1940 given to the Regional Committee of the Bolshevik Communist Party in Chernivtsi (KP(b)) of Ukraine mentions, regarding some villages in the Chernivtsi region, Sadagura, Hliboca, Herța districts, that among among their inhabitants of Romanian nationality there is an emigrationist state of mind, counter-revolutionary elements, members of some bourgeois political parties, and groups that intensify their influence on the population of Romanian nationality, using all kinds of slander and inventions regarding the Soviet Power. They are especially used in cases of insufficient supply of workers with primary goods in some districts due to an inappropriate attitude of commercial organizations/districts of Hliboca, Herța. The main causes, which facilitate the counter-revolutionary agitation, consist in the fact that in these districts the political agitation among the population of these localities is poorly organized, the education of activists is not organized at the proper level and the involvement of the broad masses of workers in the active struggle with the leaders of the 21 nationalist parties bourgeois and other malevolent elements. The events that took place on the night of November 16 to 17 of this year, when a group of Romanians provoked by counter-revolutionary elements, crossed the border, is also explained by the fact that the head of the border garrison, comrade Krâlovski, did not take the necessary measures to prevent such border violations by groups of emigrants. The Regional Committee of the Bolshevik Communist Party from Chernivtsi (CP(b)) of Ukraine also mentions, "that from the side of tov. Martânov, the agitation work that would prevent such border violations is not organized at the proper level". The Chernivtsi Regional Committee of the Bolshevik Communist Party (CP(b)) of Ukraine decides: 1) To instruct the Propaganda Department of the Chernivtsi Regional Committee of the Bolshevik Communist Party (CP(b)) of Ukraine to select up to 50 additional men among the local activists, who know the Romanian language, with whom to organize brigades, to be sent

through the villages to clarify the party's policy to the local population of Romanian nationality, at the head of which should be placed responsible communists from among the active regional party. 2) To instruct the secretaries of the local and district Committees of the Bolshevik Communist Party of Chernivtsi (CP(b)) of Ukraine, to intensify the work of agitation of the population, to correctly explain the policy of the Bolshevik Party in the national question. 3) To instruct the head of the Regional Trade Department, Comrade. Klitchenikov, the chairman of the regional department of consumption, Gubenko, to urgently control the way in which the rational departments of consumption select from the commodity funds and distribute them to the villages. 4) To draw the attention of the secretaries of the District Committees of the Bolshevik Communist Party of Chernivtsi (CP(b)) of Ukraine in the border districts to the fact of the insufficient supply of workers with essential commodities (salt, matches, gas, flour, footwear, manufacturing) for which they are personally responsible to the Party Committee. 5) Comrade Grușetki was given the task of writing an information to the Regional Committee of the Bolshevik Communist Party in Chernivtsi (CP(b)) of Ukraine about the emigration of Romanians to Romania.

Secretary of the Chernivtsi Regional Committee
of the Bolshevik Communist Party (CP(b)) of Ukraine
Grusetki I.
Kiev, to the Bolshevik Communist Committee, to Comrade Khrushchev N. S.

RAPORT

The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Communist Party of Chernivtsi (CP(b)) of Ukraine) informs you aboutthe cases that took place in our region of border crossings by groups of residents of Romanian nationality to Romania. In the night from November 16 to 17 this year, former members of the Iron Guard from the village of Ostrița, Cernăuți district, Tcaciuc, Țurcan, Soprovici organized the illegal border crossing of up to 150 people, the majority of Romanian nationality, from wealthy peasants, who lived before in the villages: Ostrița, Mahala, Boian, 22 Kotogotin, Mamornița, Lucovița and others. Organizers walked through the villages named above and agitated the inhabitants to go to Romania, promising them a better life there. The preparation lasted for several days.

They gathered in the field near the village of Mamornița, at night the criminals set off through the ravines towards the border and at 6 o'clock in the morning on 17/XI, in Herța district, at guard post no. 2 broke through the wire barrier and crossed the border. The necessary measures were not received at the guard post. One of the criminals of illegal border crossing, Berga G.I. of Romanian nationality, from wealthy peasants, he belonged to the party (?) he was the president of the selpo from the village of Ostrita. At the interrogation he declared that he does not want to live here, and at the service he had to write the documentation in Ukrainian and he has to learn the Ukrainian language which he hates, and if he will be offered to live here and return to his family, better hang a stone around his neck, "I will not stay here, I rather drown in the Prut river". All this happened because of the provocations of the remnants of the counter-revolutionary parties and political groups, which carry out hostile activity among the population of Romanian nationality, using invented slanders about the Soviet current affairs. The hostile elements have lost their credibility in the villages near the border, because the peasants have become convinced of how the people live in Romania, and are trying to find support in the Romanian villages further from the border. The favorable conditions for counter-revolutionary propaganda were created due to insufficient concrete political activity in these Romanian villages. In the party organizations in the region there are only 7 communists who know the Romanian and Moldovan languages. They all work, in general, with the Romanian population in the Herța district. A newspaper in Moldovan language is also printed here. In this district, Ukrainian activists who know the Romanian language work as presidents of village soviets and secretaries. A total of 40 people are sent to work since September. After the case of crossing the border, the regional committee of the party co-opted additional 4 agitator brigades of 12 people each from among the local activists that they sent to the Romanian villages. 70 people from the regional active were also sent to help the district Party Committees of the Bolshevik Communist Party of Ukraine throughout the election campaign. Taking into account the shortcomings in the work in the western regions, in accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Communist Party (CP(b)) of Ukraine, the problems of the struggle with the offenders of the revolutionary legislation were put in the center of attention. These issues were discussed at the party office of the Regional Committee, the secretaries of the District Committees of the Chernivtsi Bolshevik Communist Party (CP(b)) Regional Committee of

Ukraine were consulted, party meetings were organized. If initially (in August) there were shortcomings in commercial achievements, now, following the measures received, especially in the border towns, these abnormal situations have been removed. In the farthest border district of Putila, salt, flour, sugar, matches, tobacco and other essential goods were brought in sufficient quantities almost throughout the winter period (period without roads). In all border districts more goods were taken by 20-30%. In the village shops of these districts there have always been goods of first necessity, such as lamp gas, and only recently - from 10/XI, 1940 to 18/XI, 1940 there were 23 cases of lack of lamp gas (in connection with changing railway tracks). Gas lamps are now commercially available. At the same time, in order to improve the situation at the border, the regional committee considers it necessary: a) To carry out the evacuation of the population in areas 800 meters away from the border. b) To evacuate 7.5 km from the border of the former members of the counter-revolutionary parties and the gangs.

Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Bolshevik Communist Party from Chernivtsi (CP(b)) of Ukraine Grushetki I.
24/XI.1940

* Courtesy of the publication *Glasul Bucovinei* (*Voice of Bukovina*), Chernivtsi.

QUEEN MARIE OF ROMANIA AND THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

Nicolae MAREȘ

I wrote several years ago about the ignorance with which we pass over the contribution made by the military man and diplomat George Pomuț to the formation of the United States of America and, subsequently, to its development. That approach, which America appreciates to the highest level, should mobilize us, be a reason for inspiration for the American Romanian communities to copy Romania's former neighbors from before the war, present on the northern frontiers of the country.

More recently, I note that the contribution made personally by Queen Marie of Romania, together with President Woodrow Wilson, in April 1919, to the opening of political relations between the USA and the Kingdom of Romania, is not known and especially revealed. I don't know that a line was written about the episode of the meeting of the American president and his wife with the Sovereign of Romania, that year. The meeting of the two is no longer noticed in Romania and especially in America. The contacts between Queen Marie and Woodrow Wilson, in a difficult historical period for the formation of Greater Romania, could prove blindly that Romanians know how to behave with dignity, as equals with any partner, not with the subservience noted in recent years , even compared to American soil in Bucharest, far too foreign to international customs and norms of behavior. Not long ago, the Romanian press was very concerned to find out what the American ambassadors from Chisinau and Bucharest had to say (excellences who have no idea what truly aureoleated leaders Romania once had! That is, those political people who proved capable of discussing on an equal footing with the Americans). That's why, below, I make available, to Romanians and Americans, the x-ray of the conversation between two i n d e p e n d e n t and egal personalities, a meeting that resulted in beneficial consequences on the Romanian-American bilateral level. Everything was happening not in our years, but 100 years ago...

The meeting between President Wilson and Queen Marie is described in the memories of the sovereign published in the volumes of the Story of my Life, pages in which the weeks spent by the Queen of Romania in Paris, as the unofficial representative of Romania at the Peace Conference, are recounted. His writings saw the light of day in the interwar period, then, due to a stupid political will, they were forgotten, hoping that they will be erased from the collective memory. Only after 1989 did they manage to be better and widely known. A more extensive presentation, without any complex, of the unusual episode and especially of the dialogue held by two equal people, happened a century ago. Today, such a relationship could not even be dreamed of.

Queen Marie recalls that at the beginning of 1919 Wilson was "at the zenith of his career", having been chosen by the whole world as the Arbitrator of the Peace. "Wherever he went, he was received as a kind of Messiah; the case being made about him was enough to make a god's head spin. This extreme adulation, this elevation of an intruder to the first position in the boiling Europe of that day, belonged, from my point of view, to the war neurosis specific to those times."

We learn that at the end of the First World War, the world had an instinctive need for idols, being in search of a superman "capable of keeping in check the evil spirits released by the four terrible years of war". Then he turned his eyes to him (Wilson - n.a.), raising him to the highest pedestal, not wondering if he "happened to have a foot of clay".

So it was quite difficult for the American to resist the "praise and adulation".

The Queen looks with some pity on the President of America, knowing that the fall of the idol "is often as cruel as it is unjust. I disliked injustices of any kind; but since then I am no longer a lion hunter; nor was I ever inclined to howl like wolves. I like to hear of great men being recognized and doing their duty, but I am wary of excessive veneration of a hero, and I cannot understand why the man should be so extreme, both in adoration and hatred."

Much good sense in the judgment and in the thoughts of the Queen, who ardently desired a meeting with the Man of the Day. Even now, after a hundred years, one can still suspect female envy and regret that she cannot be in his place, although the City of Lights and London had received her with great brilliance, at the highest level, with a deference previously unknown to a woman, let alone a queen. So the meeting took place in early

February 1919, when the Queen arrived in Paris, and when Wilson's name "was on everyone's lips". The writer-queen also observed, about the atmosphere of the times: "there was something quite sick about the way he was glorified and put on a pedestal, which could only make him dizzy". No matter how much the crowned head tries to be as objective as possible, Marie does not hide her envy that her person is not in his place, especially since she fully felt that she was as adulated as the representative of America. He was probably thinking about the success of the difficult meeting with Clemenceau. Hence the thought that he would not mind "enduring" the torment that was in store for him.

The phrase in the following description is eloquent: "So much was he (Wilson) in a daze by the atmosphere created around him that he wondered if, as a great representative of democracy, it was not above his dignity to pay a visit to the Queen of Romania - only a Queen!". He writes in small letters - queen and continues: "But as it was sometimes done, he (Wilson - n.a.) thought how he could, cleverly, politely escape, informing me that he would be pleased to pay me a visit, but being a person very busy she has no time available (except) after nine o'clock in the morning".

And here, further, how in this game of cat and mouse the two finally found the solution to the realization of the dialogue: "I answered with perfect kindness, myself being on the rise, that I would be happy to receive him right at seven in the morning, if that suited him. Having nowhere else to go, he made a compromise and, accompanied by Mrs. Wilson, came to see me at half-past eight in the morning."

The description of the meeting is as simple, elegant and elevated as possible, including the presentation of the appearance of the American president, in the image that we know and find in the illustrated stores of the time: "tall, thin, with a very long face and a gentle smile, the whole his impeccable appearance was very much more like that of a Puritan minister"

Hate is an evil counselor

The Queen, aware that the lines she wrote will remain recorded for history, reproduces the entire text contained in the Daily Journal, which she reproduced with the rigor of the historian in passages from the Late Chapters - recently rediscovered text, and to which we refer. Here are the "Journal" entries, this time:

April 10, 1919

President Wilson came to see me early this morning with his wife, and he had the smile I knew from the photographs. I received him in my usual simple and direct style, so that the conversation did not stagnate for a moment, although I must say it was annoyingly limited (sic!). We talked about many things on the agenda, we also touched on the subject of Bolshevism, more than ever on my mind, and I was able to give him some tasty details about what the Bolsheviks were really like, which he didn't know.

I also explained the hopes of the small states, for which he had declared himself to be a defender, and this brought us to the discussion of the League of Nations, and he began to proclaim the importance of his favorite idea, and how especially the small states would benefit from the League . All for the admiration of the beauty of an idea. However, I could not help but draw his attention to the way in which brilliant ideas are often diminished by future partisans and followers who gradually corrupt the original concept, in the end something totally different from the great ideal. That's what happened to most religions, and today Christ would probably cry at the sight of what people have made of His teachings. How many horrors have been committed in the name of Religion?

The conclusion suggested by the Queen remained interesting: "let's not treat defeated enemies too mercilessly. Hate is an evil counselor and leads to many problems!"

"The next day I lunched with Mr. and Mrs. Wilson (author's emphasis) and I continued to study the great man with interest."

This time, the Queen states that she continued to be: "deeply interested in the ideas and ideals of the old gentleman", encouraging him "to expound his theories which he was quite willing to present", speaking "much and well".

US President's Medallion: "Homme du monde" made by Queen Marie

A first conclusion drawn by the Queen was that Wilson appeared to be: "a born preacher and could have been a very cultured minister. Very convinced that he is always right, he somehow has the air of a man who looks down on us, but at the same time he is a homme du monde, polite, kind, even in a ceremonious way. Ready to bring arguments, he has anyway, due to his superiority, a detached attitude, which distinguishes him from other mortals, he will certainly always have the last word to say. Although he was not without understanding, he still hung that feeling of antagonism, particularly to those who, due to their distance, are convinced of their indisputable superiority. This can make anyone wonder if they are absolutely genuine. I can only hope that Wilson is genuine, in such a way as to justify the extraordinary confidence that Europe has in his arbitration. Many of his countrymen look upon him as an impostor, and there is a large political group in the United States that looks forward to his downfall, for such is the world." We can ask ourselves today, with full justification: How many of the contemporary writer-analysts of those times issued such judgments?

Next, we learn that the Queen had only one clash with him: "He ostentatiously preached to me about how we should treat our minorities, showing how important it was, and he dwelt on the subject for a long time, becoming excessively moral and slippery; for a long time he exalted himself on the subject under discussion, treating me rather as an ignorant beginner who might have profited by his advice. No doubt I could have, but I was struck by the fact that he was too attached to the sound of his own voice, and when he finally paused, I suggested in a friendly way that he was probably used to these difficulties because of the Japanese question in the United States."

"At this - remarked the Queen - Wilson bared his long teeth in a polite smile, raised his eyebrows and declared that he was not aware of the existence of a Japanese problem in America! Not being a preacher, and as I was his guest, I just shrugged my shoulders and dropped the subject." This, is a true princely elegance!

"Before leaving, I advised him to promise to look for Brătianu to give him a chance to expose our situation to him. But I had the feeling that if there had been time I could have done much more in the discussion with

the president than our prime minister would have done, who did not speak English at all; moreover, I always enjoyed even a confrontation". ... As for Mrs. Wilson, this one, in the description of the Queen: "she was an attractive lady, and looked much better up close than from a distance. She was strong, had a beautiful complexion and gray-blue eyes, Irish. She was kind and kind. The first time I met her she had a formidable bouquet of orchids. I will always remember her like this, with those lilac orchids close to her smiling face." How femininely tender!

Not only the pen, but also the perfect elegance that characterized Queen Marie, former sister of charity, nicknamed the Mother of the Wounded, the one who was not afraid to enter, like George Enescu, the salons full of suffering patients, some of whom contracted exanthematic typhus in the trenches of Moldavia in the First World War, and who supported himself at the end of the first great world conflagration, on an equal footing with the most important leaders of the world, responding - this time - to the invitation made by the "Man of the Day" to a lunch in Paris seems unlikely. Could a Romanian head of state or today's First Ladies of Romania even dream of such an invitation?

Only the real First Lady of Romania, Queen Marie could do it. It all happened in times that we have forgotten and discarded far too easily, so that the reading of the above lines becomes comforting nowadays by the dignity it exudes. The chronicler would write: In great times, what Great Men Romania had.

* * *

As a royal-blood princess, Queen Marie had high English and Russian origins: her parents were Alfred Ernest Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Duke of Edinburgh, and her mother, Maria Alexandrovna Romanova, Grand Duchess of Russia, the only daughter of Tsar Alexander of II of Russia. Moreover, being descended from the Romanovs, she was the granddaughter of Queen Victoria and Tsar Alexander II. He was part of the most illustrious families of his time, an opportunity to meet and befriend most of the crowned heads of Europe since then. In her writings, Queen Mary mentions, more than once, with pride the "wonderful little grandmother", Queen Victoria of Great Britain, who watched her "progress in life with a grandmother's love, but also with the concerned severity of to the queen who wanted every scion of her House to honor her wherever she was."

With special love, in the most different poses, his mother is described, the one who gave him the name Marie and not Victoria, although he respected the queen a lot, a name that has "something from eternity" in it, worn by of the Mother of God.

He tried all his life to find the proper explanation for the distant relations between them. He finds it perhaps in the fact that she "had been brought up in the most aristocratic Court".

It was the primary summer of the King of England, knowing directly the most distinguished statesmen, led by Clemenceau and the President of France, then with the American President Wilson and his wife, in the very period of his glory, in the spring of 1919, at Paris. She was constantly surrounded with great esteem by the entire German elite.

She grew up for two decades in the shadow of King Carol I of Romania and Queen Carmen Sylva, the latter a brilliant crowned head, known for refinement and good taste, poet and far-reaching patron, whose traits she inherited in the Royal Palace and at Peleș will present them in his writings left to posterity.

About her feelings for Romania, her adopted country, about her achievements as Queen, the writings she left us and a few sentimental phrases in the Testament at the end of our work, in which she blesses the Romanian people and the Romanian plains, speak: I bless you, beloved Romania, the land of my joys and pains, beautiful country, which you lived in my heart and whose paths I have known all. Beautiful country that I saw complete, whose destiny I was allowed to see fulfilled. May you be eternally abundant, may you be great and full of honor, may you be eternally towering among the nations, may you be honest, loved and skilled. I believe that I understood you: I did not judge, I loved (...) My people, think of one who loved life and beauty, who was too honest to be considerate, too merciful to be victorious, too loving to judge".

Few nations in the world can be proud of such Queens

Among those who knew her for a long time and closely, was also I. G. Duca, in the capacity of minister, including foreign affairs, prime minister, man of culture. Let's not forget that he is among the government officials who managed with great skill the affairs of Romanian culture and spirituality; at the same time, the Duca participated in the main historical events during the war, but also in those immediately following the

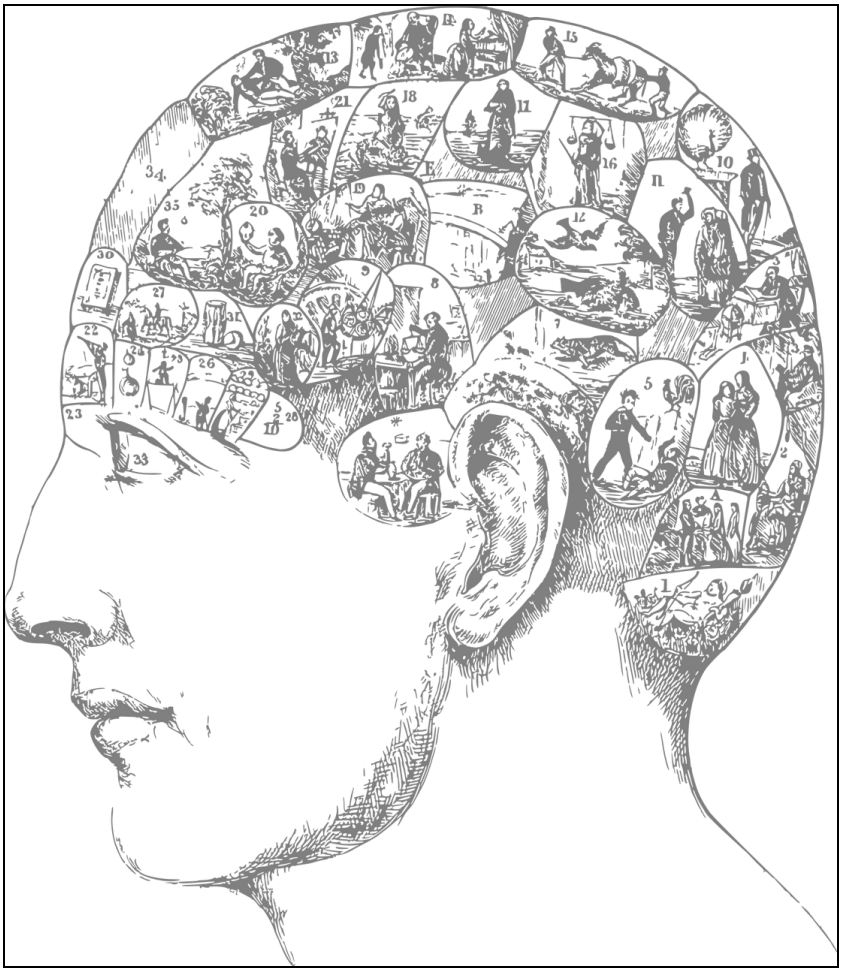
conflagration, so that, from such a position, he would write that the Queen is brilliant, physically as well as morally, "as long as she can see , no one can surpass it. Beautiful, of enchanting beauty." And further: "I don't think there were many women in Europe who could have been like her. Intelligent, charming, full of talent for painting, for riding, for writing" The sober dignified had not yet known, because he had no way, the Queen's Journals, in the pages of which she puts writing after riding! And the "chronicler" Duca adds: "she had sparkling conversation, verve, humor, spontaneity in thought, originality of expression, courage - who did not see her in Iași in the midst of epidemics, going where the danger was greater? The love of truth, beauty, goodness - he lacked nothing. Add to this, pushed to the point of cynicism, an unflinching determination, a kindness springing from a real understanding of human nature, and an indulgence characteristic of all chosen souls." Here is what an unmistakable painting - we would call it an icon - that her contemporary made available to us to get to know Queen Marie better.

During the Great War, the French Ambassador in Romania left a sentence full of truth written: There is only one man in the Palace and that is the Queen. Having said that, nothing to take away, nothing to add.

In the days of national mourning in July 1938, the one who knew her so well, the great historian Nicolae Iorga, wrote sorrowfully. "...Romania lost everything that brought her prestige, pride, intelligence and will, as great and unforgettable memories, the woman of exceptional qualities, which are hardly found in history, Queen Marie. All her life was a mystery, in which the supernatural appeared incessantly, astonishingly, from the beauty of her young years to the imperial pride, yet united with so much grace, which she preserved to the end. And, through a mysterious movement of the soul that has always been in touch with the hidden powers of the world, She, who is now tormented by all the miseries connected with this painful body of ours, asked herself to perform in the air of the country that she so long loved her because he understood her so fully and deeply. Separation from HRH, who is so painful in flesh and spirit, is impossible for the Romanian people. The fool left, but she remains among us. She remains as a keeper of nameless sufferers, as were ours in the days comforted by Her, as the constant reminder of cruel battles and of felt joys, which her faith, stronger than any human heart, dominated".

Such a character we can only love forever and keep in our hearts generation after generation. Few peoples can be proud of such Queens!

Philosophy



IN THE MIND OF THE TERRORIST: DEVIANCE HYPOTHESES

PhD Stefano AMODIO

What's on your mind when you crash a plane into a building? Who wears a belt of explosives and commits suicide in a crowded market? Who smiles after a verdict of conviction for an attack?

If we try to find a logic and a meaning to these absurd or extreme behaviors, we are led to identify or hypothesize it in madness and deviance, in the awareness that our perceptions are often conditioned by the drama of the event, since in this phase we become victims of what in psychology is called *attribution error*. A very common phenomenon, which represents the way in which we sometimes tend to explain the behavior of others by referring to dispositional characteristics (while we attribute situational characteristics to our behaviors), a significant bias, which can affect our understanding of the terrorist in different ways.

"They must be mad", or "They must be sick", this is what we generally say, to a greater or lesser extent, when we are faced with the need or contingency to make sense of those dramatic events that are the attacks, and the violent behaviour of those responsible. And what are these phrases, if not judgments of "abnormality"?

In psychological terms, abnormal behavior is often consistent with the presence of a psychological disorder or discomfort, a debilitating or deviant pathology that negatively affects the well-being of the affected person. Associating the terrorist's behavior with a psychopathology, as is evident, seems plausible, rather reassuring, if not reasonable. Not only for ordinary people, but also for researchers or those who are preparing to study "who is", or rather, "what the terrorist does".

But who is a psychopath?

According to a basic definition, given in diagnostic manuals, it is a person who is prone to deviant behavior and to perform aggressive acts towards others, to hide emotions as well as his or her identity, with a deficit of empathy and remorse.

By comparison, the terrorist carries out violent actions of his own volition, causing the suffering and death of the victims; suffering and death that he himself minimizes or neutralizes. In addition, he often justifies his behavior with necessity, disclaiming any responsibility behind the randomness of the victims. The fault lies with the enemy, with the State, with the Society, which he normally judges, rejects or disowns.

According to a first comparison, therefore, the presence of a pathological disorder in people who engage in terrifying behavior at any level would seem logical and reasonable. And it seemed that way for most scholars in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In fact, in 1981, on the basis of a major review of studies on terrorism, which involved Corrado (1981), Cooper (1976) and Kellen (1982), among many experts on the subject, it was concluded that psychopathy is a relevant trait of the terrorist personality.

In truth, despite some exceptions, this thesis is rather limited because there is little evidence to support it.

First of all, it is rare or difficult to find systematically and with certainty that the personal and social lives of terrorists have been marked by trauma and psychological suffering. From some biographies emerges the description of "[...] a hard and lonely life" (Cooper, 1976, p. 232), a life in which "[...] you have to set the right rules and have an iron discipline" (Orsini, 2009/2001, p. 56) if you want to implement what is required of you. This suggests a certain rationality and methodicality, and not madness or deviance.

It is no coincidence that the data deduced from the biographies of terrorists are reflected in the characteristics sought by recruiters: strong motivation, commitment, discipline, reliability, concentration on the target and stress management, even in the event of possible capture or imprisonment. All qualities in contrast to the pathological self-centeredness common in asocial disorders. Considering the characteristics required by a terrorist movement from its members to carry out certain actions, Cooper (1976, p.229-239), in one of the first psychological descriptions of the figure of the terrorist, had suggested that "the true terrorist is devoid of mercy because he possesses blind faith in his own beliefs or retreats into a comforting individual madness"; and that, moreover, in order to bear the consequences of one's actions, one must have "an isolated conscience or a certain detachment from reality."

Another important point, which contrasts with the hypothesis of the terrorist's abnormality, is the choice of the victim. The nature and

characteristics of the terrorist's victims diverge completely from those of a psychopath: the former, completely random and decidedly symbolic; the latter, defined and supported by elaborate personal fantasies. Moreover, while the actions of a psychopath may depend on a particular victim, the terrorist who uses explosives always keeps a certain distance from the deaths and injuries he causes (Taylor, 1988).

In general, as Cooper (1976) has pointed out, there are very few terrorists who are able to maintain a detachment from actions, or those who find satisfaction in causing pain. In fact, as Kellen (1982) has shown, some of them sometimes have remorse for the acts they have done and the harm they have caused.

This is a significant fact because the idea of the terrorist as an abnormal and detached person can lead to ignoring the process of preparation to which he is subjected in order to become insensitive and inhuman, and therefore capable of performing certain acts and to feel more connected and involved and, therefore, adherent to the cause.

Interestingly, Heskin (1984) looks at the issue from another point of view, looking at both the use of the label "psychopath", which is essentially incoherent and derogatory, and that of "terrorist". Just as we are incapable of technically and effectively distinguishing a terrorist from a revolutionary, we similarly judge a person who performs insane and atrocious acts as a psychopath. And, unfortunately, in some cases, this inconsistent and prejudicial use has led, in the context of research on terrorists, to formulate a diagnosis of psychopathy even in the absence of a clinical diagnosis. By the way, Horgan (2015, p.45) cites the case of Kellen who endorsed the thesis of psychopathy in the case of Carlos the Jackal on the basis of this "[...] that the terrorist thinks, says about himself and about the exploits he boasts in his interviews", while Silke (1998) reports the case of Pearce who made a diagnosis of psychopathy because the terrorist had tattoos on his torso.

If one had the opportunity and willingness to interrogate and examine terrorists in clinical settings, as Horgan repeatedly emphasizes and maintains, evidence could be obtained to support the attribution of certain pathological disorders to at least a portion of "abnormal" individuals. This thesis seems plausible if we consider the cases in which subjects of a violent and aggressive nature have been recruited for criminal activities in general. But as mentioned, they are exceptions.

Therefore, despite the attraction of this subject, terrorist organizations should not be regarded either as exclusively psychopathic groups of people, given the atrocity of their actions, or as groups of recruiters of psychopathic people.

But what about the behaviors associated with psychopathy, can we speak of a terrorist personality?

Many researchers have devoted their energy and time to studying the possible similarities between the dominant characteristics of terrorist behavior and the specific traits of certain personality types, in order to identify valid correspondences to formulate a theory of the personality of the terrorist. Proceeding in this direction, several studies support the general thesis according to which the terrorist and criminal subject is certainly psychologically different from the "normal" or "balanced" subject. This does not mean admitting that he has disorders or pathologies, but claiming that he has a specific personality type or sub-type.

This trend of research developed in particular from the late 1980s to the early 1990s, in the wake of the deterministic positivism that characterized criminological and forensic studies in the previous century: a methodological approach that suggests evaluating influences external to free will, analyzing biological, sociological and psychological factors. i.e. genetics, environment and personality of the "abnormal" or "deviant" individual.

In particular, the positivist approach characterized one of the largest studies on terrorists commissioned by the Minister of the Interior of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1981, conducted by a team of experts including Bayer-Katte, Claessens, Feger and Neidhart. (Bayer-Katte et al., 1982); This study was reviewed later by the most authoritative researchers of those years, such as Taylor and Crenshaw.

Analyzing a large sample of 227 German terrorists, the commissioned researchers identified two types of terrorist leader personalities: one, extremely extroverted, "characterized by unstable, uninhibited, reckless, self-centered, and emotionless behavior" (Taylor, 1988, p. 145); one, extremely hostile, "characterized by intolerant, suspicious, aggressive and defensive behavior" (Taylor, 1988, p. 145).

Crenshaw (1986), taking up and reanalyzing the results of the research, highlighted the salient features of the theses elaborated, hinting at the analyses and hypotheses of Bollinger and Jager. While the former had found, among the interviewees, a certain attraction to violence and had identified its motivations in unconscious aggressive tendencies, often

rooted in paternal conflicts had at a young age, or in the identification of violent acts committed by father figures, or even in identification with an aggressor, the latter had not found a common pattern in violent attitudes, neither of attraction, nor of ambivalence. On the contrary, the terrorists interviewed had shown a strong aversion to aggression: they were aware of the need to justify their behavior and had a sense of limit. It is significant to note the lack of consensus among the researchers of the same group and the fact that, despite the variety of results, detailed analyses of each case revealed that the community life of the German terrorists was completely homogeneous.

Although some of the theses that emerged from the German research have their own strength and substance, it was the methodological problems found that reduced them altogether: the researchers actually interviewed suspected terrorists, who sometimes refused to attend the interviews because the study was commissioned by the state. Not only that, researchers struggled to get practical and operational collaboration from local government administrations. Finally, because the interviews were not confidential communications, the scholars risked being sued as a source of evidence (Crenshaw, 1986).

In 1992, Friedland elaborated a synthesis of the theses on the abnormality and deviance of those who adhere to terrorism, including the hypothesis of Gustav Morf (1970) "on the repudiation of the figure and values of the father" which leads to a hatred of forms of authority; and Berger's about the sense of accomplishment and power that comes from absolute dedication, commitment, sacrifice, and inflicting pain and death (Friedland, 1982). Finally, he came to question the correctness and reliability of the aforementioned theories and, in general, of those of a positivist nature. As Friedland (1982, pp. 81-83) points out, the judgment of validity can be made both a priori and on experience: "some theories, [such as] Berger's, follow circular reasoning. Moreover, most of them are based on one and only main proposition, and their predictive power is reduced. For example, many, at a certain age, reject the values of their fathers but only very few adhere to terrorism. [Whereas], as far as the empirical basis is concerned, so far there is no firm evidence that terrorists are abnormal, diseased, or with a certain type of personality."

At the beginning of the 1990s, in fact, theories about the presence of a psychological abnormality in the person of the terrorist lost popularity, while three qualities or psychological characteristics of the terrorist, taken

as a specific and single individual, which had dominated the academic literature for years, were reconsidered.

Three characteristics that highlight three processes: 1) frustration-aggression; 2) narcissism-aggression; 3) psychodynamic factors.

Frustration-aggression

In an attempt to initiate research on the factors that determine adherence to a movement that aims at political change, and on the "how" and "why" such a movement resorts to violence, some scholars have analyzed minority groups active in contexts of social conflict, taking into consideration the *hypothesis of frustration-aggression* as determining the turn towards political violence.

The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis (FAH), originally developed by Leonard Berkowitz (1965), provides an aggressive and violent response to the observed impossibility of pursuing and achieving a personal or social goal. This impossibility, experienced as denial, can trigger a "fight or flight" response (physical or psychological), or an aggressive and defensive response, or none of these (ignoring the problem or minimizing its importance by means of the cognitive *dissonance mechanism*).

Several authors have chosen and adapted the FAH process to the motivation for involvement in terrorism. In particular, Tittmar (1992) considered it a plausible explanation for the personal turn towards political violence, especially by those who are less well-off or more disadvantaged by the limited and frustrating conditions of society.

On the other hand, Kampf (1990) has evaluated the close but opposite hypothesis, considering the particular attraction that violence and terrorism exert on young intellectuals and the well-to-do, stimulating the impulse to change a social context that feeds exclusion and frustration. But these could be exceptions that would lead to an evaluation of internal motivations, expanding the boundaries of analysis and interpretation in an uncritical and improper way.

In conclusion, if we want to evaluate and understand the reason that pushes a person to join a terrorist group and, then, to carry out a violent act, the frustration-aggressiveness hypothesis, both for the category of the "have-nots and the disadvantaged", and for that of the "have-nots and intellectuals" turns out to be of little validity and conviction.

Narcissism- Aggression

Among the first to suggest the narcissism-aggression hypothesis as a motive for adherence to violence*, are two of the members of the study financed by the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1980s: Sullwold, who identifies the traits of narcissism* among the subjects of the sample interviewed, and Bollinger who, deepening his colleague's initial results, confirms a certain similarity between the psychological dynamics observed in terrorists and those found in terrorists. borderline subjects with narcissistic personality.

These theories have been taken up and expanded by other authors in the following decade, starting with Crenshaw (1986) who deepens Sullwold's work and identifies in subjects with narcissistic personality and behavior a certain indifference to the negative consequences of their actions, as well as a certain tolerance to high levels of stress; to arrive at Post (1987) who reports Bollinger's results in several publications and, Specifically, the detection in the interviewed terrorists of the phenomenon of *splitting*, "a peculiar characteristic of subjects suffering from borderline personality disorder with narcissistic traits [...]" (Post, 1987, p. 308).

In the 1990s, it was Richard Pearlstein's (1991) turn to narcissism as a motivating factor for the turn to political violence. The author, in reiterating the thesis, specifies what is meant by "narcissism" and how it can relate to states of aggression. He writes: "Narcissism can be considered first and foremost as a set of psychoanalytic behavioral orientations, impulses, or patterns that are entirely and strongly linked to the ego rather than to the object. Narcissism can also be considered as a way of relating to the outside world and to the objective world and strongly dependent on the ability of the external world to provide the subject with sufficient reinforcement of the ego as well as adequate satisfaction [...]. Narcissism, moreover, should be defined as an internal and intrapsychic regulatory tool that enables the individual to defend himself against suffering and evil" (Pearlstein, 1991, p. 7).

That said, the scholar lists fifteen references to narcissism to explain the choice of terrorism by some individuals with certain traits, while admitting that these are data containing "summary suggestions to this interrelationship" (Pearlstein, 1991, p.28). Finally, he concludes that "in 90% of cases of political terrorists, narcissistic wound or narcissistic delusion plays a crucial psychographic role" (Pearlstein, 1991, p. 7). This,

however, basing his analysis on studies that report the presence of narcissistic traits in terrorist subjects, and not making references to as many researches that, on the other hand, show the absence of them.

Psychodynamic hypothesis

Psychodynamic psychology originates from Freud's studies, and considers human behavior to be influenced by a series of hidden, unconscious desires, rooted in unresolved real or imagined conflicts in childhood.

The hypothesis of the applicability of psychodynamic theory in the analysis of the psychology of the terrorist individual dates back to Kellen's (1982) study of the case of Hans-Joachim Klein, a repentant terrorist from the Federal Republic of Germany. In analyzing his choice and his actions aimed at struggle and violence, as well as the environment and relationships that nourished his history and his individuality, the researcher states that the man: "unbeknownst to him, was participating in a struggle against authority, since he was unconsciously fighting against his father. [That is], anger at the established order and those who defended it could be an extension of his hatred of his father" (Kellen, 1982, p.18). In support of his thesis, Kellen also delves into Klein's subsequent disillusionment; hence, the dissociation from the atrocities committed by the group and the consequent exit from the organization, as if to identify the evolution of violent behavior, in the light of the unveiling of the unconscious motives that determined it.

Other authors have applied this model, in other ways and for other cases or in a more or less evident and explicit way, outlining a very popular research direction that has crossed the literature on terrorism for many years. See the analyses of Bartalotta (1981) and Brunet (1989), the aforementioned Post (1984) and Pearlstein (1991), or Johnson and Feldmann (1992). Few, however, have criticized such an approach. Among these, Maxwell Taylor in his 1988 publication *The Terrorist*, in which, analyzing the psychology of members of terrorist groups, starting with the leaders, he considers unfounded many of the possible psychodynamically oriented evaluations, which essentially refer to the Electra and Oedipus complexes. In general, Horgan (2015) intervenes, the most concrete criticisms of psychodynamic theories concern their almost tautological circular nature, and their reductive and vague results in their application to the study of terrorist psychology.

Remaining in the field of psychodynamics, some scholars have focused attention on the process of "identification", in the light of the developmental theory developed by Erickson (1968), according to which child development is characterized by successive crises, each of which must be overcome in order for the child's personality to become fully integrated. As a result, the failure to overcome such conflicts in childhood manifests itself later in adult life with various psychological problems.

Crenshaw (1986) developing Erickson's theory and applying it to the study of terrorist motivations, describes the process of affiliation in the following terms: "at the time of identity formation, individuals seek meaning and a sense of completeness, as well as what Erickson defines [...] " faithfulness," that is, the need to believe in something or someone outside of oneself and to be faithful to it. [In this sense] ideologies are the guardians of identity. [...] Clandestine political groups exploit young people's need for loyalty and, according to Erickson, represent the "reservoir of anger" felt by those who have been deprived of something they believed in and were loyal to. An identity crisis [...] makes some adolescents vulnerable [...] to totalitarian collective identities that promise certainty. In these groups, the troubled young person finds not only an identity, but also an explanation of his difficulties and a promise for his future" (Crenshaw, 1986, pp. 391-392).

Kaplan (1981), again taking up Erickson's study, argues that the motivation for affiliation is connected to the need to belong to the group which, therefore, plays a fundamental role in the formation of identity and the importance of the terrorist. This aspect then evolves in the development of interpersonal relationships, in the acceptance of the ideology of the movement and in the adoption of the strategies of the terrorist organization.

Although other awoperical researchers, such as Post and Taylor, have taken up and deepened the process of identification at the basis of the motives of the terrorist, and there are some cases falling within the identity model in which family influence is identified, it remains an approach that is however limited in applicability, and therefore somewhat reductive for the understanding of the logic of affiliation.

The effectiveness of such a model can only be achieved by expanding it and integrating it with multiple levels of analysis, in the awareness that the identity of the terrorist is formed and developed in response not only to "his own world", but also to external changes (Horgan, 2015). This requires having a current and far-sighted look at the

phenomenon, the subjects that define it and the factors that influence it: a challenge that is still open for today's researchers.

In the light of what has been said so far, it can be said that involvement in extreme or violent behavior is an issue that does not necessarily have to be addressed with positivist or psychodynamic theories, or with the hypothesis of the psychological uniqueness or specific personality of the terrorist. There are two reasons for this. The first, because the data and theses regarding the "clinical" and pathological abnormality of the terrorist are neither numerous nor always verifiable; the second, because the studies that demonstrate, on the other hand, the normality of the behavior of those who adhere to terrorism are different and moreover truthful. But let's proceed in order.

Already Morf (1970), in one of the first researches on the psychology of the terrorist, had not found dominant personality traits among the adherents of the National Liberation Front of Québec. Rasch (1979), in his study of some of the components of Baader-Meinhof, also found no symptoms of psychopathy or paranoia, or other psychiatric or neurological disorders.

A few years later, two of the most important and interesting studies on terrorists strongly supported the thesis on normality: the one signed by Jamieson (1989), and the one conducted by Lyons and Harbinson (1986), one of the best examples of rigorous and sample-controlled research.

Jamienson (1989) observed the Red Brigades for several years, having several interactions with its members. From the observations and data collected live, he elaborated a description of the Italian terrorist: a rather "normal" description of "a person who elaborates his ideas meticulously, "with careful analysis and thoughtful reflection", who "considers every event in political terms and who is 'well prepared'", who "has a marked intelligence, a great openness and generosity and, sometimes delusions of exhibitionism" (Jamieson, 1989, p. 48). All in all, a person who has neither the attitude nor the behavior of a murderer, a criminal, thirsty for violence and eager for revenge. The same results have been achieved and confirmed, after a few decades, by Orsini (2009).

Lyons and Harbinson (1986), on the other hand, compared 47 "political" murderers with 59 "non-political" murderers in Northern Ireland, finding that the latter, compared to the former: "[...] They tend to have normal intelligence and mental stability, they don't have psychiatric problems or specific mental illnesses [...]. They show no sense of remorse, as they are able to rationalize it well and are convinced that they are

fighting for a just cause. Political terrorists, in general, do not want to be seen by a psychiatrist, and although they believe there is nothing wrong with them, they are willing to cooperate" (pp.193-198).

Can we therefore *maintain a normality of the terrorist's behaviour?*

According to Silke (1998), yes, since from his study on the recurring theme of pathological abnormality, he himself deduces that "most researchers in this field agree with the theory that terrorists are essentially normal individuals" (Silke, 1998, p. 53)

Despite the results found in this regard, such a thesis is not so widespread in the literature of individual psychology, nor so supported by scholars in current research. On the contrary, explanations based on psychological deviance persist in them, as demonstrated by the studies on suicide bombers by Beck (2002) or Lankford (2013).

It is a question of incoherence of concept and result that drags on from initial research to subsequent revisions, that is, from the studies undertaken by Ferracuti, Kellen and Cooper to those taken up by Crenshaw or Post or Pearlstein, to name a few.

The incoherence stems from the difficulty or reluctance of early scholars to affirm the abnormality altogether, or to affirm the normality of the terrorist altogether. As Horgan (2015), Ferracuti, Kellen and Cooper point out, "[...] They claim that the terrorist is completely insane, or insane in part (or for a time), or almost insane. Similarly, the terrorist has a distinct or "almost" distinct personality', is considered different or "almost" different. In other words, the fathers of the theses on the psychology of the terrorist do not put him in a clear category, nor do they describe him in effective language. What exactly is meant by "insane" or "different"?

This internal incoherence and conceptual confusion damaged most of the initial research on the individual psychology of terrorists and, as Silke (1998, p.67) points out, "[...] have compromised, in their wake, contemporary research."

Although the conclusion of the historical research required the need for methodical revisions in order to analyze the data and results on abnormality and normality, they proved to be of little value because, in some cases, they used the arguments of the same studies to support both perspectives. This general tendency to reinterpret and disseminate the results of previous analyses on the basis of new data, on the one hand, has demonstrated a lack of consideration of the original context and, therefore, hindered a maturation of research over time; on the other hand, it has

attributed to the terrorist "a pathological aura" that has been extended to the present day (Silke, 1998).

But the persistence of the thesis on the diversity of the terrorist is due not only to the inconsistencies inherited and not overcome over time, but also to the strong influence it exerts on researchers, since it allows the simple categorization of a complex situation to be developed, illusorily. And, in the pessimistic predictions of an expert like Horgan, as long as there are no rigorous and controlled psychological studies of terrorist activities, this perspective and this illusion will be difficult to counteract in a clear way.

Do we admit, then, the problematic nature of analyses on the terrorist personality and, therefore, the *stagnation* of research?

A too pessimistic view, perhaps, but one that remains so, if one thinks that the issue concerns almost exclusively the use of psychological traits to motivate individual adherence to terrorism. In truth, the question is more openly about the possible usefulness of behavioral traits: whether they exist, whether they are recorded, and whether they are systematically verified.

In fact, current research, if it is to emphasize the importance of personality traits and support the study and understanding of the process of involvement in terrorist activities, (by some and not by others) should take into account the predictive utility of psychometric assessments and behavioral classes. In doing so, in particular, it should also consider the concerns expressed by Blackburn (1989) about the adaptability of the approach; and the recent theses of Merari and Friedland (1985), on predictive utility.

According to Blackburn (1989), personality traits cannot be inferred from individual behavioral responses recorded in specific contexts. On the contrary, there is a certain long-term stability and in different situations of a wide range of social and emotional traits. Nevertheless, such reasoning cannot be translated as it is to analyses of the individual psychology of the terrorist. In fact, as Merari and Friedland (1985, p.187) point out, "[...] Even if it were possible to identify some common characteristics of the terrorist's personality, the transformation of such information into a general theory would be hampered by its predictive irreversibility. [...] The fact that terrorists share certain qualities does not imply that any person with such traits is destined to become one.'

To the extent that personality traits can influence the operational choices associated with terrorist involvement and activity, it is

understandable that various attempts have been made to elaborate and develop types or profiles of terrorists.

The first dates back to the study conducted by Russell and Miller in 1977, from which they deduced the following sociodemographic profile of a typical terrorist: male, single, aged between 22 and 24, of upper-middle-class origin, recruited in universities where he acquired good knowledge of Marxist and revolutionary ideas.

This is followed by other interesting attempts to profile specific right-wing or left-wing terrorist groups, national or international, such as those of Handler (1990) or Strentz (1987), up to the most recent ones by Gill and Horgan (2012), who profiled 1200 terrorists belonging to the IRA (Irish Republican Army), identifying a functional relationship between the type of subject recruited and the type of role played within the organization, or Dyer and Simcox (2013), which profiled 171 terrorists affiliated with Al-Qaeda and convicted in the United States, observing the following characteristics at the time of the crime:

1. 95% of the criminals were men;
2. 57% were under 30 years of age;
3. 52% had attended university;
4. 23% had training at undergraduate or postgraduate level;
5. 28% were unemployed;
6. Fifty-four percent of Al Qaeda-related crimes were committed by U.S. citizens residing in 26 different states;
7. Thirty-six percent of Al-Qaeda-related crimes were committed by people born in the United States;
8. Twenty-four percent of the crimes linked to Al-Qaeda were committed by Christians who had converted to Islam.

The profiling of the terrorist opens up the question of the filter of classification, i.e. whether it should be proposed in terms of demographic characteristics or in terms of psychological types; a question that deserves further study and not here. In general, if psychology intends to study the terrorist in order to integrate knowledge into an intervention strategy, then it must understand *what they do* rather than *how* people who open themselves up to participation and adherence to terrorist groups are. For this reason, profiling based on integrated behavioral analysis of the fundamental factors of time and the context of recruitment and action are more useful.

At this point in the discourse, the problem of how to highlight the role of personality in contemporary analyses arises again. These are so complex and problematic that they are insufficient, incoherent and unable to provide concrete and verifiable results. A situation denounced and criticized several times by Taylor, yet almost ignored and set aside by current researchers.

The failure of attempts to formulate a sensible and well-founded psychological theory can also be explained by the limited consideration of the remarkable heterogeneity of terrorism because of which researchers have focused attention almost exclusively on the individual and not on his aspiration, or on his strategy, factors that in turn motivate adherence to and participation in terrorism. This underlines the need to carry out more specific analyses on individual terrorists and organisations, i.e. their organisation by roles and their recruitment process, and the need to take into account the social, cultural and contextual factors that variously influence involvement as a choice and as a process.

The most encouraging conclusion at this time is that research needs to make an effort to collect new and more numerous *case studies* on terrorists and to critically and less superficially review the academic literature. And this, even before trying to identify a role for personality in the analysis.

The question, however, remains: why do so few of the people exposed to the alleged conditions that breed terrorist behavior actually become terrorists?

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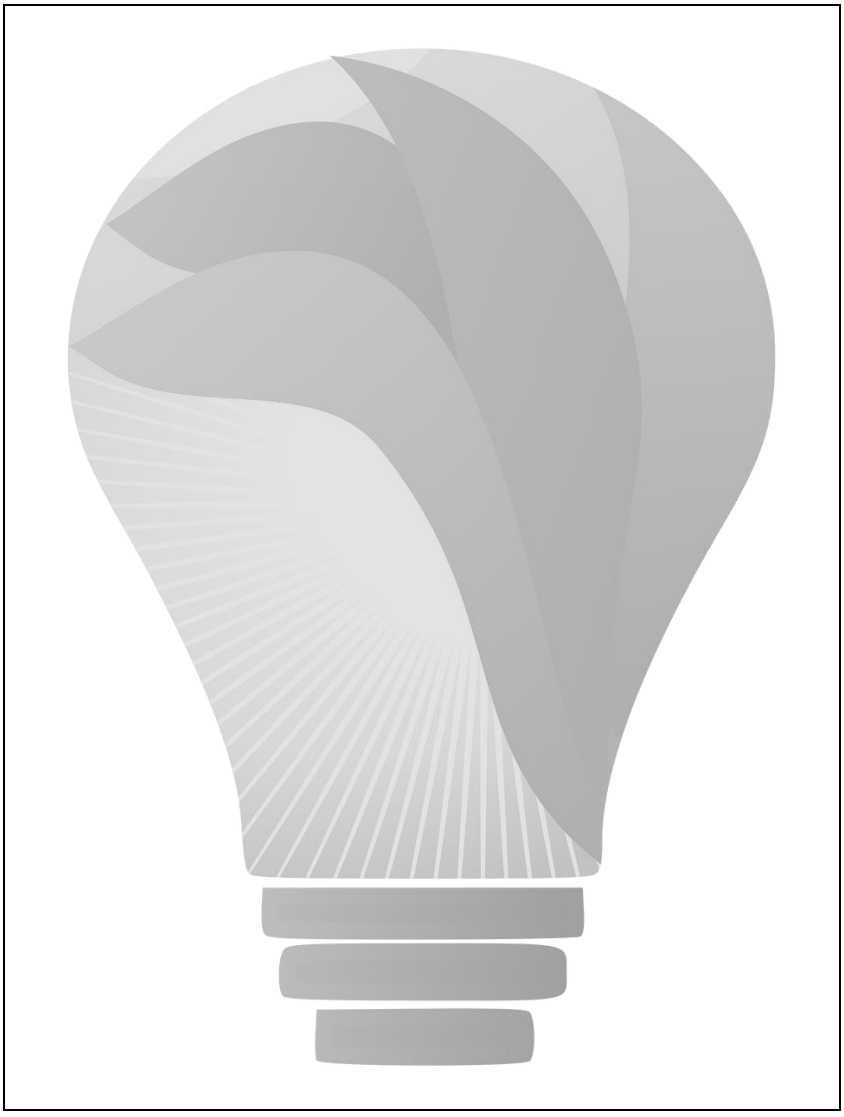


NOAM CHOMSKY VS ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence a present future that becomes even more constant in our lives every day

Arturo CAMPANILE

Now projecting ourselves into the future we observe a present that is increasingly capable of guiding our lives every day. In this regard, Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence explained his thoughts.

Noam CHOMSKY and Marvin MINSKY's protests

Because Noam CHOMSKY's theories were contested by Marvin MINSKY albeit not totally but in part. Noam CHOMSKY's theories as in spoken language, meaning of language etc. they abstract from the data by considering them almost as "irrelevant". As a result, some important aspects of human language, such as semantics, have been put on the back burner. So the attention has shifted to the underlying syntax considering it as "language", the "faculty of languages" or "linguistic competence" things that according to Marvin MINSKY make people think are not even important. Marvin MINSKY instead pays attention and thinks that we should study "language" as in language that is observable on the surface. Language as in the way it is used by people to express a construct or meaning. So not the "language" but the underlying universal, the underlying and internal language. Noam CHOMSKY's theories appear to abstract data into language.

Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

The comparison with the theories of Noam CHOMSKY

Considering the theories of Noam CHOMSKY they abstract the data in the spoken language, examining them in the meaning of the same, placing these and other things in such a way that they appear almost "irrelevant". There is therefore the sensation, the result, that important aspects of the cornerstones of human language, such as semantics, are put on the back burner. Attention then shifts to the syntax underlying things that Marvin MINSKY reflects on. In his elaboration he shifts the entire axis towards what he believes should or should be studied, i.e. "language". Not just "language", in the underlying sense, but as in surface observable language, language as it is used to express the meaning of things and realities. According to MINSKY, notions on Noam CHOMSKY's formal theory of syntax were very useful for clarifying various technical questions on the structure of propositions, the valence of the sentences themselves. However, other authors have also followed this path.

Fundamental problems of meaning and reference

Marvin MINSKY said, “But I felt that they actually distracted linguists from other fundamental problems of meaning and reference.” “I saw little hope for machines to realistically handle the language until we could create simplified versions of programs that actually understood simple sending of content.” “In his opinion, the notions of Noam CHOMSKY and others regarding the formal theory of syntax have helped to clarify many of the technical questions on the structure of propositions and sentences. “But I felt that they actually distracted linguists from other fundamental problems of meaning and reference,” he continued. Scenario that shows that it is difficult for machines to correctly and realistically consider the language itself until the creation of simple programs capable of correctly interpreting the thoughts expressed by the language. At this given moment it is now mandatory to also talk about the vision of Frame or AI and the comparison.

Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

Artificial Intelligence

It was born in the previous century/millennium and now nowadays we mainly talk about A.I., the English terminology that indicates Artificial Intelligence. Theories already created, now available as both a worry and a delight for future projects, which we generically define with the term "Artificial Intelligence" indicating applications that execute systems of complex activities. These terms are often not always correctly used interchangeably with Machine Learning (ML) and Deep Learning (DL). In the past operations required human intervention which can now be bypassed.

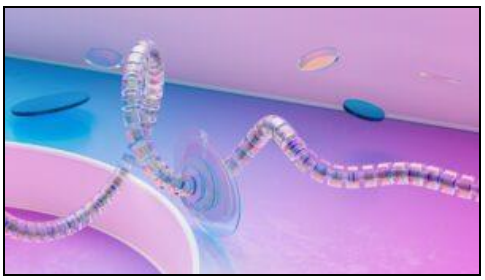
How artificial intelligence was born: to be able to understand what happened in the second half of the last century, it is necessary to put into context what began in a small town in the American province. A hot summer almost seventy years ago, the Rockefeller family, Snow White, a poisoned apple, the witch. If we combine other fundamental news it no longer becomes so difficult and arduous to understand everything.

Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

The Dartmouth meeting

Not difficult, even if it doesn't seem so, if we also add the names of the most important people, research centers and companies in computer science. In the summer of 1956 in Dartmouth, United States, the brains of a new discipline met where contributions from mathematicians, strategy experts, electronics experts, computer scientists, cognitive science scholars and philosophers converged. Dartmouth College (also known as Dartmouth) is an American university, located in Hanover, a municipality in the United States of America, part of Grafton County in the state of New Hampshire. The main experts of this future new discipline which required

the contribution of various sciences in this pharaonic effort, including electronics and computer science, gathered in this college. These last two subjects were in the first decades of their birth. The Dartmouth meeting was promoted and strongly supported by the computer scientist John McCARTHY, already present at Dartmouth College and a precursor of Artificial Intelligence.



Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

The science and engineering to create intelligent machines

John McCARTHY, professor emeritus at Stanford University (1955) also employed at Dartmouth College, defines this new intelligible universe as "the science engineering and the construction of intelligent machines". Present were Marvin LEE MINSKY, American mathematician, computer scientist, researcher specialized in the field of artificial intelligence at MIT and Harvard University, Nathaniel ROCHESTER I.B.M. Corporation and Claude ELWOOD SHANNON Bell Telephone Laboratories. Four characters who in the following decades will constitute the center of scientific research on the many fronts of information technology and Artificial Intelligence. John McCARTHY argues that “any aspect of learning or any other feature of intelligence can, in principle, be described so precisely that it can be simulated by a machine.” In the document released on 31 August 1955 he officially announced the seminar for the summer of the following year entitled: "Summer research project on artificial intelligence". In this way simultaneously baptizing the new discipline.

Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

Rockefeller Foundation

The courage to invest in what seems like the meeting of a group of eccentric and somewhat eclectic intelligentsia, this purpose involves the Rockefeller Foundation which accepts this challenge.

An extremely ambitious, non-utopian project is described in the manifesto in which McCARTHY, SHANNON, MINSKY work. A purpose that materializes in the intention of studying how to build "machines that use language, form abstractions and concepts, solve classes of problems now reserved for humans, and improve themselves". Concretely, everyone is convinced that "machines will one day be able to perform human functions traditionally considered intelligent". The theoretical assumption is that "every aspect of learning or every other characteristic of intelligence can, in principle, be described so precisely that it can be simulated by a machine". This is the hypothesis that inspires and guides John McCARTHY in the organization of the seminar; history now proves them right over the course of almost seventy years of studies and research to date.

Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

“The human mind does not gorge itself on terabytes” these are the words of the American communication philosopher in the New York Times in March of this year 2023. He launches a cry of alarm, which still resonates in all consciences and warns: «We risk debasing ethics by incorporating a fundamentally incorrect conception of language and knowledge into technology». “The human mind is not, like ChatGPT and its ilk, a cumbersome statistical pattern-matching engine, gorging itself on hundreds of terabytes of data.” He adds by giving shape and depth to his hypotheses: "extrapolating the most probable answer to a conversation or the most probable answer to a scientific question" states Noam CHOMSKY in his statements. “In contrast, the human mind is a surprisingly efficient and even elegant system that operates with small amounts of information.” Currently, our supposedly revolutionary advances in artificial intelligence are a real cause for concern and optimism.

Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

The nightmare of AI danger for CHOMSKY

He continues by remembering Jorge Luis BORGES. “To live in an age of great danger and promise is to experience both tragedy and comedy, with ‘the imminence of a revelation’ in our understanding of ourselves and the world.” «Optimism because intelligence is the means by which we solve problems. Concern because we fear that the most popular and fashionable branch of Artificial Intelligence, machine learning, will degrade our science. It debases our ethics by embedding a fundamentally flawed conception of language and knowledge into our technology." Statements that bring awareness of objective realities. «OpenAI's ChatGPT, Google's Bard and Microsoft's Sydney are marvels of machine

learning. Simply put, they take huge amounts of data, look for patterns, and become increasingly adept at generating statistically probable outcomes. Like a language and thought apparently similar to human ones. These programs have been hailed as the first glimmers on the horizon of artificial general intelligence".

Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

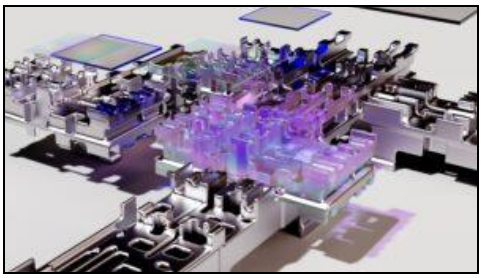
The overcoming of Artificial Intelligence compared to Human Intelligence

“That long-prophesied moment when mechanical minds will surpass human brains. Not only quantitatively in terms of processing speed and size of memory, but also qualitatively in terms of intellectual intuition, artistic creativity and every other distinctively human faculty." The philosopher of language emphasizes some important aspects. «That day may come, but his dawn has not yet broken, contrary to what we read in the hyperbolic headlines and the calculations of reckless investments. The Borgesian revelation of understanding has not occurred and will not occur, in our opinion, cannot occur, if machine learning programs such as ChatGPT dominate the field of AI. Although these programs can be useful in some narrow areas (they can be useful in computer programming, for example, or in suggesting rhymes for light verse). We know from the science of linguistics and the philosophy of knowledge that they differ profoundly.

Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

The difference between A.I. (Artificial Intelligence) and HUMINT (acronym for HUMan INTelligence)

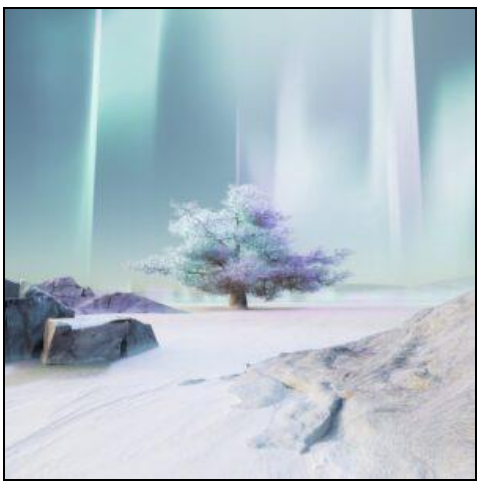
Observes CHOMSKY: «It consists of the way human beings reason and use language. These differences place significant limitations on what these programs can do, coding them with unavoidable flaws." «It is comical and tragic at the same time, as BORGES might have noted, that so much money and attention are concentrated on such a small thing. Such a trivial thing when compared to the human mind in the words of Wilhelm Von HUMBOLDT. This, by dint of using language, can make "an infinite use of finite means", creating ideas and theories of universal scope." He also poses a metaphorical example. «Suppose we have an apple in our hand. Now let go of the apple. Observe the result and say: “The apple falls”. This is a description. A prediction could be the statement “The apple will fall if I open my hand”. Both have value and can be corrected. But an explanation is something more”.



Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

Explanation

«Explanation includes not only descriptions and predictions, but also counterfactual conjectures. Like “Any such object would fall,” plus the additional clause due to “the force of gravity,” “the curvature of space-time,” or whatever. “The apple would not have fallen if it had not been for the force of gravity.” This is thinking. The crux of machine learning is description and prediction; it does not involve causal mechanisms or physical laws. Of course, any human-like explanation is not necessarily correct; we are fallible. But this is part of what it means to think: to be right, it must be possible to be wrong. Intelligence consists not only of creative conjectures, but also of creative criticism. Human-like thinking is based on possible explanations and error correction, a process that gradually limits the possibilities that can be rationally considered. Quoting Sherlock HOLMES “Once the impossible has been eliminated, what remains, however improbable, is true”».



Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

Final thoughts

Indeed, considering the poisoned apple approach of Snow White and the Witch between human and artificial intelligence leads to completely opposite outcomes. However, it also opens up to other considerations. Would the witch have stopped, would she have continued, would Snow White have been dead or would the witch herself have no chance of returning in a duel to the death? These are the countless possible scenarios that the comparison between the two intelligences proposes. This ethical theme of the future was treated in the recent beautiful film "The Creator" which unfortunately did not have great success. The deepening of the principles of ethos have never been perceived favorably by the masses, nor the welcoming of the "different" be it disabled, different, dissimilar. Regarding Noam CHOMSKY and Marvin MINSKY's objections, I believe that both have points in favor and against. It will only be the future that, perhaps in a not so distant tomorrow, will give an answer. Certainly not now.

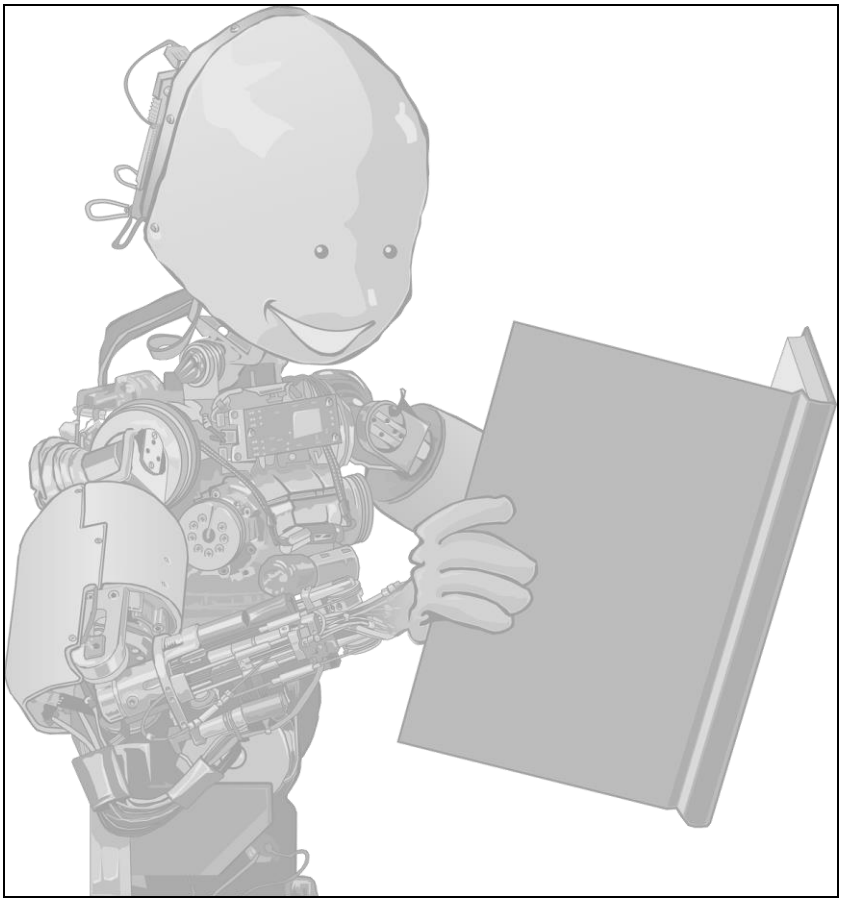
Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

Through the film The Creator we discuss a difficult relationship between AI (Artificial Intelligence) and HUMINT (acronym for HUMan INTelligence). As often happens, we emerge from it looking miserably defeated both from an ideological and ethical point of view.
Let's think about it.

Arturo CAMPANILE

Permitted and repertoire images, Noam CHOMSKY Vs Artificial Intelligence

Arturo Campanile
Così è (se vi pare) O. T. di L. P.



CREATIVE WRITING HANDBOOK

by Vanni De SIMONE

Introduction

Creative Writing Course: What You Need to Teach.

There are many schools of creative writing in Italy and around the world, each of which is based on its own parameters and elaborations. In our case, the structure of this manual will be addressed, after a synthesis of the various components and techniques, to a type of writing that breaks the 'mold', that is, comes out of the swamp of the so-called mainstream, a term now in use to indicate a conventional and mass writing, which often does not bring anything new in the field of narrative techniques. In this regard, it should be remembered that we will use the term narration to indicate 'the object of writing', a term which, being in some way 'neutral', will not give rise to confusion between the definitions indicating novel, short story, short novel, long story, autobiographical novel, etc.

We have said that creative writing courses have multiplied, but let's take a look at the basic syllabus of a creative writing course. What is taught? What aspects do you focus on?

What do the trainees learn? We will review the basic technical topics, which cannot be glossed over in a course that aims to provide the main tools to undertake this type of experience: essentially, the general rules and technical tools.

What must be reiterated decisively is that each of these schools follows particular parameters, beyond the 'technical' indications which, however, are general and which, as already mentioned, must be known. The

A central and fundamental point is that we too will follow a certain logic of writing or, better said, a given theoretical approach, based fundamentally on a manipulation and re-elaboration of general structures and techniques. They are techniques, structures and imagery that are linked both to Italian groups and movements that remain fundamental in the Italian literary scene (first of all, the '63 Group); and to international authors and narratives, who are taking the text off the page, an operation that we believe is essential to get out of the shoals of the mainstream.

Only such a perspective, based on the history of literature, will be able to lead to results of a certain interest and importance. Before starting to talk about narrative techniques and the various components/structures present in a narrative, it will be necessary to take a very brief historical look at both the origins of creative writing and the current situation in Italy.

Creativity and writing.

According to the definition, creativity is an intellectual virtue that, in theory, everyone is more or less gifted with. It is the ability to create, an ability stimulated by certain peculiarities such as sensitivity, the production of ideas, originality, the ability to analyze, synthesize and structure.

In the writer, creativity is the basis of work. Writing involves the use of imagination and fantasy, elements that require the development of a creative mind, that is to say that one must possess a certain 'talent' to be able to write, without which, there are no courses whatsoever.

Creative writing is the transition from ideas - from creativity - to the production of texts also written for fields that are not exclusively literary (think of cinema). It is in this passage that the possession of writing techniques, of the metaphorical suitcase containing the needles, proves to be necessary of the trade.

How to Teach Creative Writing: The Foundation.

We can hypothesize a methodology on which to base a creative writing course. Given the aims, in fact, a course of this kind cannot ignore certain elements.

The first element is purely theoretical, and consists in teaching theories and techniques of writing that should be known to anyone who wants to learn (some) of the secrets of writing.

The second element is practical. It is necessary to move from theory to practice, from knowledge of the technique to its application. In courses, writing exercises are generally assigned, exercises that allow you to evaluate and guide the student in his or her learning and improvement process.

Also here, a workshop will be presented in which the theoretical and, above all, the practical moments will be divided. Around these two elements, writing courses can propose other, additional original elements that characterize and distinguish them from each other. You can privilege a certain type of approach to writing and teach in that sense. You can propose to work on different genres of texts, for example crime and noir, which require additional specific knowledge. Each narrative genre requires

knowledge of certain narrative techniques. We will move on the basis of your enthusiasm and your willingness to reach the fundamental parameters to be able to elaborate a creative text: a short, given the objective situation, an original narrative that you will have to commit to elaborating.

Many people wonder what creative writing is. Certainly born in America, it shows that the world needs to tell and tell itself, both to oneself and to an undefined audience. A creative writing course aimed solely at a psychological need is not the goal of this course: here, we will try to give technical and structural information on how a narrative is configured.

Listening/participation, expressiveness, creativity are dictated by the emotions that everyone in the group is able to convey through creative imagination: therefore, if the number of participants is greater than 10 people, they will be divided into groups of at least 3 elements. In the beginning, what will emerge will be a group writing, in which everyone will bring their own idea or experience; Later, after establishing a harmony within the various groups, you can start producing your own texts.

From style to plot.

A creative writing course, both in a theoretical and practical sense, must therefore take into account various elements:

– Style. That is, 'how to write', the language used, the narrative techniques present in the narration.
– Weft. It's the narrative you want to tell, the way it's structured. A good example, but certainly not the only one, is to rely on the technique of the show, don't tell, that is, not to explain what happens, but to show it through the events of the narrative: exactly as is done in cinema, where images replace words. In this case, the author will have to use his creative creativity and be able to perform this small miracle.
– Characters. This point is about the creation and development of primary and secondary characters, following their arc of transformation, i.e. how they change from the beginning to the end of the story; or the archetype structure of the 'hero's journey', as it was theorized by Chris Vogler (1949) many years ago (but still relevant), [1]

[1] Chris Vogler, The Hero's Journey. The Structure of the Myth for the Use of Fiction and Cinema Writers or Other Theories, Audino, 2010

No specific rules will be imposed, and each new author will have to develop the techniques closest to him, while maintaining the point of wanting to write something that detaches, possibly, from the conventions of the mainstream.

– The conflict. A story is generally based on a conflict, which is what generates narrative tension, meaning here by 'conflict' any contradiction that emerges in the narrative.

As Alberto Asor Rosa has repeatedly reiterated in Scrittori e Massa (Einaudi, 2015), the author must to bring out the 'conflict', an element that, in his opinion (and also ours), has completely disappeared in mainstream writing, redundant yes of genres such as noir and the like, but disappeared in other narratives.

We are not referring here to 'conflicts' that are only political or social, but also existential. The years and events we are experiencing, even bloody and tragic ones (wars, diseases, hunger, poverty, unbridled enrichment of the few in the face of the poverty of the many) should represent, for an author, an inexhaustible source of inspiration. Creative writing: a debated term.

Not all industry insiders agree on the definition of creative writing. Sometimes it has even been claimed that it is nothing more than an excuse to advertise writing schools. Others say that it is enough to indicate the term writing alone: creative would be an unnecessary clarification.

However, the current definition has its own dignity: creative writing is defined as that which is not professional in the strict sense, and which is born from thought, ingenuity, imagination and that wonderful world that is imagination.

Moreover, we cannot deny that the term itself has a great appeal, and is evocative of a world that has seen the creation of great works. If we talk about writing, the term really lends itself to many variations, but when we combine it with the adjective 'creative' everything changes. We don't think we need to discuss this too much, everything will depend on the value that will be given to this type and its practical applications.

In recent years, creative writing courses have multiplied, various schools have included it among the subjects taught. It means that the demand is high, and for this reason it must be met in the best way. Just as we should not forget the proposal of online creative writing courses.

Areas of application.

The works we are talking about when referring to creative writing are certainly not documents, bibliographic research, reports of various kinds. Creative writing concerns short stories, novels, poetry, biographical and autobiographical narratives (as mentioned, narratives): a fictionalized news text can thus fall within the scope of creative writing.

We don't talk about creative writing when referring to manuals, historical, social or scientific research.

Although at this point I would like to say that any topic, if written with the creative contribution of the author, should and could fall under this definition.

Last but not least, it should be remembered here the extreme importance that is given to this writing practice in nursing homes and centers for the elderly. There is a vast literature on this subject, but we will not deal with it, since the notion of creative writing dealt with here refers specifically to techniques for developing narratives based on specific and personal experiences or the result of the imagination, but always from the point of view of invention or, precisely, creativity, and not for therapeutic, let's say therapeutic, purposes. in which it is also used.

It should be remembered that in these centers there are various other applications and exercises aimed at keeping the cognitive abilities of the guests vital, and that this specific practice is very frequent. There is no age-limit for setting one's creativity in motion, as Dewey already affirmed, as we will see later: whoever says this, affirms the false.

The design of a work.

This is the phase that precedes the actual narrative structure, the moment of investigation, in which the importance of having clear ideas about the work you are thinking of is emphasized. The literary genre, the general topic or plot, the timing to be followed must be established. You can also set an approximate length of the text you design. This last fact is of some importance. In a lot of fiction, very long texts are elaborated (Infinite Jest, by David Foster Wallace, is a typical example).

However, this type of operation requires a mastery of one's own handwriting processing skills, which are not common, so you have to be very careful with this data.

Narrative competence: writing as communication and transmission of knowledge.

Writing requires forms of self-discipline and methodology, such as forcing oneself to work (as Hemingway or Moravia did) certain hours or minutes a day: the important thing would be to try to make an effort to do so every day, psychological and material conditions permitting. You shouldn't be too strict with yourself, especially at the beginning, the elaboration of a text, whether long or short, generates anxiety. If you have to make radical corrections, do them when you have accumulated at least a certain number of written pages: even from a psychological point of view, it is essential to have the feeling that you have written something concrete. Writing is also a form of communication, not loneliness: you write to tell someone something. At first, you do it thinking that that someone will be a friend or relative. As you move forward, and you convince yourself that you are working well, that 'someone' ceases to have a face, and becomes an indistinct multitude.

You write for others, therefore, this is the spring that drives the writer. Starting from this point is Fundamental, because writing for others means first of all making yourself understood. In this regard, clear distinctions must be made: in the reading of any text, the reader's fundamental will to understand must actively intervene, without which no text has value; And it means, for the author, asking questions: about the stories you want to tell, about how to tell them, and above all about why you want to do it.

Other times it's just the pleasure or pleasure of telling something. Writing a book implies in a certain way the will to seduce the world.

It should never be forgotten that the first rule is to grab your reader, but he must be willing to be captured, and make sure that he does not detach himself from your writing.

But here other elements come into play: the type of audience, the type of narrative operation to be carried out, the historical-literary references of the masters of the past, that is, the objective to which one intends to refer. There is no one type of writing, and therefore literature, that is good for everyone, but specific fields (genres, language choices, use of digital systems, graphic processing, etc.) within which to move. The objective that we intend to indicate here will be a type of writing related to a very specific historical period of Italian literature, to well-identified masters and, more generally, to a form of novel that comes out of the very strong image of the handset telephone in an era of mobile telephony, as Claudio

Magris has well pointed out in a passage that we will see later. There are international authors who are moving in this direction. We will try to learn from them. Narrative competence (of narratives) is essentially the ability to understand, memorize, reorganize and create complex linguistic structures that qualify as 'stories' or 'tales'.

More specifically, the verb narro indicates, in a simplified form, the action performed by the one who is gnarus (hence narus), the one who knows, who is familiar with a thing, who has knowledge of it, and is therefore learned and experienced: writing thus becomes making others informed about something.

The word narration derives from the Latin narratio, dependent on the verb narro (to tell), and by extension 'to divulge'. More generically used also in the sense of saying, speaking, remembering, making mention of.

The narrator therefore communicates contents around which he has precise knowledge: the act of narrating does not arise from the pure and simple organization of a logical-temporal sequence within a structure of more or less interconnected partial elements. Narration is the result of an act of knowing, which translates into the public publication of the knowledge learned, and in the offer of expertise aimed at organizing that knowledge according to its further usability, according to purposes, purposes and skills that are partly of the narrator, partly of the reader: and here we reiterate, again, that the reader must also be familiar with a certain idea of writing.

Maybe your proposal may not be accepted or shared, but it doesn't matter: these are problems that authors who have made the history of literature have dramatically experienced, but from which they have not let themselves be blocked.

BACK TO SCHOOL

THE WAY OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE PROCESS OF PREVENTING RADICALISM

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Citizenship education as a tool to prevent violent radicalisation: the case of the European project REM: Rights, duties, solidarity Citizenship education and the prevention of radicalisation

In the Council of Europe Congress of 20 October 2015, resolution 384 was adopted (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, 2016) in which the fundamental role of education in the prevention of violent radicalisation was highlighted: 'the important role of educational functions, especially those performed by families and schools, with a focus on topics such as respect for cultural diversity, human rights and the harm caused by hate speech'. (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, 2016, p. 8)

THEORY AND PRACTICE 17 At its 197th session, UNESCO's executive council also recognised the importance of education in fostering youth resilience, in particular by promoting global citizenship education and a positive sense of identity and belonging. (UNESCO, Centre for International Cooperation, 2019 a)

The role of education is not to intercept possible violent extremists or to identify people who might, in the future, become such, but to: 'create conditions that enable learners to protect themselves against violent extremism by strengthening their commitment to nonviolence and peace'. (UNESCO, Centre for International Cooperation, 2019 a, p. 25).

Through education, the following can be fostered, particularly in young people: the development of communication and interpersonal skills to be able to engage in dialogue and deal with dissent and learn peaceful approaches to change; the development of critical thinking; resilience to counter extremist narratives to develop socio-emotional skills useful for

constructive engagement in society without resorting to violence. (UNESCO, Centre for International Cooperation, 2019 b, p. 17)

Citizenship education, and especially the global citizenship education proposed by UNESCO, by making "reference to a sense of belonging to the global community and to a common humanity, in which its members display mutual solidarity and a collective identity, as well as a collective responsibility at the global level" (UNESCO, Centre for International Cooperation, 2019 b, p. 17) can help promote resilience, especially in young people: 'it can encourage and motivate learners to contribute constructively to society by supporting social change through non-violent ways in their local communities. [...]

Through global citizenship education, learners understand and appreciate the interdependence and interconnectedness of the world and its diverse populations. They learn to value and respect diversity and differences, and develop skills, attitudes and behaviours that enable them to thrive in diverse societies and make their own contribution'. (UNESCO, Centre for International Cooperation, 2019 a, p. 40)

Education, seen from the sociological perspective is an "explicit and formalised part of the broader process of socialisation". (Besozzi, 2014, p. 39)

The process of socialisation is the mechanism through which any member of a society, from childhood onwards, learns norms, values, lifestyles, in short the culture, of the society in which he or she joins (Giddens, 2006, p. 33).

Through education, therefore, it is possible to act on culture and consequently on the perception of belonging and identity, which are closely linked to it, and which come into play in the forms of violent radicalisation that occur precisely when the aforementioned dimensions are undermined by the contemporary context of complexity and by personal events that lead to a perception of poor inclusion or actual social exclusion.

In this context, therefore, the concept of education and culture interact with each other as inescapable instruments of the same process that originates and ends in the broader concept of *interculturality*.

When one enters the specific places of education and culture, i.e. first in the family and then in the school, interculturality can be acted upon and transmitted as an antidote to radicalism, starting above all from the school, as the place, the first, where different cultures come into contact with each other.

Initially, there was a reductive, partial, even misleading conception of interculturality. It was confused with the organisational management of a

multi-ethnic classroom. One believes one is doing interculturality only because one promotes courses in Italian as language two; one draws up a vademecum for reception; one prepares a linguistic first aid; one sets up a multi-ethnic shelf; one employs cultural mediators, etc..

Well, all this is not enough to make interculturality. These activities are certainly necessary to create the preconditions for interculturality. But it is still not interculturality.

There are methods that are experimented at school by educators who have chosen interculture as a positive aim of education, capable of ensuring a cognitive and anthropological enrichment, a broadening of the cultural horizon to which the entire learning process is linked, opening the person to a migrant, nomadic, mestizo identity.

Methods with which we seek to promote a knowledge that is not closed in the form of "cognitive apartheid" but which accepts operations of re-reading, grafting of new knowledge, comparisons and mixing with other cultural realities. Implementing interculturality in the school using these methodologies therefore means using the heritage of one's own cultural tradition as a starting point to engage in new syntheses, accepting confrontation with other memories and narratives by relativising one's own perspectives. It is necessary to refer to new 'sources', new points of view, new genealogical reconstructions of knowledge (e.g. 'female').for a 'paideia for the 21st century' that will have to be intercultural, i.e. a paideia for the age of globalisation, of the pluriverse, of the metaverse, of cross-fertilisation. We will deal below with a number of methods to realise interculturality, as a new way of global citizenship.

Narrative method

This is perhaps the warmest, most welcoming and democratic method of doing interculture. Everyone, in fact, has something to narrate, if anyone is willing to listen.

Without listening to the other, there is no interculturality.

The other, in intercultural education, must become an 'actor' just as we are. If interculturality is a "movement of reciprocity", then it is not enough to talk to the other, nor to talk about the other, but it is necessary to listen to the other.

It is necessary that the other also speaks to us, that he reveals himself, that he communicates the story about his life. Both a child and an adult have a life story to tell.

That is why no one is excluded from storytelling. One can be asked to narrate a fairy tale, a party, a journey, a game, a dream, an adventure, a typical dish, a diary, a film, etc. Our conviction is that the narrative route is one of the most effective methodologies for intercultural education.

Through the globality of languages and the direct narration of experiences it is indeed possible to realise an exchange of cultural values and to compare 'points of view' on reality.

The aim of narrative pedagogy is not so much to increase the volume of narrative materials in the school as to give a 'narrative framework' to the educational process. In this way, narrative is no longer understood merely as the 'object' (the content) of education but as its new and original 'epistemic principle' (educating by telling).

Concretely, life stories of emigrants, biographies of witnesses, travel diaries, films and documentaries by foreign authors; poems and dramatisations; active participation and forms of collective memory are proposed.

Comparative method

A second way of intercultural education is the comparative method. This involves comparing two or more narratives or views or versions of the same object.

What is important on the educational level is the broadening of the vision through the use of a new resource In this way, one gets away from a one-sided and one-dimensional approach to education, avoiding the belief that there is only one true reproduction and faithful representation of a given reality.

The comparative method is thus potentially a way to educate to complexity and pluralism, relativity and comparison (but not relativism). Examples of comparisons at school could be: the two figures of Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta; the two holy books Bible and Koran (but more generally the comparison of structural elements of Christianity and other religions); the fairy tale of the European Cinderella and the Arab, or Chinese, or Vietnamese Cinderella; the account of the crusades according to Europeans and according to Arab chroniclers; calendars in different cultures and the cycle of life in two cultures, etc.

"The Other Million. Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta on the Routes of China", by Antonella Fucecchi and Antonio Nanni, Emi, Bologna 2000, (book and video) is an example of a comparative teaching tool to be used at school. Marco Polo (Venetian, Italian, European, Christian, Medieval) and Ibn Battuta (Tangerine, Moroccan, Maghrebi, Muslim, Medieval), the former author of The Million and the latter of the Rihla (travelogues).

Through this didactic tool, one can deal with everything that relates to their Journey, the Look, the Tale. It is also worth mentioning the volume by C. M. Guzzetti, Bible and Qur'an, Synoptic Comparison, San Paolo, Milan 1993, a very useful teaching tool according to the comparative method.

As is well known, the Koran dedicates a series of verses to many characters that are the same as those in the Bible: 502 Verses to Moses; 245 Verses to Abraham; 131 Verses to Noah; 93 Verses to Jesus. There is no Passover in the Koran; no baptism of Jesus; no reference to prophets such as Isaiah, Jeremiah; Ezekiel, Daniel. In a comparative-historical study between the Bible and the Qur'an, the following relationships could be explored: Biblical God - Qur'anic God; Biblical prophets - Qur'anic prophets; Biblical man - Qur'anic man; Biblical law - Qur'anic law; Biblical eschatology - Qur'anic eschatology etc.

Deconstructive method

After the narrative and comparative method, we propose the way of deconstruction as the preferred strategy to educate on interculturality. In truth, one should speak of 'self-deconstruction' insofar as everyone is required to deconstruct what is unacceptable in their own culture. When different cultures meet/clash, they are most often in an 'asymmetrical' relationship. It is necessary to move away from an ideology of neutrality, the formal recognition of their equality in terms of value and civilisation is not enough, since the 'power relations' between the cultures themselves and the subjects that carry them remain to be resolved.

What to do, then, so that intercultural dialogue is truly a relationship of reciprocity? One possible answer is through the practice of deconstructing prejudices, stereotypes, clichés, deforming images, ethnocentric linguistic categories, etc.

This work must be carried out not in the abstract, but by going down to the very concrete terrain of ordinary language, of everyday communication, of the normal tools we use in education... to verify the meaning of deconstruction precisely on them.

To bring about this change, it is necessary to 'build by deconstructing'. In other words, to construct a new (planetary) memory by deconstructing the dominant memory, which is ethnocentric but passes itself off as planetary.

Deconstruction should therefore be understood as the promotion of the capacity to question oneself, to revisit and revise one's ideas. It is a process of revision, of relativisation, of historicisation, of decentralisation of one's conceptual categories. In school, this didactics of 'deconstruction' can be implemented on at least four levels: linguistic-conceptual, relational-psychological, instrumental, structural.

By placing oneself in a situation of deconstruction, the other is incited to do the same. This creates the principle of reciprocity: everyone can give and everyone can receive something.

As examples of deconstruction

I would like to point out:

- the deconstruction of the concept of human races (since they do not exist in the plural);
- the deconstruction of the concept of intelligence (think of Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences);
- the deconstruction of the way of narrating the transition from prehistory to history, which attaches importance above all to writing and undervalues oral culture instead;
- the deconstruction of male-dominated philosophy that never makes recourse to female figures who have made a contribution to the history of thought (consider that even school textbooks recount the history of philosophy from the pre-Socratics to the post-Nicene without ever mentioning a woman!);
- the deconstruction of the many prejudices that persist in public opinion about Islam;
- etc. etc.

Method of decentralisation (or points of view)

After the narrative, comparative and deconstructive methods, here we come to decentralisation. Educating to intercultural confrontation means first of all growing the capacity to decentralise one's own point of view, learning to consider one's own way of thinking not the only possible or the only legitimate one, but one among many.

The anthropological and educational value of decentralisation lies in the pathway out of egocentrism and ethnocentrism.

Decentralisation contains within itself an antidote to intolerance and racism. It is a democratic apprenticeship, a training to learn to accept the partiality of one's own truth, never totalising, never absolute, never definitive.

Decentralisation requires accepting one's own limitations and mistakes, recognising that one needs others, being willing to listen and collaborate.

All this requires a willingness and inner security that find their origin not on the level of knowledge but in a serene affective maturation.

It is through confrontation with others that new points of view can be discovered. It is important, therefore, that the school really characterises itself as a place of confrontation, structuring activities and paths that favour group work rather than individual work, mutual listening rather than frontal teaching, flexible learning contexts rather than rigid pre-structured paths. It is about discovering that for the other I am the other.

Being seen and told by others helps us to relativise our point of view and sometimes to make us more aware of how we are.

Concrete examples may be: the discovery/cognitive of America as seen from the Indians' side; the history of the West as told by the Iroquois; the Crusades as seen by the Arabs; Colonialism in Africa as told by the Africans; when the immigrants were us (letter from an Italian emigrant to Australia in the 1950s); the Sino-centric map (drawn by Chinese cartographers that places Europe to the North West of the planisphere and therefore 'decentralised'); the Little Red Riding Hood fairy tale told from the wolf's point of view; the fairy tale of the three little pigs according to the point of view of each of them; their 'parents' and the wolf who arrives at the end, etc.

Method of recognising cultural debt

Here we come to a method that is a bit special, but very important for intercultural education: it involves leading the pupil to recognise the cultural debt that his or her own culture has towards other cultures. Indeed, many cultural realities (words, utensils, foodstuffs, plants, animals, symbols, rituals, etc.) that today are considered an essential part of 'my' culture, once did not belong to me.

Then, through cultural exchanges, cross-fertilisation, hybridisation, borrowing, etc., they became incorporated into my culture to such an extent and so deeply that we have perhaps forgotten it today.

This is what the recognition of cultural debt is for. It is about making children discover that, for example, so many terms we use in the Italian language are originally Arabic; that numbers in mathematics are Arabic; that the zero (0) was passed on to us by the Arabs who borrowed it from the Asian Indians; that so many food products come from the Americas; that literary masterpieces such as Dante's Divine Comedy must recognise their debt to earlier works such as 'The Book of the Ladder of Mohammed' (ed. SE, Milan 1991).

The method of action (or pedagogy of gestures)

In addition to knowledge and attitudes, intercultural education must also be able to value gestures, actions, behaviour, i.e. the pragmatic way of active citizenship education.

To form 'more welcoming minds' and intercultural attitudes in young people, it is also important to promote initiatives and actions, because gestures have great educational value.

Let's make a quick list of examples:

- inviting one or more immigrants to school for a direct confrontation;
- organising a twinning or other forms of cultural exchange (inter-school correspondence) between different schools;
-participating in anti-racism initiatives;
- planning a visit to the Mosque or Synagogue or a Buddhist centre, etc.;
- setting up an intercultural exhibition;
- preparing a show with ethnic music;
- organising a peoples' festival (even cookingethnic dishes);
- etc.

Plan actions and initiatives, always taking care to make pupils grasp the educational value of the gesture.

The playful way

Play is also an important tool for intercultural education. We are thinking above all of kindergarten and primary school, but with the right dosage and tricks it can also be used in secondary schools. Children, teenagers and young people show a great desire to get 'in the game'. The

problem lies rather with the teachers, not all of whom are and not always willing to 'play'.

Particular emphasis should be placed on didactic games, which express reality in an analogical way, and allow the problems they symbolically depict to be experienced without taking the risks.

Through the playful way to interculturality, direct involvement is emphasised, putting oneself at stake through simulations, role-plays, dances, theatrical performances, dramatisations, etc.

Furthermore, to practise interculturality as a method of thinking is to do interculturality by first enhancing what the subject curricula already contain. That is, to follow the ordinary way... hence, interculturality as the new normality of education. Interculturality is never censorship, impoverishment, a less... interculturality is always an enrichment, an expansion, a more.

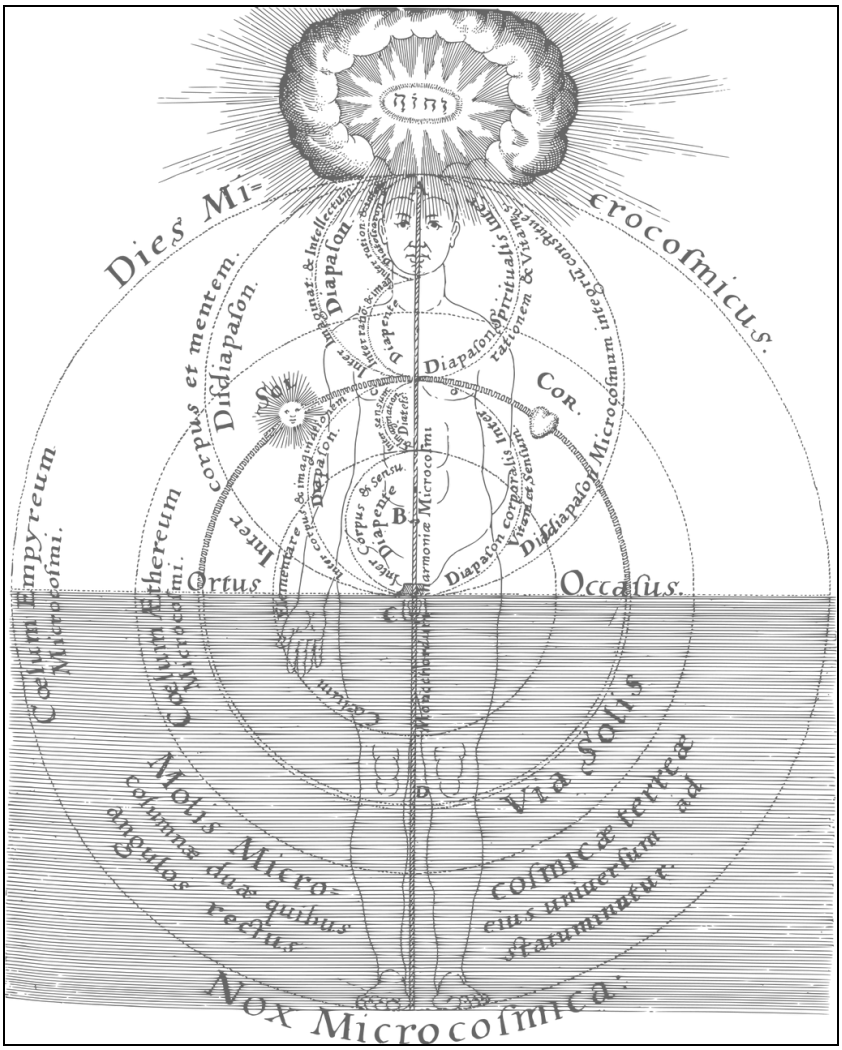
Do interculturality by examining textbooks and supplementing them with other aids and materials that offer richer and more correct information.

To do interculturality by correctly employing cultural mediators who know how to act as bridges, foster inclusion, facilitate exchange, bring cultures closer together.

To create interculturality by making interculturality indicators more visible in ordinary teaching equipment, for example by setting up a multicultural shelf with thematic paths, bridge-characters, bilingual books, etc.; by providing a plurality of cultural mediators in the classroom; by providing a plurality of cultural mediators in the classroom; by providing a more correct and richer education.

For example, setting up a multicultural shelf with thematic itineraries, bridge-characters, bilingual books, etc.; providing a plurality of planispheres; having evaluation sheets printed also in bilingual models (Italian/Chinese, Italian/Albanian, Italian/Arabic, Italian/Urdu); disseminating knowledge of the Theory of Multiple Intelligences (H. Gardner); preparing a Vademecum for reception and a linguistic First Aid... In conclusion, there are many reasons to choose interculturality, and there are many ways to achieve it in schools and in society.

It is a cultural, anthropological, ethical, political choice. It means rejecting a model of society as a space of separate identities in order to build together a democratic coexistence, the space of the plural and global community.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HISTORICAL LANDMARKS REGARDING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN ROMANIA (1)

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Summary: This study aims to present how the legislation regarding family violence (term according to Romanian legislation) has evolved, from the first law adopted at the beginning of the first decade of the millennium to the beginning of 2024, i.e. over 20 years.

Some normative acts or articles that mark moments in the implementation process of some EU Directives and/or the Istanbul Convention (using the term domestic violence) will be marked along the way.

Keywords: family violence, domestic violence, legislation, legal framework, temporary protection orders, protection orders, electronic bracelets

Abstract: *This study aims to present the way in which the legislation regarding domestic violence (term according to Romanian legislation) has evolved.*

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1. INTRODUCTORY ASPECTS

In Romanian legislation, it was initially considered that the events that happen within a family are problems related to private life, but at the moment when the scope (quantity) and intensity (murder, attempted murder) of the negative ones exceeded expectations, with effects serious endangering the life, health, safety of the victims (adults and/or children from a family or cohabitation relationship), then the state reacted by adopting normative acts of the nature of severely sanctioning some crimes,

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but also to protect and secure the victims and minor witnesses (recently). The intervention of the statute through coercive, punitive measures can also be argued from the point of view of ensuring the quality of life, as a guarantor of respect for human rights.

Precisely for this reason, we will try to trace the trajectory of these changes aimed at ensuring and restoring balance in the couple, as well as providing protection and multidisciplinary consultation to the victim.

2. LEGAL STRUCTURE

To outline the legislative framework for this phenomenon whose real dimensions we never know, we note the following[2]:

- Law 217 of 2003 for the prevention and combating of family violence, republished in 2014 – chapter IV – Protection order
- Law 134 of 2010 on the Code of Civil Procedure, republished
- Law no. 286 of July 17, 2009 regarding the Criminal Code, with subsequent amendments and additions
- Law no. 135 /2010 on the Criminal Procedure Code, with subsequent amendments and additions
- Constitution of Romania, Chapter II, Fundamental rights and freedoms, art. 22
- Law 25/2012 LAW no. 25 of March 9, 2012 regarding the amendment and completion of Law no. 217/2003 for the prevention and combating of family violence.
- When we talk about family violence, we have in mind, from the point of view of legislation, first of all, the Criminal Code [3] and the Criminal Procedure Code[4] each of these amended after February 2014, the date of entry into force of both. Regarding the Criminal Code, the special part, we list the crimes related to family violence: murder (art. 188-189 CC), attempted murder (art. 188-189 CC), beatings and other violence (art. 193 CC), injury bodily harm (art. 194 of the Criminal Code), blows or injuries causing death (art. 195 of the Criminal Code), bodily injury due to negligence (art. 196 of the Criminal Code), ill treatment of minors (art. 197 of the Criminal Code), killing or harming a newborn committed by to the mother (art.200PC), termination of pregnancy (art.201PC), harming the

[2] https://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocumentAfis/136108
[3] Lege nr. 286/2009, https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/gezdmnrzgi/codul-penal-din-2009
[4] Legea nr. 135/2010, https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/geztkobvha/codul-de-procedura-penala-din-2010

fetus (art.202PC), illegal deprivation of liberty (art.205PC), threat (art.206PC), blackmail (art.207), harassment (art.208 CC), human trafficking (art.220 CC), trafficking of minors (art.221 CC), subjection to forced or compulsory labor (art.212 CC), pimping (art.213 CP), begging (art.), exploiting begging (art. 214), using a minor for begging (art. 215 CP), rape (art. 218 CP), sexual assault (art. 219 CP), sexual act with a minor (art.220CP), sexual corruption of a minor (art.221CP), sexual harassment (art.223 CP), domestic violence (art.224 CP), violation of private life (art. 226 CC), Violation of the secrecy of correspondence (art. 302 CC), Illegal access to a computer system (art. 360 CC), child pornography (art. 374 CC), bigamy (art. 376 CC), non-compliance with the measures regarding the custody of the minor (art. 379 of the Civil Code), preventing access to compulsory general education (art. 380 of the Civil Code). This generous framework is completed with offenses provided for in Law no. 217/2003 on the prevention and combating of family violence. We note that most of these crimes are grouped in Title I - Offenses against the person (art. 188-227), according to the following chapters:

Chapter I - Crimes against life, Chapter II - Crimes against bodily integrity or health, Chapter III - Crimes committed against a family member, Chapter IV - Aggression against the fetus, Chapter V - Crimes regarding the obligation to assist those in danger, Chapter VI - Crimes against personal freedom, Chapter VII - Trafficking and exploitation of vulnerable people, Chapter VIII - Crimes against sexual freedom and integrity. Chapter IX - Crimes affecting the home and private life. We nod. III the provisions of art 199, with the two paragraphs that refer to some articles listed previously. (1) If the facts provided in art. 188, art. 189 and art. 193-195 are committed against a family member, the special maximum of the punishment provided by the law is increased by a fourth. (2) In the case of the crimes provided for in art. 193 and art. 196 committed against a family member, the criminal action can also be initiated ex officio. Reconciliation removes criminal liability. Therefore, the first paragraph supplements the criminal sanction, precisely to act as a lever for general prevention.

At the same time, recent normative acts such as law no. 424 of December 29, 2023 regarding the amendment and completion of Law no. 217/2023 for the amendment and completion of Law no. 286/2009 regarding the Criminal Code, of Law no. 135/2010 regarding the Criminal Procedure Code, as well as the Audiovisual Law no. 504/2002.

If we refer to the Criminal Procedure Code, we note art. 79 which defines the injured person as the person who suffered a physical, material or moral injury through the criminal act.[5] Further, according to art. 81, entitled The rights of the injured person, the set of these rights is presented, provided for in paragraph (1):

a) the right to be informed about his rights;

b) the right to propose the administration of evidence by judicial bodies, to raise exceptions and to make conclusions;

c) the right to make any other requests related to the resolution of the criminal side of the case;

d) the right to be informed, within a reasonable time, about the stage of the criminal investigation, upon his express request, on the condition that he indicates an address on the territory of Romania, an e-mail or e-mail address, to which this information to be communicated to him;

e) the right to consult the file, under the law;

f) the right to be heard;

g) the right to address questions to the defendant, witnesses and experts;

g^1) the right to benefit from an interpreter free of charge when he does not understand, does not express himself well or cannot communicate in Romanian. In urgent cases, technical means of communication can be used, if it is judged that this is necessary and that it does not prevent the exercise of the injured person's rights;

g^2) the right to be notified of the translation in a language he understands of any decision not to send him to court, when he does not understand the Romanian language;

h) the right to be assisted by a lawyer or represented;

i) the right to appeal to a mediator, in cases permitted by law;

j) other rights provided by law.

(2) The person who suffered a physical, material or moral injury through a criminal act for which the criminal action is initiated ex officio and who does not want to participate in the criminal process must notify the judicial body about this, which, if it appreciates necessary, he will be able to hear her as a witness.

The most important normative act is Law no. 217/2003 on the prevention and combating of family violence. This law was substantially

[5] https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/geztkobvha/art-79-persoana-vatamata-codul-de-procedura-penala?dp=gqztimbzgq3te

modified by another normative act: Law no. 25/2012 which regulates several aspects such as:

- a definition of family violence consisting of action or inaction
- the 8 forms of violence and brief explanations of their content
- what is meant by family member
- the rights of the victim
- about the attributions of the central and local public administration authorities, as well as of the ministries and other specialized central bodies of the public administration, through their territorial structures, in this matter
- the 5 types of units for preventing and combating domestic violence (art. 23)

Regarding the rights of the victim, a comparison with the rights of the injured person in the criminal process is pertinent and indicated. We consider art. 2^3 of the new law, newly introduced, which has the following content: The victim of domestic violence has the right: a) to respect for his personality, dignity and private life; b) to information regarding the exercise of his rights; c) to protection special, appropriate to his situation and needs; d) to counseling, rehabilitation, social reintegration services, as well as to free medical assistance, under the conditions of this law; e) to free counseling and legal assistance, under the conditions of the law."

At the same time, the most important tool that the legislator puts at the disposal of the direct and indirect victims is the protection order issued by the judge, on which occasion he can temporarily dispose of one or more of the following measures - obligations or prohibitions:

- a) temporary eviction of the aggressor from the family home, regardless of whether he is the owner of the property right;
- b) reintegration of the victim and, as the case may be, the children, into the family home;
- c) limiting the aggressor's right to use only a part of the common home when it can be shared in such a way that the aggressor does not come into contact with the victim;
- d) obliging the aggressor to keep a certain minimum distance from the victim, from her children or from her other relatives or from the residence, workplace or educational unit of the protected person;
- e) the prohibition for the aggressor to move to certain localities or determined areas that the protected person frequents or visits periodically;
- f) prohibition of any contact, including telephone, correspondence or in any other way, with the victim;

- g) obliging the aggressor to hand over the possessed weapons to the police;

- h) entrusting minor children or establishing their residence.

According to paragraph (2) By the same decision, the court can also order that the aggressor bear the rent and/or maintenance for the temporary home where the victim, minor children or other family members live or will live due to the impossibility of staying in the family home. (3) In addition to any of the measures ordered according to para. (1), the court may also order the aggressor to undergo psychological counseling, psychotherapy or may recommend the taking of control measures, treatment or forms of care, especially for the purpose of detoxification.

Aspects related to the duration of this order, about who can submit the application to obtain this order, which are the evidences that can be administered (very quickly), legal assistance and representation, the powers of the prosecutor, the deadlines for pronouncement, postponement of the pronouncement, are further regulated. of motivation and appeal, very short and these, measures that aim to immediately protect all types of victims and, implicitly, general and special prevention.

Moreover, the legislator also took into account the imminent dangers in which the victims may be and provided that "In case of special emergency, the court can issue the protection order on the same day, ruling on the basis of the request and the documents submitted, without the parties' conclusions."

Other very concise articles follow, which have the role of simulating the procedure for issuing this order. We consider attributes of the court, respectively of the prosecutor:

Art. 27^6. - (1) The decision by which the protection order is ordered is only subject to appeal, within 3 days from the pronouncement if the parties were summoned and from the communication, if it was issued without their summons. (2) The Court of Appeal may suspend execution until the hearing of the appeal, but only with the payment of a bond, the amount of which will be determined by it. (3) The appeal is judged with the summons of the parties. (4) The participation of the prosecutor is mandatory.

Likewise, for its implementation, the Romanian Police is actively involved in several aspects, according to the following article:

Art. 27^7. - (1) The protection order is immediately communicated to the structures of the Romanian Police in whose territorial radius the residence of the victim and the aggressor is located. (2) The protection

order ordering any of the measures provided for in art. 26 para. (1) shall be executed immediately by or, as the case may be, under the supervision of the police. (3) To enforce the protection order, the police officer may enter the family home and any of its annexes, with the consent of the protected person or , in the absence, of another family member. (4) The police bodies have the duty to supervise the manner in which the decision is respected and to notify the criminal investigation body in case of evasion of execution.

Likewise, the sanctions for violating this order are very clearly specified.

Art. 27^8. - (1) Violation of any of the measures provided for in art. 26 para. (1) and ordered by the protection order constitutes the crime of non-compliance with the court decision and is punishable by imprisonment from one month to one year. Reconciliation of the parties removes criminal liability.

(2) In case of conviction, conditional suspension of the execution of the sentence cannot be ordered.

We believe that the latter provision must be corroborated with articles from Law no. 146/2021 regarding electronic monitoring in the framework of criminal judicial and executive proceedings [6].

We further note, also to protect the victims, after the expiration of the term for which the Protection Order was issued, pursuant to art. 27^9. - At the expiration of the duration of the protection measures, the protected person can request a new protection order, if there are indications that, in the absence of the protection measures, his life, physical or mental integrity or freedom would be endangered.

At the same time, the aggressor, in turn, has rights, one of which is provided in art. 27^10, with the three paragraphs:

(1) The person against whom a measure has been ordered by the protection order for the maximum duration may request the revocation of the order or the replacement of the ordered measure.

(2) Revocation can be ordered if the following conditions are fulfilled, cumulatively: a) the aggressor has complied with the prohibitions or obligations imposed; b) the aggressor has followed psychological counseling, psychotherapy, detoxification treatment or any other form of counseling or therapy that has been established in his charge or which was recommended to him or he respected the safety measures, if such

[6] https://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocumentAfis/242354

measures were taken, according to the law; c) if there are solid indications that the aggressor no longer presents a real danger to the victim of violence or to her family.

(3) The request for revocation is resolved by summoning the parties and the police unit that executed the protection order whose revocation is requested. The participation of the prosecutor is mandatory.

As I showed previously, the legislator protected even the most vulnerable beings who can be both direct and indirect victims, dedicating an article to the best interest of the minor, according to art. 27^11. If, once the request is settled, the court finds the existence of one of the situations that require the establishment of a special child protection measure, it will immediately notify the local public authority with child protection attributions.

But the special law no. 217/2003 was later amended by normative acts, such as:

- O. G. no. 6 /2015, approved by Law no. 160/2015
- Law no. 272/2015
- Law no. 351/2015
- Law no. 35/2017
- Law no. 174/2018
- Law no. 212/2019
- Law no. 106/2020
- Law no. 146/2021[7] regarding electronic monitoring in the framework of criminal judicial and execution procedures

The first of them modifies only two articles, respectively art. 8 and art. 37, with duties in the elaboration, coordination and application of the Government's strategies and policies in the field of family violence, and on the other hand, regarding the financing or, as the case may be, the co-financing of programs of national interest that aim to prevent and combat family violence, as well as protecting and supporting the family in order to increase its quality of life, from funds allocated from the state budget for this purpose, from external repayable and non-repayable funds, as well as from other resources, under the law

The last three laws also refer to the protection order. Thus, according to Law no. 272/2015, which has a single article, only art. 31 of Law no. 217/2003 in the sense that a copy of the decision by which the request for the issuance of the protection order was ordered is communicated, within a

[7] https://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocumentAfis/242354

maximum of 5 hours from the moment the decision is pronounced, to the structures of the Romanian Police in whose territorial radius the victim's residence is located and/or of the aggressor.

Also in 2015, this law, Law no. 217/2003, was also amended, also through a single article. This time the amendment referred to art. 27 para. (1) from Law no. 217/2003 for the prevention and combating of family violence, with the following content:

"Requests for the issuance of the protection order are judged urgently and, in any case, their resolution cannot exceed a term of 72 hours from the submission of the request. Applications are judged in the council chamber, the participation of the prosecutor being mandatory".

According to law no. 35/2017 regarding the completion of art. 23 of Law no. 217/2003 for the prevention and combating of family violence, the single article intervenes after paragraph (3) of article 23 of Law no. 217/2003 for the prevention and combating of family violence. Therefore, a new paragraph is introduced, paragraph (4), with the following content: "(4) By the same decision, the court can order the taking of a measure to control compliance with the protection order and to prevent its violation, such as: a) obliging the aggressor to to appear periodically, at a time interval determined by the court according to the circumstances, to the competent police station with the supervision of compliance with the protection order; b) obliging the aggressor to provide information to the police body regarding the new residence, in the event that through order was ordered to evict him from the family home."[8]

Another law that modifies, this time several articles of Law no. 217/2003 for the prevention and combating of family violence is the **Law no. 174/2018**[9], being a consequence of the partial transposition of the provisions of art. 9 para. (1) lit. b) and c) and para. (3) lit. a) and b) of Directive 2012/29/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 establishing minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime and replacing Framework Decision 2001/220/JHA of the Council.

Some changes refer to principles, others to the redefinition of the qualities of people who can commit a type of violence, the resizing of four forms of violence (in order, psychological, physical, social and spiritual),

[8] https://www.mmuncii.ro/j33/images/Documente/Legislatie/L35-2017.pdf
[9] https://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocumentAfis/202718

what is meant by a victim, the authorities' attributions[10] in this "vast construction site". I draw attention to the provisions of art. 5 where the persons who can be family members are listed, but in paragraph 2, the most important: children who witness violence are considered victims, so they will benefit from the same protection measures as victimized adults.

Art. 8, amended in turn, brings new attributions to the central structure of ANES, while article 9 refers to the Ministries connected to this phenomenon, and art. 10 is fully dedicated to the duties of the Ministry of Education.

Art. 11 concerns the probation services, subordinated to the Ministry of Justice for the social reintegration activities of those convicted of domestic violence.

Article 13 refers to financial issues, targeting the local budgets of institutions with the responsibilities of counseling and social assistance of individuals. Article 14 includes a new index, 1, which lists the categories of professionals who can be involved in informing and counseling victims of domestic violence. The following article lists and differentiates between several types of regimes in which social services can operate. Therefore, art. 15 shows that (1) Social services for the prevention and combating of domestic violence can be organized in a residential regime, in a day regime or with a continuous program, with or without legal personality, of local or county interest. (2) Social services for the prevention and combating of domestic violence organized in a residential setting, intended for victims of domestic violence, with accommodation for a determined period, are: a) emergency reception centers; b) recovery centers; c) sheltered housing. (3) The social services for the prevention and combating of domestic violence organized during the day are: a) centers for the prevention and combating of domestic violence; b) centers for information services and awareness of the population; c) assistance centers for aggressors. (4) Social services for the prevention and combating of domestic violence with a continuous program are: a) information and counseling services for victims of domestic violence such as a help-line; b) integrated emergency services for victims of sexual violence.

It is very important to underline the fact that (5) Social services intended for aggressors are organized on a daily basis and have as their objective their rehabilitation and social reinsertion, by providing education

[10] Autoritățile administrației publice centrale și locale

and counseling measures. According to the law, the centers can monitor the treatment of addictions.

Regardless of victim or aggressor, according to paragraph (6) specialized social services for preventing and combating domestic violence are offered free of charge to victims.

ART. 19 regulates in detail in many paragraphs the measures provided for correcting the aggressors. According to paragraph (1) The assistance centers intended for aggressors are social assistance units that operate during the day, with or without legal personality, which ensure their rehabilitation and social reinsertion, educational measures, as well as counseling and family mediation services.

In Article 19, after paragraph (2), two new paragraphs are inserted, paragraphs (3) and (4), with the following content: "(3) The assistance centers intended for aggressors can provide the beneficiaries with outpatient treatment in the case of different types of addictions, at the recommendation of a specialist doctor, (4) Social reintegration activities of criminals convicted of domestic violence crimes may include the use of social services provided within the centers intended for aggressors."

The benefits that can be offered by social services are detailed in the following articles, because art. 2 to capture another way of reporting a domestic violence offense to the authorities. Hotlines are free social services that provide callers with confidential advice on all forms of violence[11].

Likewise, with regard to safety and protection, the following article provides that 18^1 (1) Protected housing is social assistance units organized in a fixed-term residential regime, with or without legal personality, which provide emergency accommodation, care, social assistance , legal and psychological counseling and guidance for victims of domestic violence. In the last paragraph it is mentioned that (2) The address of protected housing is secret to the general public.[12]

The changes continue with article 22, where, after paragraph (2), two new paragraphs are introduced, paragraphs (3) and (4), to special psychological counseling programs for aggressors organized by public or private specialized services."

[11] https://mmuncii.ro/j33/images/Documente/Legislatie/L174-2018.pdf
[12] Ibidem

with the following content:

"(3) In the settlement of divorce cases, in which one of the spouses was found guilty of committing acts of domestic violence, the competent courts may order, ex officio or at the express request made by the other spouse, in the charge of the aggressor, the measure to participate in special psychological counseling programs organized by public or private specialized services.

(4) The Ministry of Labour and Social Justice in collaboration with the Ministry of Health and the Romanian College of Psychologists, through consultation with the Ministry of Justice, elaborates the methodology regarding the way to participate in special psychological counseling programs organized by public or private specialized services."

A large chapter (with seven sections) is dedicated to another type of protection order, namely the provisional protection order that is issued by the police who find that there is an imminent risk that a person's life, physical integrity or freedom will be endangered by - an act of domestic violence. Considering its importance, as well as the need to complete the legislative framework specific to this law, with the other amending normative acts, we propose to continue this approach in another article.

(To be continued)

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