

L'ANALISI LINGUISTICA E LETTERARIA

FACOLTÀ DI SCIENZE LINGUISTICHE E LETTERATURE STRANIERE
UNIVERSITÀ CATTOLICA DEL SACRO CUORE

2

ANNO XVI 2008

EDUCATT - UNIVERSITÀ CATTOLICA DEL SACRO CUORE

L'ANALISI
LINGUISTICA E LETTERARIA

FACOLTÀ DI SCIENZE LINGUISTICHE
E LETTERATURE STRANIERE

UNIVERSITÀ CATTOLICA DEL SACRO CUORE

ANNO XVI 2008

SPECIAL ISSUE

Proceedings of the IADA Workshop
Word Meaning in Argumentative Dialogue

Homage to Sorin Stati

Milan 2008, 15-17 May

VOLUME 2

edited by G. Gobber, S. Cantarini, S. Cigada, M.C. Gatti & S. Gilardoni

L'ANALISI LINGUISTICA E LETTERARIA
Facoltà di Scienze linguistiche e Letterature straniere
Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore
Anno XVI - 2/2008
ISSN 1122-1917

Direzione

GIUSEPPE BERNARDELLI
LUISA CAMAIORA
SERGIO CIGADA
GIOVANNI GOBBER

Comitato scientifico

GIUSEPPE BERNARDELLI - LUISA CAMAIORA - BONA CAMBIAGHI - ARTURO CATTANEO
SERGIO CIGADA - MARIA FRANCA FROLA - ENRICA GALAZZI - GIOVANNI GOBBER
DANTE LIANO - MARGHERITA ULRYCH - MARISA VERNA - SERENA VITALE - MARIA TERESA
ZANOLA

Segreteria di redazione

LAURA BALBIANI - SARAH BIGI - ANNA BONOLA - MARIACRISTINA PEDRAZZINI
VITTORIA PRENCIPE - MARISA VERNA

Pubblicazione realizzata con il contributo PRIN - anno 2006

© 2009 EDUCatt - Ente per il Diritto allo Studio Universitario dell'Università Cattolica
Largo Gemelli 1, 20123 Milano - tel. 02.72342235 - fax 02.80.53.215
e-mail: editoriale.dsu@unicatt.it (*produzione*); librario.dsu@unicatt.it (*distribuzione*);
web: www.unicatt.it/librario

Redazione della Rivista: redazione.all@unicatt.it - *web:* www.unicatt.it/librario/all

Questo volume è stato stampato nel mese di dicembre 2009
presso la Litografia Solari - Peschiera Borromeo (Milano)

PÂRVULESCU VS. CEAUȘESCU AND ALL VS. PÂRVULESCU. ARGUMENT AND PSEUDO-ARGUMENT IN A UNIQUE EVENT IN A COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP

MIHAI DANIEL FRUMUȘELU

The present paper is a case study of a unique event that occurred in 1979 Romania, during the communist dictatorship that marked the history of Eastern Europe in the second half of the 20th century. During the 12th congress of the Romanian communist party, a veteran member of the party, Constantin Pârvulescu, took the floor unexpectedly and talked against the dictatorial leader of the party and the country, Nicolae Ceaușescu.

This is my second paper on this event, whose complexity and originality under several aspects (audiovisual, linguistic, argumentative, and, last but not least, political) suggests that it may and should be the focus of many investigations from different perspectives, especially by researchers from my generation, who lived the communist period, including the moment of this event. My first paper on this subject (Frumușelu, forthcoming) investigated general aspects related to discourse features. The present paper highlights the argumentative strategies used by Pârvulescu and by those speakers who counterattacked him and the context in which this argumentative confrontation took place.

1. *Material and method*

This paper will use as primary source the TV recording of the incident, made by the Romanian television. The fact that there was only one television in Romania at that time, the public one, and that it was strictly controlled by the communist party, will appear blatantly obvious in the analysis. The analysis of the event will start from *multimodal* considerations on the place where the event occurred and on the participants, and will continue with a semantico-pragmatic account of the verbal interaction between the participants in the event. The multimodal investigation brings information about both linguistic and non-linguistic features of the event, which is relevant to its rhetorical and argumentative aspects.

2. *General features of the event*

After WW2, Romania, as most of the Eastern European countries, experienced the dictatorship of the communist party, which held the monopoly of the political power, assured

by the state constitution. This happened despite the fact that there were extremely few communists in Romania (less than 1,000 members in 1944). After 1965, when Nicolae Ceaușescu was elected secretary general (i.e. leader) of the communist party, the power was gradually concentrated into his own hands, either directly or by means of his family, first of all his wife, Elena Ceaușescu. Nicolae Ceaușescu governed virtually unrestrained, mainly by emitting decrees. The parliament (officially called “The Great National Assembly”) was reduced to the formal role of meeting a couple of times a year to ratify Ceaușescu’s decrees.

This general situation caused the discontent of several veteran members of the party, who were not lucky enough to be relatives to Nicolae Ceaușescu. One of them was Constantin Pârvulescu, who had the courage to speak up on this matter during the 12th congress of the communist party, in November 1979.

2.1 Participants

Constantin Pârvulescu’s intervention was followed by four speeches, that were held in chronological succession by: Ion Popescu-Puțuri, George Macovescu, Leonte Răutu (Lev Oighenstein) and finally Nicolae Ceaușescu. The first three speakers who counter-attacked Pârvulescu were high-ranking members of the Romanian Communist Party. The last of them, Leonte Răutu, is mentioned under his two names. He was a Soviet Jew (Lev Oighenstein) sent to Romania after WW2 to contribute to the implementation of the communist system there, and, like other persons who were in the same situation, he changed his name into a Romanian one (Leonte Răutu).

2.2 The multimodal transcription of the event

The multimodal perspective on human interaction considers discourse meaning being made up of the different semiotic channels, which equally contribute to the resulting meaning (Thibault 2000; Baldry & Thibault 2006). A consequence is that language is regarded as one of the meaning components, a part of the acoustic channel. This unlike the customary theories of discourse analysis and conversation analysis, which consider language as playing the main part and therefore other features are marked as, for instance, *paralinguistic* or *non-linguistic*.

I made a multimodal transcription of the whole recording of the event, translated the interventions into English and added the corresponding English subtitles to the recording. My multimodal transcript of the audiovisual recording describes and identifies the main components of the multimodal text as follows:

- a) *timeline*, that corresponds to the chronological flow starting from the moment immediately before Pârvulescu’s asking to take the floor;
- b) *soundtrack*, that corresponds to the notion of *discourse* in discourse analysis – in the Romanian original and in English translation, and including the components *participant* and *content*, that respectively render the participant in the interaction

- (e.g. the speaker or the audience) and that content of audio channel that is relevant to the event;
- c) *visual frame*, corresponding to the *extra-linguistic context* in discourse analysis, and including the marking of the relevant *proxemic* and *kinesic* features, if any.

The whole event lasts for 38 minutes and its multimodal transcription covers 43 pages in A4 format. Părvulescu’s intervention, that triggers the trail of events, is rendered completely, in the Appendix, whereas the relevant excerpts of the other participants’ interventions will be quoted in the course of the study. In the transcription notation several suggestions given by Du Bois *et al.* (1988) were also used. The general conventions on the notation that are relevant to the present study are shown in Table I.

Table I: *Multimodal transcription conventions*

Transcription	Meaning	Example
Bold type	stressed word or fragment	we should ask him, and he does know
Dots	The absence of the context	... the floor, to hand it in to the congress secretariate.
Slash	A short pause made by the speaker	
Square brackets	Added context in the English translation, to make the meaning clearer for non-Romanian readers	Do I have less merits than this— [poet] Păunescu?
Direct descriptions	Other actions that are relevant to the event	<i>unclear</i> <i>applauding</i> <i>Part of the audience chanting</i>

The mention *unclear* is used instead of an unclear fragment of the soundtrack.

Further multimodal events and comments are made in italics. Comments referring to pragmatics, discourse analysis, rhetoric, are made separately, as inserted comments. The transcriptions rendered in this study contain the English translation of the interventions, without the Romanian original, as it focuses on argumentative schemas rather than on linguistic features. Moreover, the excerpts present along the analysis lack the mentioning of the visual frame, as the camera manoeuvring is not relevant to them, but only to Părvulescu who was shown before and after his attack on Ceaușescu.

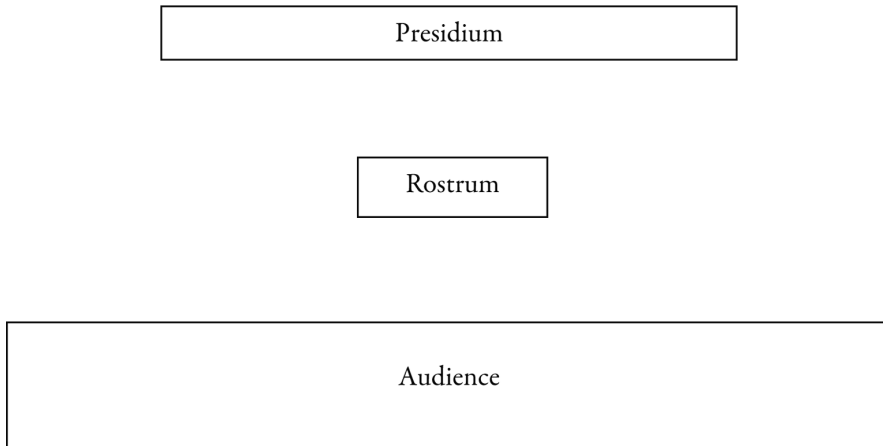
The multimodal transcription is essential to understand those aspects of the discourse that cannot be understood after an analysis of the discourse, rhetorical and argumentative features of the event have been analysed. An example is the reason why Părvulescu is not able to reply to his opponents after they have counter-attacked him: he simply has no access to the microphone, and in addition the TV cameras are no longer showing him in close-ups but on a long shot on the whole audience.

2.3 Multimodal features of the event

Constantin Pârvulescu could not plan his intervention beforehand, due to the strict control that Ceaușescu had on the speakers: the list of speakers was made up and approved in advance and the speakers' interventions were also composed and verified in advance. The speakers' role was reduced to reading out a written intervention, whose content consisted of praising the accomplishments of the nation under Ceaușescu's leadership. This formal role of the speakers had a counterpart in the audience, who was reduced to a "robotic" role: applauding, cheering and chanting.

The auditorium where the congress took place was also designed to favour Ceaușescu. Its disposition was highly asymmetrical, and marked the gap between Ceaușescu and the audience, the latter being hindered from any spontaneous intervention. The asymmetry of the auditorium is shown in Figure 1 (Frumușelu, forthcoming).

Figure 1: *The asymmetry of the congress auditorium*



In this disposition of the auditorium, it was only Nicolae Ceaușescu and his wife, Elena Ceaușescu, who had unlimited access to the microphone. The television settings were also adjusted to privilege Nicolae Ceaușescu, who was the only participant to be shown in close shot.

3. Discourse events and their argumentative effects

Ancient rhetoricians such as Aristotle (*Rhetorica* 1358a36-58b20, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 1421b7), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 3.3.14), and the author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1.2.2), identified three main rhetorical genres, which may be rendered in English as the *deliberative*, the *forensic* and the *demonstrative* (or *epideictic*) ones (Sloane 2006: 119; Too 2006: 265). The way in which the debates of the communist party congresses took place may

be described in a nutshell by saying that the *deliberative genre*, that was normally expected to occur in a political debate, was replaced by the *epideictic* one.

One of the strongest effects of Constantin Părvulescu’s intervention was the change he implicitly made in the discourse of the congress debates, from the purely formal discourse of *epideictic* nature to a genuinely critical *deliberative* one. The speakers who counter-attacked Părvulescu had two main goals: (i) to cancel the perlocutionary effects of Părvulescu’s intervention, and (ii) to reverse the debate to its initial *epideictic* form. The former goal was described in detail in Frumușelu (forthcoming). The present paper will highlight the counter-attack of the four speakers who took the floor after Părvulescu’s intervention, particularly the use of fallacious argumentation in doing it.

As it can be noticed from the multimodal transcription in the Appendix, Părvulescu replied an *ad hominem* attack on him in a rhetorical scheme of *praeteritio* (Dragomirescu 1995: 342), also called *paralepsis* or *occultatio* (Sloane 2006: 659), i.e. by mentioning something by pretending to keep silent upon it. His mentioning of the name of the Soviet Union would be used against him by the speakers who would counterattack him by hinting at the fact that his interests are foreign to the Romanian people, and thus suggesting that he is a traitor (Table II below).

Table II: *Constantin Părvulescu’s mentioning of the Soviet Union*

Timeline	Soundtrack	
	Participant	Content
04:44	Male voice in the board	<i>Unclear</i>
04:47	Female voice in the board (Elena Ceaușescu?)	... in the party.
04:48	The audience	<i>(applauding)</i>
04:51	Părvulescu	I didn’t ask you when you entered the party.
04:56	Părvulescu	And what did you do during WW2.
04:58	Părvulescu	If you didn’t fight against the Soviet Union.
05:02	Părvulescu	I didn’t ask you about this!
05:03	Members of the audience	<i>(unclear voices)</i>

Van Eemeren & Grootendorst (1984: 124) define the enthymeme as an argument with a missing part, which can be either one of the premises or the conclusion. Constantin Părvulescu’s intervention introduced two arguments in form of enthymemes with one missing premise:

- (i) Ceaușescu had staged the congress in order to be re-elected, and therefore he should not be re-elected.
- (ii) The congress debates were empty talk on the positive sides of the party activities, and they should turn immediately into genuine critical debates.

The two enthymemes, with the unexpressed premises reconstructed from the context, are described below.

(i)

Conclusion:

Nicolae Ceaușescu should not be re-elected.

↑↑

Expressed premise:

Nicolae Ceaușescu has staged the congress in order to be re-elected.

Unexpressed premise:

Staging a congress is an unpardonable deed.

(ii)

Conclusion:

The party congress should turn into a genuine debate.

↑↑

Expressed premise:

There are no debates going on, but only empty talk about positive aspects.

Unexpressed premise:

A congress should be held in form of critical discussions.

As one remarks, Pârvolescu's argument complies with the rules of syllogistic reasoning. From a classical rhetorical perspective the force of an argument is given by *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos* (Aristotle 1994: 90-93/1356a). The two enthymemes prove that Pârvolescu gives his argument the *logic* dimension. In addition, his remarks at timeline 00:57-01:09 are meant to enhance his *ethos*, whereas several remarks, as those at timeline 01:19-01:28, 01:52 and 02:53 are loaded with *pathos*. The conclusion is that Pârvolescu had complied with the classical rhetorical requirements of conducting an argument. One should expect a reply whose rhetorical features should be at the same level.

In spite of this, the interventions against Pârvolescu were completely irrelevant to the two arguments made by him. The analysis of the four interventions against Pârvolescu identified four arguments of fallacious nature: *ignoratio elenchi* (ignorance of refutation) (Walton 2003: 1222), red herring, straw man, *ad hominem*.

At this stage, the debate forced by Pârvolescu reached its *prima facie* stage. Then an immediate question arises: why did it not continue? And the answer is given by the multimodal pre-settings of the congress auditorium: Pârvolescu was denied any further access to the microphone and the TV cameras no longer showed him in medium shot: a general long shot on the whole audience was shown while he was speaking.

The first speaker who followed Pârvolescu, Ion Popescu-Puțuri, was also a veteran member of the party, totally subdued to Ceaușescu. His intervention is completely irrelevant to Pârvolescu's intervention, at times even hilarious. It may be characterised as a gen-

eral *ignoratio elenchi* that not only ignored Pârvulescu’s standpoint, but even repeated what Pârvulescu suggested that it should be avoided: Popescu-Puțuri continued the apology of the people’s and the party’s achievements under Ceaușescu’s leadership. This strategy is of the red herring type, aiming at distracting the attention from the topic started by Pârvulescu.

These two types of fallacious argument – *ignoratio elenchi* and red herring – have in common the fact of being fallacies of relevance. The first two, *ignoratio elenchi* and the red herring fallacy are called by Walton “pure fallacies of relevance” (2004: 1). In another study, Walton remarks the fact that being irrelevant in an argumentative confrontation may be used to hide a reasoning that is *logically* faulty:

A speaker who wanders off the topic, distracting the audience with matters that are exciting but not relevant, could be normatively criticized for failing to address the issue. The wandering could be a logical fault of his or her argumentation. Even if the audience is rhetorically persuaded by it, the argument could still be logically faulty. Indeed, the red herring tactic is the sort of trick a sophist might use, and is known in logic as a fallacy. (Walton 2003: 1221-1222)

No wonder then that George Macovescu, the speaker who took the floor after Popescu-Puțuri continued to make use of arguments of irrelevance, but, however, chose to be less irrelevant than Popescu-Puțuri by using another type of attack: *ad hominem* starting from the connotations of Pârvulescu’s old age.

Table III: *George Macovescu’s ad hominem attack on Pârvulescu*

Timeline	Soundtrack	
	Participant	Content
25:56	George Macovescu	Therefore, comrades, I do think that we should strongly reject all what comrade Pârvulescu has said here, and explain it by some circumstances. True, old age gives you wisdom, but can also make you act wrongly.

The *ad hominem* argument is particularly powerful in its irrelevance, precisely because it is not always irrelevant, as remarked by several scholars including Walton, who also summed up the views on this aspect (1998, Chapter 2). If a smoker advises one not to smoke, the latter could reject his argument by pointing at the fact that the advice is given by someone who smokes. This *ad hominem* attack, however, does *not* invalidate the argument, and this is precisely because the attack was not aimed at the argument itself. This indeterminacy leaves open the possibility that the argument may be correct. George Macovescu presumably used this feature, in an unethical way, to suggest that Pârvulescu may be a decrepit individual and consequently not aware of what he is saying. From this point to implying that Pârvulescu’s argument is wrong is just one step, as one may wonder to what extent can a decaying mind produce a sound argument.

Another *ad hominem* attack on Pârvulescu was the reference to Pârvulescu as a “traitor”, done by Ceaușescu (Table IV). This was an implicit hint at his (would-be) allegiance to the Soviet Union.

The straw man build up by Nicolae Ceaușescu had as a starting point the proper name “Soviet Union” mentioned by Pârvulescu (timeline 04:58), and consisted in the indirect suggestion that Pârvulescu has no allegiance to the Romanian homeland, and his intervention was implicitly marked as an anti-national one. Ceaușescu intertwined his straw man with an *ad hominem* attack built on Pârvulescu’s past.

Table IV: Nicolae Ceaușescu’s attack on Pârvulescu’s past

Timeline	Soundtrack	
	Participant	Content
32:38	Nicolae Ceaușescu	As he asked Macovescu what did he do during WW2, we should ask him, and he does know, because he was asked why for four years, during WW2, he stayed indoors, until we , who had been imprisoned, took him out and put him to work!

The fact that Ceaușescu combined the straw man with the *ad hominem* is not entirely surprising, given the similarities shared by the two types of fallacious argumentation. Walton, for instance, remarks the relation between the *straw man* and the “poisoning the well” variety of the *ad hominem* one (1996: 120).

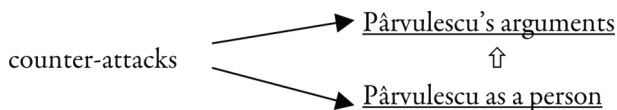
The frustration of the communist leaders was best expressed by George Macovescu’s urge “Let us pretend we did not even hear what comrade Pârvulescu said!”. This was an attempt to cancel Pârvulescu’s speech act of accusation at its elementary level, called by Searle (1969: 57) the “normal input and output conditions”, as pointed out in Frumușelu (forthcoming).

Table V: George Macovescu’s infringement on the norms of rational discussion

Timeline	Soundtrack	
	Participant	Content
26:16	George Macovescu	Să susținem –
	The audience	(<i>Applauding</i>)
26:23	George Macovescu	Let us support further, with all our determination, and let us pretend that we didn’t even hear what comrade Pârvulescu said.

To sum up, the counter-attacks on Pârvulescu ignored both his arguments, and were directed either astray (*ignoratio elenchi*, red herring) or against Pârvulescu’s person (straw man, *ad hominem*), as shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: The targets of the counterattacks on Pârvulescu



This is in a deep contrast to Pârvulescu's rational intervention, in which the three components *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos* were balanced to result in a convincing argument that was hard to counteract. The only way to counteract Pârvulescu's argument was by a series of non-rational interventions, built on irrelevant arguments and supported by the multimodal settings of the auditorium.

This brings up one more question: how was it possible that the audience was completely controlled by Ceaușescu? In his book on the genocides in history (Anti-Jewish, Anti-Armenian, against Native Americans and other nations), the social psychologist James Waller argues that there is a natural tendency in the human individual to find the cause of events outside his own person:

Generally, we have a preference for seeking causal explanations in forces outside the individual – particularly features of the immediate situation. (Waller 2002: 175)

In the case of the analysed event, this means that the members of the audience were inclined to consider themselves not responsible of what happened in an event that was not organised by them, but in which they were called to play the mere part of statist. However, the organisers skilfully used them as much more than statist, as their automatic reactions were considered to be genuine. Waller notices the interactive dynamics of the relation between individuals and the external situations in which they may be involved:

[...] we are partly the products of our situations, but we are producers of our situations as well. (Waller 2002: 198)

In other words, the audience cannot escape the inherent responsibility that they had in playing the infamous part of an applauding machine run by Ceaușescu. With the audience keeping silent, the argumentative parody held to silence Pârvulescu would have left Pârvulescu's opponents exposed in their empty arguments.

4. Conclusions

Constantin Pârvulescu's intervention against Nicolae Ceaușescu made an abrupt transformation of the genre of the congress debate from the mere epideictic discourse to a deliberative one. His intervention moved the debate up to the stage of *prima facie*, but it was blocked by irrelevant counter-attacks. The end of the debate was favoured by three factors: (i) the allegiance of the leaders to Ceaușescu, (ii) Ceaușescu's complete control on the audience, and (iii) the asymmetric settings of the auditorium in terms of proxemics, as well as audiovisual settings. It was this multimodal setting of the auditorium that hindered Pârvulescu from any further contribution in the debate that he himself had launched. Pârvulescu made a great accomplishment by launching an attack and a debate in its incipient form, but he could not change the settings of the auditorium, nor could he influence the people hired to support Ceaușescu.

Obviously, such a debate does not fulfil the elementary conditions for a rational discussion, such as, for instance, the “code of conduct for rational discussant” listed by Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984: 151-176), and therefore even less the requirements for a debate in a political institutionalised confrontation. Among the rules listed by the authors, there are those granting the participants “the right to challenge” (1984: 158), that was obviously denied to Pârvulescu from the moment of his intervention. Most notable is Van Eemeren and Grootendorst’s mentioning the obligation to retract one’s point of view as a part of the concluding the debate:

The protagonist is obliged to retract the initial point of view if the antagonist has (while observing the other rules of the discussion) sufficiently attacked it [...]. (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1994: 174)

It goes without saying that Pârvulescu has been *sufficiently attacked*, at least as to the number of arguments launched against him. This means that in a rational discussion as described by Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, Pârvulescu should have admitted, in the end, that he was wrong! Then an immediate question arises: why was he not given the floor to simply admit that he was completely wrong, as proved by the four speakers who counter-attacked him? The immediate answer is that Pârvulescu had no reasons to consider himself proved wrong, and the irrelevance of the arguments brought against him – and shown in Figure 2, above – can only support such a conclusion. In this case, Ceaușescu was only afraid to continue a genuine debate with Pârvulescu, and the only way to do it was to deny any latter the further access to the floor.

A small but decisive mistake made by Pârvulescu was his mention of the name of the Soviet Union. Together with his old age, this name would be used by the speakers who counter-attacked him in order to depict him as an enemy of the people. His own reply was used as a starting point of the attacks against him.

Despite all the convergent attacks on Constantin Pârvulescu’s image, his intervention was far from being ineffectual. Its immediate perlocutionary effects on Ceaușescu were reflected by Macovescu’s suggestion to pretend that nobody even heard what Constantin Pârvulescu said – a wishful thinking, impossible to accomplish. The very existence of the present paper is just one more proof of this.

Appendix

The multimodal transcription of Constantin Pârvulescu’s intervention during the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, November 1979.

The content of the soundtrack is rendered in English translation only. In addition to the general conventions listed in section 2.2, the bold type at Timeline 05:10 marks a pronunciation stress in the marked syntagm. The dash marks a short pause (as at timeline 01:19).

The square brackets at 01:24 are used to add information that is unlikely to be inferred by non-Romanian readers.

Timeline	Soundtrack		Visual frame
	Speaker	Content	
00:55	Părvulescu	Comrades!	Medium long shot on Părvulescu
00:57	Părvulescu	This year I have celebrated 60 years since I have entered the communist party.	Medium long shot on Părvulescu
01:02	The audience	<i>Applauding</i>	Shift to long shot on audience
01:09	Părvulescu	Out of these 60 years, about 55 I have been a member of the party leading organs.	Medium long shot on Părvulescu
01:16	The audience	<i>Applauding</i>	Shift to long shot on audience
01:19	Părvulescu	Do I have less merits than this—	Shift to medium long shot on Părvulescu <i>Head: pointing towards left (where also Ceaușescu was sitting)</i>
01:24	Părvulescu	[poet] Păunescu?	Medium long shot on Părvulescu
01:28	Părvulescu	... Who talked a lot of nonsense yesterday. Didn't he?	Medium long shot on Părvulescu
01:32	The audience (partial)	<i>Applauding</i>	Shift to long shot on audience
01:37	Părvulescu	To occupy the rostrum of this congress?	Shift to medium long shot on Părvulescu
01:41	–	–	Medium long shot on Părvulescu
01:43	Părvulescu	Comrades!	Medium long shot on Părvulescu
01:45	Părvulescu	I was astonished at the way this congress was prepared, and at the congress itself.	Medium long shot on Părvulescu
01:52	Părvulescu	How is it possible, comrades,	Medium long shot on Părvulescu
01:55	Părvulescu	while there are so many major problems to be discussed,	Medium long shot on Părvulescu
02:03	Părvulescu	and a lot of shortcomings	Medium long shot on Părvulescu
02:05	Părvulescu	to debate on, and to find solutions to improve.	Medium long shot on Părvulescu
02:10	Părvulescu	We, communists, have always talked on our accomplishments, but we have even more focused on our shortcomings.	Medium long shot on Părvulescu

00:26	Pârvulescu	And how to mend these failures.	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
02:32	Pârvulescu	So that we may improve our work.	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
02:35	Pârvulescu	This is our communist spirit.	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
02:38	Pârvulescu	Comrade Ceaușescu had the impunity	Shift to long shot on all
02:41	Pârvulescu	to	Long shot on all
00:42	Pârvulescu	prepare the congress in advance,	Long shot on all
02:46	Pârvulescu	and during the congress and the conferences,	Long shot on all
02:48	Pârvulescu	to be re-elected	Long shot on all
02:51	Pârvulescu	secretary general of the party.	Long shot on all
02:53	Pârvulescu	It is something unprecedented, in the history of our party, comrades!	Long shot on all
02:57	Pârvulescu	And in the history of the communist parties!	Long shot on all
03:01	–	–	Long shot on all
03:05	Pârvulescu	Why does Ceaușescu avoid	Long shot on all
03:08	Pârvulescu	to be elected to the central committee?	Long shot on all
03:12	Pârvulescu	And out of the central committee to be re-elected?	Long shot on all
03:15	Pârvulescu	Why?	Long shot on all
03:17	Pârvulescu	Because Ceaușescu is avoiding the control of the party.	Long shot on all
03:22	Pârvulescu	He tries to...	Long shot on all
03:23	Male voice in the audience	It is not correct!	Long shot on all
03:24	Pârvulescu	What?	Long shot on all <i>People rising</i>
03:25	Pârvulescu	What is not correct?	Long shot on all
03:27	Pârvulescu	Comrades!	Long shot on all
03:28	One voice in the audience	Ceaușescu re-elected!	Long shot on all
03:30	The audience	<i>Audience rising, applauding, cheering</i> Ceaușescu re-elected!	Long shot on all
03:38	The audience	+ <i>chanting</i>	Switches between long shot on audience, and long shot on all
03:48	The audience	<i>Applauding and chanting</i>	Long shot on audience
04:18	The audience	–	Long shot on all

04:21	Părvulescu	In this spirit was this congress organised, comrades.	Long shot on all(!)
04:25	Părvulescu	And there are teams of agitators here.	Long shot on all
04:28	The audience	From the first to the last row.	Long shot on all <i>Part of the audience rising</i>
04:29	–	<i>Part of the audience chanting</i>	Long shot on all
04:32	Male voice in the audience	This is not true!	Long shot on all <i>Audience sitting down</i>
04:35	Părvulescu	I listened to all the speakers.	Long shot on all
04:38	Părvulescu	I didn't interrupt anyone.	Long shot on all
04:40	Low voice in the board	Wait, wait...	Long shot on all
04:41	–	–	Long shot on all
04:44	Male voice in the board	–	Long shot on all
04:47	Female voice in the board (Elena Ceaușescu?)	... in the party.	Long shot on all
04:48	The audience	<i>Applauding</i>	Long shot on all
04:51	Părvulescu	I didn't ask you when you entered the party.	Long shot on all
04:56	Părvulescu	And what did you do during WW2.	Long shot on all
04:58	Părvulescu	If you didn't fight against the Soviet Union.	Long shot on all
05:02	Părvulescu	I didn't ask you about this!	Long shot on all
05:03	Members of the audience	–	Long shot on all <i>A few members of the audience rising</i>
05:09	Părvulescu	Comrades!	Long shot on all
05:10	Părvulescu	I won't vote for Ceaușescu's re-election as a leader.	Long shot on all
05:16	Părvulescu	–	Long shot on all <i>Părvulescu leaves the rostrum and walks up the stairs to his seat</i>
05:17	The audience	<i>Rising, applauding and chanting Ceaușescu re-elected!</i>	Shift to long shot on audience
05:34	The audience	<i>Applauding and chanting Ceaușescu re-elected!</i>	Shift to long shot on all
05:49	The audience	–	Long shot on all <i>The whole audience sits down</i>

References

Primary sources

The recording performed by the Romanian television (TVR) in 1979.

Secondary sources

Aristotle (2004). *Retorica*. (Ediție bilingvă greacă/română). București: IRI.

Baldry, Anthony & Paul J. Thibault, (2006). *Multimodal transcription and text analysis*. London: Equinox.

Dragomirescu, Gheorghe N. (1995). *Dicționarul figurilor de stil*. București: Editura Științifică.

Du Bois, John W., Susanna Cumming & Stephen Schuetze-Coburn (1988). *Discourse Transcription*. In: Thompson, S.A. (ed.). *Discourse and Grammar*. University of California, Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Papers in Linguistics, 2, 1-71.

Eemeren, Frans H. van & Rob Grootendorst (1984). *Speech acts in argumentative discussions: a theoretical model for the analysis of discussions directed towards solving conflicts of opinion*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Dordrecht: Foris.

Eemeren, Frans H. van & Rob Grootendorst (1987). *Fallacies in a pragma-dialectical perspective*. *Argumentation* 1: 283-301.

Frumușelu, Mihai Daniel (forthcoming). *Quasi-parliamentary debate in a communist dictatorship: dissenter Pârvolescu against dictator Ceaușescu*. *Journal of Pragmatics*.

Quintilian (1922-1923). *Institutio oratoria*. Translated by H. E. Butler. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Searle, John R. (1969). *Speech acts. An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sloane, Thomas O. (ed.) (2006). *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thibault, Paul J. (2000). *The multimodal transcription of a television advertisement: theory and practice*. In Baldry, A. (ed.). *Multimodality and Multimediality in the Distance Learning Age*. Campobasso: Palladino, 311-385.

Too, Yun Lee (2006). *Epideictic genre*. In: Sloane T.O. (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 265-271.

Waller, James (2002). *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Walton, Douglas N. (1996). *The straw man fallacy*. In: Eemeren, F.H. van, R. Grootendorst & F. Veltman. *Logic and argumentation*. Amsterdam, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, North-Holland, 115-128.

Walton, Douglas N. (1998). *Ad hominem arguments*. Tuscaloosa & London: The University of Alabama Press.

Walton, Douglas N. (2004). *Classification of fallacies of relevance*. *Informal Logic* 24, 71-103.