## **Contents**

List of Photos	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Contributors	xiii
Note to Readers	XV
Alexander Yuriev	xvi
Alexander Yuriev	xvii
Dedication: Alexander Ivanovich Yuriev (1942–2020)	xix
Alexander Yuriev	xxxi
Preface	xxxiii
Marilyn Young at a Political Communication Conference	xlviii
Introduction to Volume Two	xlix
Yeltsin and Gorbachev	lvii
Part One: Framework for Understanding the Immediate Post-Soviet Political Environment: Ecological Depredation, Economic Challenges, the Press, and National Identity	1
Yeltsin Standing on a Tank 1991	3
1. A New Day for the Soviet Environment	4
2. The Former Soviet Union Leaves Environmental Legacy of Shame	7
3. Review of <i>Environmental Management in the Soviet Union</i> by Philip R. Pryde	9

4.	Russian Scientists Struggle to Survive	14
5.	Review of The Russian Press from Brezhnev to Yeltsin:	
	Behind the Paper Curtain by John Murray	23
6.	Argumentation, Globalization, and the New Nationalism:	
	Implications and New Directions	25
Par	t Two: Politics and Political Argumentation during	
the	Yeltsin Years	31
7.	Democratization and Cultures of Communication: The	
	Mission of the International Center for the Advancement	
	of Political Communication and Argumentation	33
8.	The Role of Public Argument in Emerging Democracies:	
	A Case Study of the December 12, 1993, Elections in the	
	Russian Federation	43
9.	Analysis of Political Argumentation and Party Campaigning	
	Prior to the 1993 and 1995 State Duma Elections: Lessons	
	Learned and Not Learned	62
10.	Argument and Political Party Formulations: A Continuing	
	Case Study of Democratization in the Russian Federation	88
11.	Russian Electoral Politics and the Search for	
	National Identity	100
Yelt	sin Campaign Photograph	129
Rui	noff Election Sample Ballot	130
Cho	oose or Lose—Campaign Button	131
Cho	oose or Lose—T-shirt Front	132
Cho	oose or Lose—T-shirt Back	133
Cho	oose or Lose—Globe and Barbed Wire	134
Cho	oose or Lose—Jeans Jacket and Prison Garb	135
12.	Frameworks for Russian Identity: Arguing the Past,	
	Defining the Future	136
13.	Historical Metaphor and the Search for National	
	Identity in Russia	146
14.	Russia's First Elected President Buries Its Last Czar: Reclaiming	
	Cultural Memory in the Search for National Identity	155

	rt Three: Yeltsin's Multiple Political Profiles ne Three Faces of Boris)	165
15.	Yeltsin as an Autocrat: The "Constitutional Crisis of 1993" as the Beginning of the End of Russian Democracy	167
She	lling of the White House lling of the White House lling of the White House	201 202 203
	Yeltsin as a Democrat: A Lexical Content Analysis of His Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly 1994–1999 Yeltsin as a Man of the People: A Case Study of His Campaign Rhetoric during the 1996 Russian Presidential Election	204 228
Yelt	sin on the Campaign Trail "It is still not easy living in Russia"	265
Par	t Four: Looking Backward, Looking Forward	267
Cliı	nton and Yeltsin Shaking Hands	268
	Ten Years of Frustration: Transitional Rhetoric and Democratization in the Russian Federation The Fear of Politics and the Politics of Fear in Russia—	269
20.	Images in the US Media Echoes of Berlin 1989: Post-Soviet Discourse and the	289
21.	Rhetoric of National Unity Foreign Policy Challenges and The Historical "Anchors" of Russian Federation Foreign Policy after September 11, 2001	301
Ale	xei Salmin	350
22.	Instant Democracy: Rhetorical Crises and the Russian Federation, 1991–2007	351
Yelt	sin and Putin in the President's Office	366
	erword liography ex	367 371 399

# **List of Photos**

01	Alexander Yuriev	Source: Maria Aleksandrovna Yurieva
02	Alexander Yuriev	Source: Maria Aleksandrovna Yurieva
03	Alexander Yuriev	Source: Maria Aleksandrovna Yurieva
04	Marilyn Young at a Political Communication Conference	Source: Maria Aleksandrovna Yurieva
05	Yeltsin and Gorbachev	Alamy
06	Yeltsin on a Tank 1991	Source: Dmitry Aleksandrovich Pushmin – Yeltsin Center
07	Yeltsin Campaign Photograph	Source: Dmitry Aleksandrovich Pushmin – Yeltsin Center
08	Runoff Election Sample Ballot	Source: Jack Parker
09	Choose or Lose—Campaign Button	Source: Dmitry Pushmin, Alexander Rouchnik, David Cratis Williams, Marilyn Young
10	Choose or Lose—T-shirt Front	
11	Choose or Lose—T-shirt Back	
12	Choose or Lose—Globe and Barbed Wire	
13	Choose or Lose—Jeans Jacket and Prison Garb	
14	Shelling of the White House	Source: Dmitry Aleksandrovich Pushmin – Yeltsin Center – Aleksandr Chumichev

15	Shelling of the White House	Source: Dmitry Aleksandrovich Pushmin – Yeltsin Center – Sergei Kivrin
16	Shelling of the White House	Source: Dmitry Aleksandrovich Pushmin – Yeltsin Center – TASS
17	Yeltsin on the Campaign Trail "It is still not easy living in Russia"	Source: David Cratis Williams
18	Clinton and Yeltsin Shaking Hands	Source: Alamy
19	Alexei Salmin	Source: David Cratis Williams
20	Yeltsin and Putin in the President's Office	Source: London Review of Books/ Alamy

### Acknowledgements

Many individuals have participated in making this project a reality.

Professor Igor Nemirovsky, Director of Academic Studies Press, first conceived the idea of collecting our studies and making them available to a new generation of Slavists and rhetorical scholars. His letter to Marilyn Young in 2019 initiated this process.

Ekaterina (Kate) Yanduganova, the ASP acquisitions editor for Slavic, East European, and Central Asian Studies, has shepherded the publication process for this volume tirelessly and efficiently, as have the members of her copyediting team, particularly Stuart Allen.

Michele Pedro has been indispensable on our end proofreading and formatting the elements that make up our manuscript.

We also express our appreciation to Florida Atlantic University, the Dorothy F. Schmidt College of Arts and Letters, and the School of Communication and Multimedia Studies for their generous support to facilitate publication of Volume Two. Our special thanks for their assistance go to Dr. Aimee Arias, Associate Dean of Research and Creative Achievement in the College, and Dr. Carol Bishop Mills, Director of the School.

Maria Aleksandrovna Konovalova—Alexander's daughter and an accomplished scholar in her own right—has graciously allowed us to reproduce some of her father's pictures, which she has collected over the years. Masha and her mother, Valentina Fedorovna Yurieva, have been dear friends for nearly thirty years now.

Our thanks go out to the late Russian politician Aleksei Vladimirovich Yablokov for exchanging views with us during his visit to Florida State University in May 1991.

We are especially grateful to Russian physicists Oleg Beguchev, Aleksandr Gurshtein, Vitaly Lystsov, Yuri Sivintsev, and Semyon Tevlin for participating in discussions regarding the plight of higher education and scientific research during the early post-Soviet years.

We wish to express our deep gratitude to the following archivists who assisted us in searching for the documentation underlying our research:

Robert Parnica at the Central European University Blinken Open Society Archives in Budapest, Hungary; Anatoly Vsevolodovich Shmelev at the Stanford University Hoover Institute Library and Archives in Palo Alto, California; Martins Zvaners at RFE/RL in Washington, DC; and especially Dmitry Aleksandrovich Pushmin at the Yeltsin Center in Ekaterinburg, Russia.

It is impossible to overemphasize the valuable assistance provided by the research librarians who worked at ABC, CBS, and NBC (New York)—sadly no longer functioning—as well as staff members at Voice of America (Washington) and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (Munich). We also wish to thank Daisy Sindelar (Acting Director at RFE/RL) and Dr. Tiffany Cabrera (State Department Office of the Historian).

We appreciate the support of Karin Beesley, Wendy Fernando, Annabel Flude, Jean Mercer, Sean Ray, Rachel Twombly, and especially Mary Ann Muller—as well as the organizations they represent—for facilitating the process of receiving permission to republish articles and reviews that appeared in the books and journals they curate.

We also thank friends and colleagues who read draft versions, provided research support, participated in the writing of individual studies presented here, or otherwise assisted us in the preparation of this volume, including Randall Bytwerk, Kelly Carr, Scott Elliott, Maksim Fetissenko, John Ishiyama, Svitlana Jaroszynski, Carol Kessler, Debbie Launer, Irina Likhachova, Raymie McKerrow, Dan Miller, Jack Parker, Alexander Rouchnik, "J. R." Russell, and Alexander Yuriev.

Unless otherwise indicated, translations from Russian into English were provided by Michael Launer.

#### **Contributors**

Scott M. Elliott, PhD, JD. selliott@KCKCC.EDU

Scott teaches at Kansas City Kansas Community College and coaches a nationally ranked debate team.

Maxim B. Fetissenko, PhD. fetissenko@hey.com

An organizational development consultant at Fetissenko Consulting in Providence (RI), Maxim has been an AmeriCorps administrator, taught at Northeastern University, and worked as a program director at a Rhode Island state agency.

John T. Ishiyama, PhD. john.ishiyama@unt.edu

John is University Distinguished Research Professor of Political Science at the University of North Texas. For several years he was editor-in-chief at *American Political* Science Review

Michael K. Launer, PhD. mlauner@fsu.edu

Michael is *Emeritus* Professor of Russian at Florida State University. He is an experienced technical translator and interpreter.

Irina E. Likhachova, MA. ilikhachova@ifc.org

Previously employed at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs in Moscow in the early 1990s as a staff assistant, translator, and interpreter, Irina has worked for the International Finance Corporation/World Bank Group since 1997, where her current title is Lead for Biodiversity Finance, Climate Business.

Alexei M. Salmin (d. 2005), kand. nauk

Alexei was a leading light at the Gorbachev Fund, head of the Russian Public Policy Center, and president of the Russian Political Science Association.

David Cratis Williams, PhD. dcwill@fau.edu

David, a recognized authority on Kenneth Burke, is professor of communication and rhetorical studies at Florida Atlantic University, where he also serves as executive director of the International Center for the Advancement of Political Communication and Argumentation (ICAPCA).

Marilyn J. Young, PhD myoung@fsu.edu

Marilyn is the Wayne C. Minnick Professor of Communication Emerita at Florida State University. She has published numerous essays and monographs on the general topic of democratization in Russia.

#### **Note to Readers**

To facilitate the reading process—and for economy of space—all citations within the text have been referenced to a numbered comprehensive bibliography placed at the back of this volume. Citations are presented by number alone, by number and page(s), or by author(s), number and page(s).

Also, within the text of the individual chapters, place names (e.g., Moscow), proper names (e.g., Yeltsin), and familiar terms (e.g., glasnost) have been rendered in spellings that are familiar to Western readers.



Alexander Yuriev Source: Maria Aleksandrovna Yurieva



Alexander Yuriev Source: Maria Aleksandrovna Yurieva

# Dedication Alexander Ivanovich Yuriev (1942–2020)

We dedicate this volume to our friend, colleague, and collaborator Alexander Ivanovich Yuriev, who passed away November 26, 2020, from Covid-19.

In the preface to this series, reprinted here in Volume Two, we introduced readers to Alexander, or at least to our introduction to Alexander, in the tale of our 1992 visit to what we called "Stalin's Dacha." The result of that visit was a years-long collaboration, replete with exchanges, visits, discussions, and affection—a relationship that lasted until Alexander's death in 2020. We came to know his wife, Valentina Fedorovna, and his daughter, Maria Alexandrovna Konovalova (Masha). And we were devastated by news of his death, especially coming right after what we had hoped would be another opportunity to visit Alexander and his family—a conference in St. Petersburg that had to convert to a virtual format because of the Covid-19 virus.

Alexander Yuriev was an innovative and forward-looking scholar. When we first met him, as we noted in the preface, he was running a training workshop for the regional governors, all newly appointed by Boris Yeltsin, teaching them, among other things, how to interact with the media—something Soviet politicos and apparatchiks had never had to do.

Alexander was born in 1942, in the village of Bolshoe in the Yaroslavl oblast, about 170 miles from Leningrad; his mother, pregnant with Alexander, had evacuated from Leningrad over the ice on Lake Ladoga. Although the German Army encircled Leningrad in the Fall of 1941, some evacuations of women and children continued through March 1943. (346) They returned to the city in 1945, just before Alexander's third birthday. According to Masha, little Alexander was given a large teapot to take care of during the journey home, something he often talked about. Alexander's father was an engineer and his mother a teacher.

As a young man, he first worked at a ship-building factory (1960–1962), then was drafted into the Army (1962–1965). During his Army

service, which overlapped the Cuban Missile Crisis, Alexander was sent to Cuba; he worked monitoring US military communications, likely including bases of the Air Defense Command (ADC), the Strategic Air Command (SAC), and radio communications to and from pilots. It was this experience that sparked Alexander's interest in politics and led him to pursue political psychology.

David learned of this in a roundabout way in 1992, while driving Alexander from Iowa City, Iowa, to Kirksville, Missouri, a route that passes close to a number of current and former US missile silos and other defense-related sites.

After his tour of duty, Alexander worked at the Northern Machine Building Factory (1965–1969), which was part of the Soviet military nuclear industrial complex. Then, in 1969, at the age of twenty-seven, he enrolled at Leningrad State University, graduating from the Faculty of Psychology in 1977. Upon completing his degree, Alexander began working in the area of psychological assessment of professionals and the special psychological preparation of personnel for work under extreme conditions. For this work he received the USSR State Prize. We believe it was during this period that he worked at the Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center in Zvezdny (Star City), evaluating prospective cosmonauts to determine their psychological fitness for the program.

In 1982, Alexander embarked on a career in teaching and research at Leningrad State University (after 1992 known as Saint Petersburg State University), focusing on the development of political psychology as a new scholarly field in Russia, and in 1989 he created the first department of political psychology in the USSR. His work gained international attention at this time, and in 1990 he joined the International Society of Political Psychology, wrote the "Ethical Code of the Political Psychologist," and began serving on the editorial boards of several foreign academic journals. He also wrote a number of monographs, including Introduction to Political Psychology (1992) and Systematic Description of Political Psychology (1997). In short, he laid the foundation, in the nation's universities, for the training of specialists in political psychology, consulting for political parties, government officials, and members of the public. He viewed politics as the science for the study, design, formation, and implementation of governmental power; and he understood political activity to be an extreme form of professional work. He believed that the ability to set political goals was the primary basis for obtaining real power.

During perestroika, Alexander began putting his philosophy to work, developing workshops to prepare experts as consultants to government and political parties in the USSR. Beginning in 1986, he developed training workshops for Party and government leaders at the federal and regional levels in the "Diuny" Center (Дюны) outside Leningrad. In 1991 he led the training of the first cohorts of Russian governors and presidential representatives at the "Osinovaia roshcha" (Осиновая Роща) асаdemic center outside Leningrad (which is where David and Marilyn met Alexander in 1992, along with Vladimir Vasiliev. Vasiliev was Director of the center, while Alexander was Chief Scientist).

Upon returning to the United States that January 1992, David, Marilyn, and Michael formed the International Center for the Advancement of Political Communication and Argumentation, based at Florida State University in Tallahassee, with chapters at Northeast Missouri (now Truman) State University and at Saint Petersburg State University in Russia, including—at least initially—the training center at "Stalin's Dacha." Later in 1992, David and Marilyn arranged for Alexander and Vladimir to come to the United States on a "speaking tour"; they visited and made presentations at the University of Iowa, Northeast Missouri State University, and Florida State University. In addition, they attended the Speech Communication Association annual convention, held in Chicago that year. An account of their visit follows at the end of this dedication.

From 1993 through 1996, Alexander served as an adviser to the government of the Russian Federation, specifically working with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. For example, he was part of the Russian team for the (Vice President Al) Gore-Chernomyrdin talks in the mid-1990s. It was toward the end of this period that he was the victim of an attack that remains officially unsolved. (An account of the attack follows below.)

Alexander eventually recovered from the assault, resuming his work at the university. In 1999 he joined the Center for Strategic Research in Moscow as an expert consultant; he continued in this position until 2017. Also in 2017, approaching retirement, he and Valentina sold their dacha and bought an apartment in the suburbs; meanwhile, Alexander left the faculty at Saint Petersburg State University and, along with several of his colleagues, transferred to A. I. Pushkin Leningrad State University near Tsarskoe Selo (Pushkin), where he became Director of the Institute for Political Psychology and Applied Political Research. Here he continued

the work he had begun in 1986 and pursued until the end of his life. According to Masha, Alexander even took work with him to the hospital as he made his life's last journey:

With him to the hospital, he took his summaries and tables, hoping not to interrupt work on them, even when he was sick with Covid. It's always been like this. He took work with him on all trips and vacations. He couldn't stop thinking; working was his natural state, not an annoying necessity. He was also an optimist and continued to believe in people despite painful disappointments. He didn't consider politics a "dirty deed"; he claimed that politics should be scientific, and political activity should be hard work. For this, many considered him a dreamer. But, no, dreamers don't start their lives with a trade school, army, and factory. He very practically believed that an illiterate political project, made of rotten materials, would inevitably collapse and bury all of us. He loved life and wished everyone well. He did everything he could.

Throughout his life, Alexander Yuriev was also a devoted family man. His wife, Valentina Fedorovna, was by his side throughout; the light of his life, daughter Maria Aleksandrovna Konovalova—who also became an academic, taught with him at Saint Petersburg State University, and transferred with him to Pushkin—carries on his work and his legacy; his great joy was his grandson, "Aleksander II," also known as "Little Sasha." Besides his beloved family, Alexander left many devoted colleagues and former students, and friends, such as the three of us.

\*\*\*\*\*

Two Stories<sup>1</sup>

The following are two stories involving Alexander that we recount from personal experience.

The first is both humorous and insightful, while the second, an account of the assault on Alexander, is a sad commentary on the state of politics in 1996 Russia.

From David: October, 1992 Da!

# Конец ознакомительного фрагмента. Приобрести книгу можно в интернет-магазине «Электронный универс» e-Univers.ru