RHETORIC IN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE: AN INTERPLAY BETWEEN THE ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS

by

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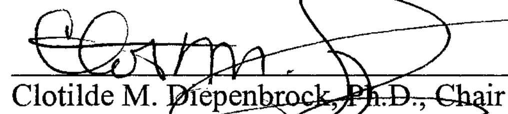

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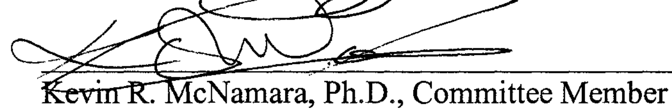

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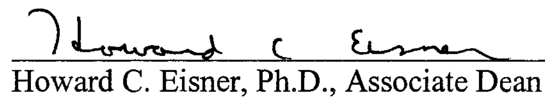

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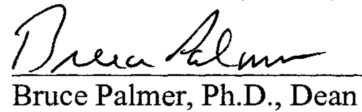

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ABSTRACT

RHETORIC IN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE: AN INTERPLAY BETWEEN THE ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS

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The University of Houston-Clear Lake, 2004

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The study of eastern-Slavic scholarly rhetoric in the Soviet and the post-Soviet periods reveals a mutually affecting interaction between the discipline and the political systems in which it exists. In Russia and Ukraine, scholarly rhetoric originates in the seventeenth century, and for almost three hundred years remains at the center of the academic curriculum. In the mid-nineteenth century, rhetoric's prominence wanes. Yet, invigorated by M. M. Bakhtin's dialogism, the discipline germinates during the Soviet period. Post-Soviet rhetorical theory exhibits a synthesis of classical rhetoric and dialogism, reinterpreted as a result of such fusion and of the Christian worldview that informs it. In composition and rhetoric pedagogy, the elements of classical rhetoric and dialogism are paralleled by conformity and individuality. In this period of nation building, the eastern-Slavic pedagogues assert rhetoric's potential for articulating ideology and fostering rhetorical mastery.

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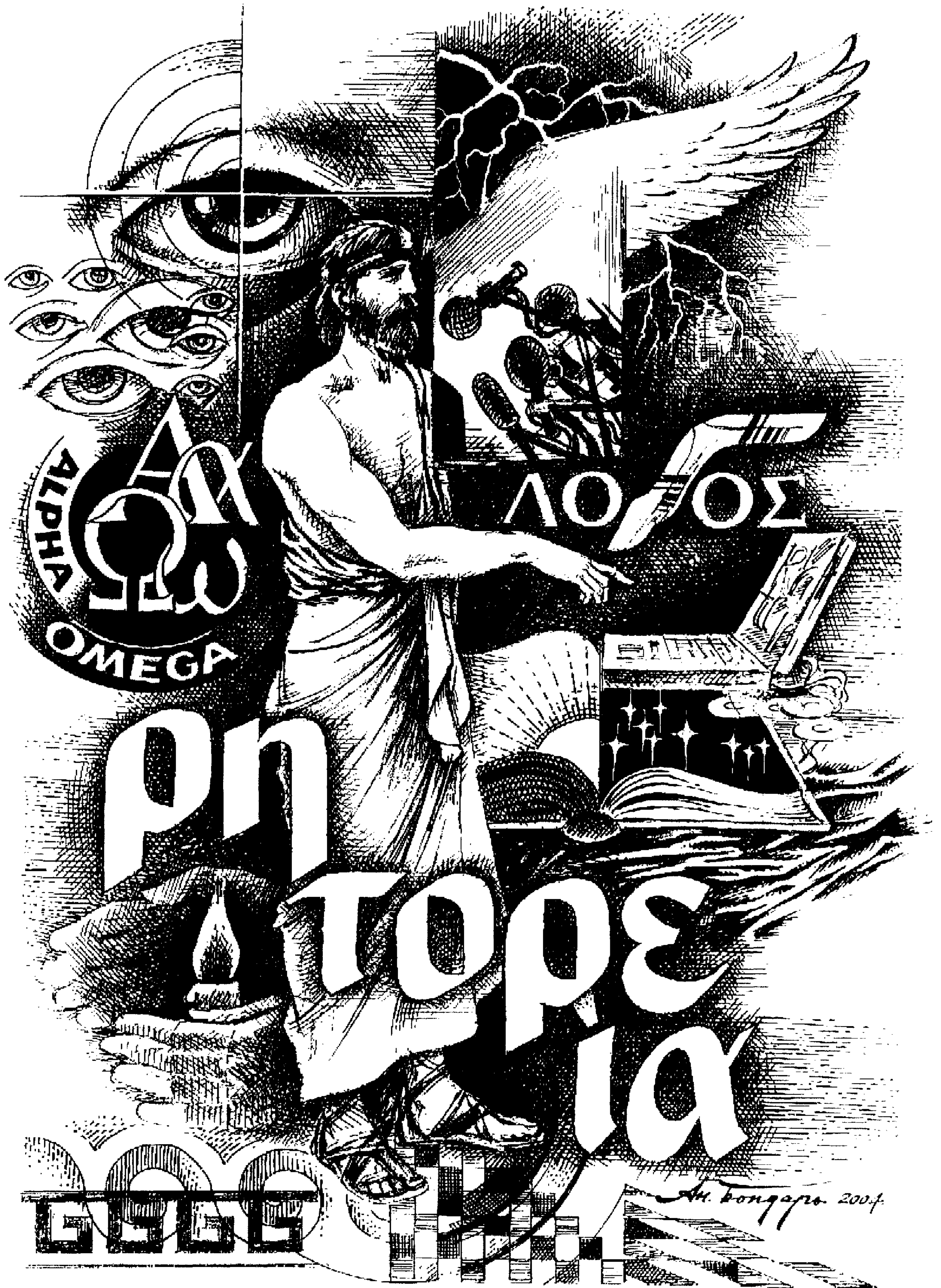

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Introduction

The rhetorical renaissance that has unfolded in post-Soviet Russia and Ukraine has come not as an anomaly to the scholarly work that preceded it but as a reasonable continuation. Although the love of skillful speech has always been a part of the eastern-Slavic culture, the formal study of rhetoric has been characterized by cycles of flourish and decline. Today, after a prolonged absence, the discipline is reclaiming its place in the eastern-Slavic academy. While language theorists work to clarify their conceptions of the nature and objective of rhetoric, the discipline is already vital in many Russian and Ukrainian schools. Promising to rear a generation able to function in a fledgling democratic society, rhetoric has been readily embraced both in secondary schools and higher education institutions.

During its long and fluctuating history, rhetoric continued to resurface after its crises seemed to retire it. Each time the discipline reemerged altered, but its concern with inquiry, reasoning, and persuasion remained. The most recent cycle of decline and restoration began with the removal of rhetoric from the academy in the nineteenth century. An interest in the discipline in the Soviet Union was briefly renewed in the 1920s. However, with Stalin's ascension to power, rhetoric was curbed and deprived of the status of a discipline once again. During the Soviet time, rhetoric germinated, invigorated by the theories of M. M. Bakhtin. The undoing of the Soviet system in 1991 was followed by a rhetorical boom that has served the democratic processes in the former republics. An examination of the history of eastern-Slavic rhetoric in the twentieth century points to the existence of an interaction between political systems and rhetorical

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theory and practice. Because the contemporary development of rhetoric in Russia and Ukraine is so integrally connected to the accomplishments of the preceding periods, a survey of the history of rhetoric before the twentieth century will be useful for the exposition of the discipline's standing in post-Soviet time.

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Chapter I

OVERVIEW OF RHETORIC'S HISTORY IN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE FROM ANCIENT RUS TO EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

In studying the history of rhetoric in Russia and Ukraine, it is difficult to separate the two countries completely—the mutual influence is unquestionable. Although Russian rhetoric as well as creative literature have, perhaps, had a more celebrated history, Ukrainian scholarship has played an important role in the establishment of eastern-Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian) rhetoric. Today, the two academies continue to affect each other, although some contend that most of the influence comes in a single direction: from Russia to Ukraine. Despite its "borrowing" from Russia's academic experience, Ukraine continues to strive to set itself apart from Russia, insisting on an independent identity. The relationship between the two nations is ambivalent. On the one hand, there is the kinship of Slavic roots and, on the other, competition motivated in part by Ukraine's previous status of a subordinate state. To define itself as distinct from Russia, Ukraine reaches toward its roots, including its rhetorical heritage. It is yet to be seen whether profound differences in the discipline's development in the two countries will emerge.

V. I. Annushkin, a prominent Russian theoretician and teacher of rhetoric, suggests a division of the history of Russian rhetoric that can be valuable for examining the course of eastern-Slavic rhetoric in general. He presents the following division into periods:

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> 1615/20–1690/95—Rus before Peter at the beginning of the Romanov reign, when the most popular text was the first Russian *Rhetoric* [. . .];
>
> 1690/95–1745/50—Peter's time period and style, reflected in the manuals written at the end of the seventeenth/beginning of the eighteenth century [. . .];
>
> 1745/50–1790/1800—Lomonosov's period with the undoubted dominance of the great scholar, the style of Russian classicism [. . .];
>
> 1790/1800–1850/60—the flourishing of Russian scholarly rhetoric with a gradual establishment of the discipline of philology [*slovesnost*], embracing in certain interpretations all philological disciplines [. . .];
>
> 1850/60–1920—period of new theory and history of philology, and of emerging scholarly studies in language and literature, [. . .]; rhetoric is excluded from the curriculum;
>
> 1920–1985/90—Soviet (communist) period in the history of Russian rhetoric and societal ideology[1] [. . .]. (*History of Russian Rhetoric* 14)

Annushkin's organization of the history of Russian rhetoric is useful for the study of the discipline in Ukraine because of the countries' common history. Ukraine arguably existed as an independent state from 1648 to 1654 but was not able to secure lasting independence. Six years after the 1648 Ukrainian Cossack rebellion against Polish authority, the leader of the uprising, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, reluctantly made a treaty with Russia that eventually placed Ukraine in a subordinate relationship to its eastern neighbor. This relationship remained intact until the vacuum created by the overthrow of the czar in February of 1917 gave opportunity for the establishment of a parliament

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[*Rada*] in Kyïv (Jones 194). The short-lived independence proclaimed by the Rada was dismissed by the Soviet government after the October Revolution later that year. Aside from this deviation, Ukraine remained in an accessory position to Russia until gaining independence in 1991.

Rus before Peter

Andrew Wilson, author of *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*, argues that the eastern-Slavic people known today as Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians were indistinct until after the Mongol sack of Kyïv in 1240. They were a single people, known as the Rus, "amongst whom fundamental differences emerged only after the time of Prince Ihor," in the late twelfth century (2).

Before the academic discipline of rhetoric began to take form in the seventeenth century, there already existed in Rus culture an understanding of rhetorical principles motivated by the Rus regard for eloquent speech (Annushkin, *History* 4). Such native Russian words as *vitiistvo* [oratory], *sladkorechie* [sweet-speech], and *blagorechie* [good-speech] were terms belonging to a "practical rhetoric," based on Scripture and other "exemplary cultural texts" of the period (4). Annushkin's assertion that the Rus culture displayed a leaning toward rhetoric explains the welcome that the Greco-Roman classical rhetoric received in the seventeenth century, playing a major role in the development of eastern-Slavic scholarly rhetoric.

While Annushkin highlights the Rus understanding of masterful speech, G. M. Sagach, a well-known Ukrainian rhetoric scholar, points out the importance of folk wisdom traditions in the establishment of rhetoric in Ukraine. Giving credit to the folk

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wisdom handed down for generations in the form of proverbs and fables, Sagach discusses the common Slavic regard for folklore and gives it a significant place in Ukrainian rhetoric. The heritage of folk wisdom is lovingly referred to as *zolotosliv* [golden-word] (*Rhetoric* 33). Regard for folklore is not unique to Ukrainian rhetoric: Annushkin includes folklore along with book wisdom when he comments on the presence of rhetorical understanding in Rus culture. But Sagach gives a more prominent place to the subject in her work. Inclusive of folklore as part of academic rhetorical studies, the author herself displays a lyrical, folk-influenced ethos, even though her work is marked by scholarship. Sagach's greater emphasis on folklore with its vividness of expression may be one of the variations between Russian and Ukrainian rhetorics.

Having found favorable atmosphere in the eastern-Slavic lands, scholarly rhetoric began to formalize there by the mid-seventeenth century. In 1620, the first Russian textbook on rhetoric, written in Latin by Philip Melanchthon and translated into Russian by an unknown rhetoric teacher, was added to the body of educational resources. The document was very popular in Russia and was studied for over seventy years. This first Russian rhetoric was "a direct inheritor of the traditions of the Old World: of the teachings of Cicero, Demosthenes, Quintilian, and others" (34). Through this work, the influence of classical rhetoric was grafted in to become an integral part of eastern-Slavic language studies.

Although the paths rhetoric took in Russia and Ukraine are organically intertwined and historically dependent on each other, and the distinctions between the early contributions to the discipline are difficult to draw, Ukraine's initial role in the establishment of eastern-Slavic scholarly rhetoric is commonly acknowledged.

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Annushkin asserts that "learning came to Russian lands" from Ukraine (4). And Sagach confirms this assertion in her description of Ukraine's first national university, founded in 1631: "For a long time, Kyïv-Mohyla Academy was the only center of education and culture in Ukraine, in Russia, and in a significant measure in Belarus and the south-Slavic countries; it had the status of a European educational institution, and its educator-graduates were renown worldwide" (34). Although Ukrainian scholarly rhetoric, as taught at the university, had a uniquely Slavic tone, it was strongly influenced by the Greco-Roman rhetorical heritage.

Ukraine's geographic proximity to Western Europe facilitated introduction of these Western ideas to Kyïv-Mohyla Academy. It was an institution where "Latin, the study of which was given serious attention, was the key to higher education. [. . .]. Among themselves, the students [*spudeï*] spoke only Latin, and the person who did not possess the knowledge of Latin was considered uneducated" (Sagach 35). The word *spudei* (singular) comes from Russian/Ukrainian *spud* [concealment] and designates a seminary student or a student in the beginning and middle grades of Kyïv-Mohyla Academy. *Spudei* conveys the notion that a student is kept hidden until the time is right for him to be revealed to the world. It is worthy of note that many eastern-Slavic *spudeï* became distinguished political and religious figures. The faculty at Kyïv-Mohyla Academy included "such progressive scholars as F. Prokopovych and I. Haliatovskyi [who] were cultivating in the youth a genuine sense of patriotism, by the example of greetings and panegyrics to well-known social and political figures (to Petro Mohyla, to Cossack commanders)" (36). In their studies of rhetoric, "[t]he students learned to create speeches for general and particular purposes (judicial, panegyrical) and wrote letters with

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the purpose of greeting, congratulating, thanking, requesting, and farewell-bidding. Church oratory [*krasnomovstvo*] was taught only to those who desired to study it, since students of rhetoric were considered secular persons. They actively studied Roman and Greek classics of rhetoric" (37). The school became a conduit for Western classical influence in Ukraine and in Russia.

Classical ideas were incorporated differently in Ukrainian and Russian rhetoric pedagogy. Annushkin remarks that "while in Ukraine with the rapid development of schools and the creation of Kyïv Theological Academy [Kyïv-Mohyla Academy] in 1631 Latin education is installed, in Middle Russian and Moscow lands there exists a clear orientation toward the humanities-based trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic), described in Russian in a number of texts" (*History* 4). Latin education in Ukraine was characterized by a wider range of subjects than just the trivium; it also included reading and writing, and in city schools students were taught how to compose business documents and correspondence in Latin. At a later time, the quadrivium (arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy) was introduced into the curriculum (*Russian Pedagogical Encyclopedia* 498). Although, at first, instruction in Russian schools was carried out in Greek and Russian, Latin eventually became the language of the Russian academy. It held this uncontested position until M. V. Lomonosov initiated a reform of the Russian academic discourse in the mid-eighteenth century.

Reign of Peter the Great

The era of Peter the Great brought modernization to Russia. Ukraine, then under Russian protectorate, was also affected by the changes initiated by the czar. Peter's

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reforms of government, education, and the arts were aimed at bringing Russia up to the level of a European state; they produced a radically different country. During this progressive though tumultuous time in Russian history, rhetoric found fertile soil both in Russia and Ukraine.

Among the important educational accomplishments of Peter's era was the emergence of a host of new texts on rhetoric. This period was characterized by "[t]he creation of basic handwritten rhetorics, which were read and copied during the course of all of the eighteenth century [. . .]." This collection of texts "was concentrated in an amazing way during the period from the late seventeenth century through 1710" (Annushkin, *History* 5). The major writings generated during this time—*About Rhetorical Power* by Sophronius Likhood, *Rhetoric* by Mikhail Usachëv, *A Brief Rhetoric* by Andrei Belobotskii, *Rhetorical Hand* by Stefan Yavorskii, and *The Book of Most Comely Golden-Word* by Kozma Afonoiverskii—greatly expanded the body of rhetorical knowledge. The rhetorics of Andrei Belobotskii were widely read and loved because "they pursued a universal completeness when encompassing the described subjects" (5). Annushkin also notes that "*The Book of Most Comely Golden-Word* became the height of rhetorical elaboration. It was written by Kozma Afonoiverskii, a Greek who mastered the Slaveno-Rossian language to such an extent that his [text's] many examples embodied the contemporary and historical realities of Russian life and offered clear definitions of rhetorical terminology" (5). Notably, "[t]he stylistic resonance of Peter's era was for a long time significant for the Russian society and its education" (7). The abundance of writings on rhetoric produced during this time prepared the way for the next stage of sorting out and systematizing the accrued rhetorical knowledge.

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Lomonosov's Period

Mikhail Vasilievich Lomonosov (1711–1765), the Russian academic pillar, is credited with making fundamental contributions to the development of Russian and Ukrainian language studies. The first Russian author to compose verse in his native tongue, he clarified and defined terminology and theory of specifically Russian and, perhaps, all eastern-Slavic rhetoric. Moreover, he wrote his work on rhetoric in Russian, for which he was criticized by fellow scholars. Nevertheless, Lomonosov's writings "laid the foundation for contemporary Russian literary language" (Sagach, *Rhetoric* 42). In "A Letter of a Young Russian Nobleman," A. M. Shuvalov pronounces, "'Lomonosov is the creative genius, the father of our poesy; he was the first who attempted to step on the road unopened before him, had the courage to compose verse in a language that, it seemed, was an unresponsive material for verse. He opened to us the beauty and the richness of our language, allowed us to feel its harmony, demonstrated its enchantment, and removed its coarseness'" (41). Shuvalov's assessment of Lomonosov's role in the establishment of the Russian literary language reflects the high regard in which the beloved Russian scholar is held.

Lomonosov's introduction of discourses on rhetoric in his native tongue began the process of legitimizing Russian as a scholarly language. The 1744 compilation of a course in rhetoric, entitled *A Brief Guide to Rhetoric* [*retorika*] *for the Use of Lovers of Oratory* [*sladkorechie*], gave evidence of the transition to the Russian vernacular. Here the distinction between *rhetoric* and *oratory* was less clearly defined than it would be in his future work. Four years later, Lomonosov published a manuscript, in which "even in the title [he] suggest[ed] a clear division of terminology, which would be forever fixed in

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Russian scholarship: *A Brief Guide to Oratory*" (Annushkin, *History* 6). In finalizing the terms, Lomonosov had replaced *sladkorechie* [sweet-speaking] with *krasnorechie* [fine-speaking], thus canonizing the word in the Russian academy. While discarding the Latin *elokventsia* and the antiquated book-Slavic *vitiistvo*, he clarified the relationship between *ritorika* and *krasnorechie* by designating rhetoric as rules for the orator's education and oratory as an expression of the orator's art. Lomonosov maintained, "'Oratory [*krasnorechie*] is the art of fine speaking and writing regarding every particular matter and by that inclining others to one's opinion about it'" (7), thus defining the terms for future scholars. In addition to clarifying terminology, Lomonosov standardized the structure of oratory by isolating the elements of a public speech, such as "introduction, exposition, assertion, and conclusion" (Sagach, *Rhetoric* 41). Cheslav Daletskii, professor at Lomonosov State University in Moscow, underscores the importance of *A Brief Guide to Oratory* by noting that it became in Russia "the first printed textbook and the first fundamental scholarly work" (*Rhetoric* 19). Lomonosov's creative work of crystallizing terminology and systematizing knowledge made a profound impact on the subsequent generations of rhetoric scholars, his influence spanning the eighteenth century into modern times.

Rhetorical Renaissance

In the first half of the nineteenth century, with the socio-political changes in Russia—the end of Catherine's epoch and the beginning of the reign of Alexander the Blessed—came educational reforms, which were propelled by the rhetorical works of three Russian scholars: A. S. Nikolskii, I. S. Rizhskii, and M. M. Speranskii (Annushkin,

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History 8). Characterizing this era that came to be known as the Rhetorical Renaissance in the eastern-Slavic academy, Sagach explains, "Scholars consider the period of the flourishing of rhetoric to be in the first half of the nineteenth century, especially after the Patriotic War of 1812 when the socio-patriotic upsurge fostered the development of language disciplines, especially of rhetoric, both general and particular" (*Rhetoric* 42). "General" and "particular" rhetorics are terms introduced by theorists N. I. Grech and N. F. Koshanskii; "general" rhetoric contained rules for the development of any literary text, while "particular" rhetorics dealt with the principles for text composition for specific genres. During this period, Speranskii and Koshanskii as well as their contemporaries A. F. Merzliakov and K. P. Zelenetskii authored courses that "were among the popular rhetoric textbooks of that time; they were reprinted many times, did not lose their value even for our time, and had a definite influence on the formation of Ukrainian rhetorical culture" (42). The work of these scholars, closely following in Lomonosov's tradition, left an impact on rhetoric's development both in Russia and Ukraine during this period of rising nationalism.

Concurrently, the discipline of philology [*slovesnost*] was being developed, requiring Russian scholars to define relationship between rhetoric and philology. While Nikolskii subdivided philology into grammar and rhetoric, Merzliakov named logic, grammar, and rhetoric as its three sub-disciplines and defined oratory as "'the orator's art'" and rhetoric as "'rules, serving an orator's education'" (Annushkin, *History* 9). His definition was "quite in the tradition of M. V. Lomonosov and M. M. Speranskii," displaying "a regard for the ancients, characteristic for all rhetoricians of the first half of the nineteenth century" (9). The period of the late eighteenth through the mid-nineteenth

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century was a time of "flourishing for Russian scholarly rhetoric, with a gradual establishment of the discipline of philology, embracing in certain interpretations all language disciplines [. . .]" (14). As language studies expanded to create the discipline of philology, rhetoric was relegated to a subordinate position and diminished in prominence, although still remaining among the scholarly disciplines.

New Theory of Philology

In the 1850s, scholarly studies in language and literature began to emerge, with emphasis on creative literature, both poetry and prose, instead of non-creative prose. Criticized for its disconnectedness from everyday speech, rhetoric experienced a downturn:

> The second half of the nineteenth century can be called a time of gradual decline of rhetoric as a discipline about prose, for through the works of A. A. Potebnia and others of a like mind the Russian philological thought turned toward the study of creative literature and poetic language forms. That is why during the period from 1850 to 1917, oratorical speeches (business or scientific) were removed from schools and higher learning institutions, which [negatively] influenced the quality of education in Russia, not even mentioning the nationally-linguistically oppressed peoples of Russia: Ukrainians, Belarusians, and others. (Sagach, *Rhetoric* 44)

The criticisms weighed heavily enough to begin rhetoric's removal from the academic scene, although its absence became a hindrance to students' language mastery.

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Annushkin describes the result: "It is typical now that when commonplaces as means of inventing thought and speech have been exiled from learning, students poorly imagine the means of the generation of speech, for the advice to draw inspiration from the very subject of discourse (K. P. Zelenetskii) did not provide the technique of invention and became ineffectual" (*History* 12). Rhetoric's power of persuasion removed, its remnants "continued to exist as parts of the sentence [subject, predicate], answering the questions of commonplaces (who, what, where, when, why, for what purpose) and encouraging only passive analysis of an already existing text" (12). Russia was left disarmed and ill-prepared for the events to come.

The turmoil of the turn of the century, fueled by the unrest and dissatisfaction among the common people, destabilized socio-political institutions and culminated in a radical reformation of the government, brought about first by the Revolution of 1905 and followed by the February and October revolutions of 1917, fed by the philosophies of V. I. Lenin. At a time when voices of reason were desperately needed in Russian society, the years of absence of rhetorical instruction reduced society's capacity for reasoned discourse and debate. By the second decade of the twentieth century, the deficit of effective public speech highlighted the need for rhetorical instruction.

A number of Russian educators made efforts to reinstall the discipline in the academy. In a collaborative effort, an innovative school was established, unusual for the period not only for its inclusion of rhetoric in its courses, but for devoting to it a major part of the curriculum. According to Sagach, "[t]he opening of a unique learning institution, the Institute of the Living Word, in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) in 1919 can be considered the last rhetorical wave in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century;

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the institution was headed by Professor V. M. Vsevolodskii-Gerngros, assisted by his colleagues, among whom were A. F. Lunacharskii, F. F. Zelinskii, A. F. Koni, L. V. Shcherba, M. S. Gumilëv, and others" (*Rhetoric* 44). The institute's goal was to prepare "teachers of secondary schools as well as lecturers, who were specialists in the art of speaking, also court, clerical, and political orators, as well as singers, writers, and actors" (45). To accomplish this, "[t]he program included such unique subjects as theory and history of the art of oratory, theory of poetry and prose, history of declamation, theory of verse and prose rhythm" (45). The reach of the new school extended beyond its community: "The institute promoted the unification of all creative and scholarly forces in this area, organized conferences, conventions, competitions, short-term courses, clubs, hobby groups, public lectures, disputes, and rallies, being mindful to include special courses on rhetoric in school programs and non-scholastic institutions" (45). After decades of disfavor, rhetoric began to reassert itself in the Russian academy, encouraged by the political climate.

The socio-political events of the early twentieth century held promise of change from the oppressive years under the czar. These events stirred the academic community: "The democratic wave of the 1920s stimulated the development of rhetoric, for the scope of advisory speech grew in many spheres of political and social life. Such works on rhetoric appeared as *The Skill of Public Speaking* by O. V. Mirtov (1927), *Orator's Word* by V. Gofman (1932), *On Creative Prose* by V. V. Vinogradov (1930), and anthologies of *Russian Speech* edited by L. V. Shcherba" (Sagach, *Rhetoric* 45). But the progressive voices were soon muffled as Stalin came to power after the death of Lenin in 1924. The effect of Soviet policies was immediate: "Together with the change of the socio-political

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situation in the country during the cult of the person of Stalin and during [the subsequent period of] stagnation, interest in rhetoric and its development decrease[d]. The cadres of rhetors, in particular of the Institute of the Living Word, [were] diminished" (45). The turn of the century's resurgence of rhetoric was curbed: "After a ten-year period of ideological rebuilding (1920–1930) and a final determination of the image of present Soviet civilization, rhetorical developments of these scholars were deemed not only unnecessary but almost pronounced forbidden" (Annushkin, "Russian Classical" par. 18). But rhetoric does not disappear altogether. Although the discipline of rhetoric ceases to exist, its jobs are divided up among other academic fields so that some of its functions continue: "[. . .] in Soviet time, in place of the old rhetoric a number of disciplines is created: culture of speech[2], text linguistics, functional stylistics, pragmatics, etc.—with all that is positive about the new theories, without taking into consideration the cultural-historical experience of rhetoric, their contemporary potential became limited [. . .]" (Annushkin, *History* 14). The understanding that rhetoric's rich contribution could not be compensated for by other language disciplines took time to develop in the Soviet academy. Advocacy for the reintroduction of rhetoric into the academic sphere came only after decades of its apparent absence.

When scholarly rhetoric began to be established in Russia and Ukraine in the seventeenth century, it was strongly influenced by the classical Greco-Roman rhetorical heritage that echoed the native eastern-Slavic traditions of skillful speaking. Rhetoric's subsequent lively development during Peter's reign resulted in the appearance of a great number of textbooks on the subject. The discipline was further established by Mikhail Vasilievich Lomonosov who clarified rhetorical terminology while perfecting Russian

[2] A Soviet discipline developed in the 1930s for the study of real speech.

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scholarly and literary language. Rhetoric flourished in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, until the discipline of philology began to emerge. Facing a crisis in the late nineteenth century, rhetoric was excluded from the academy. After the interest in the discipline was restored in the 1920s, the scholarly work of the Institute of the Living Word promised rhetoric's reinstatement in the academy. However, the discipline's development was stopped artificially by forces from without—the Soviet government's efforts at controlling the country's ideology put the discipline on hold.

Had the Institute of the Living Word had the freedom to continue its work, rhetoric would have likely continued in the academy. The "hold" that was placed on rhetoric's development produced results contrary to the ones intended: instead of being eliminated, the discipline was made to germinate. Thus the interchange between the early Soviet political system and the discipline of rhetoric had long-term effects, which became quite pronounced by the late twentieth century. The solid classical foundation that was laid during the time of the development and flourishing of Russian and Ukrainian rhetorics was not wasted when the discipline experienced nineteenth century internal and early twentieth century external crises. By the close of the twentieth century, the discipline is required and renewed.

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Chapter II

RHETORIC DURING THE SOVIET PERIOD

Although by the second decade of the Soviet Union's existence the discipline of rhetoric appeared to be erased from the academy and the subject of its study divided among other academic fields, rhetorical thought persisted, and by the 1970s the discipline began to reemerge in the Soviet academy. This historic interplay between the Soviet political system and rhetorical theory and practice left a profound impact on both. The Soviet system curtailed the official development of rhetoric, but, invigorated by the ideas of M. M. Bakhtin, the discipline germinated during the Soviet period, contributing to the political system's dissolution.

In the 1930s, the Soviet government embarked on a far-reaching campaign of thought control. Referenced by G. M. Sagach, "the democratic wave of the 1920s," a remarkable and unique time in Soviet history when policy-makers endeavored to practice democratic principles (*Rhetoric* 45), was soon replaced by policies that sought to regulate both language and language disciplines. Removed by only several decades from the 1930s, Jacob Ornstein describes the period in an article published in 1959 and entitled "Soviet Language Policy: Theory and Practice." He elaborates, "In the period of liberalism marking the 1920's an attempt was made to apply the Leninist slogan, 'national in form, socialist in content.' The ethnic groups of the Soviet Union were to be given full opportunity to develop their own languages so as to equip them to express the concepts of a modern, industrialized society" (2). This attempt at democratic language

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policies did not last, however, because the experiment did not yield the desired results. Ornstein describes the Soviet government's response:

> Frightened by the possibility of creating a linguistic Frankenstein by encouraging this type of self-determination, the regime in the early 1930's renounced the principle of linguistic parity. [. . .]. From then on, for almost 30 years a policy of Soviet Russification [was] pursued, in which the regime, although allowing the national languages more importance than did the Czars, nevertheless [. . .] systematically circumscribed their role for communication in the Soviet Union. (2)

From the extreme of no restriction to the other of rigid control, although less severe than under the czars, the Soviet language policy emerged several decades after the October Revolution with the aim to unify and homogenize. For the purpose of ideological unification, a single language was the preferred choice.

During the following decades, the Soviet government made a direct attempt at Russifying the national languages: dictionaries were reprinted, in which vernacular words were either replaced with Russian words or were changed to sound like the Russian equivalent. Along with other native languages of the Soviet republics, Ukrainian was subject to a similar forceful influence. Ornstein describes the process,

> In Ukrainian, for example, a concerted effort [was] made to eliminate all items thought to be of "Polish-Galician," or "dialectical" origin in favor of Great Russian. Shevelov has pointed out, by way of illustration, that *adresa* (address), felt to be too close to the Polish equivalent, [was] replaced by the Russian *adres*, *oseredok* (center) by *centr*, *gudzik* (knob)

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> by *knopka*, *perven'* (element) by *element*. In the case of both Ukrainian and Belorussian, every attempt [was] made to relate them as closely as possible to Great Russian. (6)

On the one hand, Russification was made easier because of the Ukrainian and Belarusian languages' common origin with Russian. Yet on the other, the two languages were autonomous enough that even after decades of attempts to redirect them, their integrity remained. National languages fared according to the degree of their completeness and autonomy. Ukraine, with its strong sense of history and a pursuit of national identity, had a reasonable chance of withstanding this language makeover. Still, even today, overtones of the Russian language are strongly felt in Eastern Ukraine.

Perhaps the autonomy of the Ukrainian language made possible the existence of higher learning institutions that instructed in Ukrainian. As Ornstein explains, "[h]igher education, with notable exception in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Armenia and Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Moldavia, [was] carried on almost exclusively in Russian" (10). In these republics, institutes and universities functioned both in the native languages and in Russian. The development and the prestige of these languages were affected by their secondary standing. Ornstein describes the status of the Ukrainian language:

> Extensive data on Ukrainian bilingualism is offered by Yaroslav Bilinsky in his study, based to a large extent on interviews with former Soviet citizens. His evidence reveals a great deal of pressure, subtle and otherwise, in favor of Russian. According to defector testimony, on the eve of World War II, and undoubtedly at present, "if an educated Ukrainian in one of the large cities, who was fluent in both Ukrainian and

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> Russian, chose to speak his native language, this was regarded not only as a sign of *mauvais ton*, but as Ukrainian nationalism, an act of political insubordination." Yet he notes: "Haggling over the price of eggs and cabbages in the native peasant market is in Ukrainian as it used to be even in Tsarist times." The overwhelming use of Russian in the cities, and Ukrainian in the countryside, present[ed] a pattern paralleled in many if not most non-Russian areas. (13)

The inequity in the use of the two languages resulted in the perception of Ukrainian as provincial, as captured in the label *mauvais ton*—poor taste. By the 1980s, especially in Eastern Ukraine, the younger generation perceived Ukrainian as a nonintellectual, "country" language. The attitude toward Russian as the language of prestige has lingered even after the Soviet Union dissolved.

The diminishing of the native languages implicitly suppressed the national identities of the non-Russian republics. Such stifling of nationalist feelings led to restrained individual expression and independent thought. In this way, the policy of Russification homogenized Soviet society and conformed it to one Soviet ideal.

While academic language, as a medium of scholarly exchange, was subjected to "linguistic engineering," academic disciplines were also fashioned to align with the prevailing ideology. The discipline of rhetoric was visibly absent during the early Soviet period. As the accomplishments of the Institute of the Living Word, the last higher learning institution to promote the study of rhetoric, were set aside and rhetoric was dismissed from the academy, other disciplines took its place. In "Russian Classical Teachings about Speech," V. I. Annushkin explains that as a result of the vacuum created

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by the removal of the discipline of rhetoric and the need for the study of real speech, the discipline of *culture of speech* became rhetoric's approximate successor. He elaborates,

> It can be said that the philological lacuna was not closed up during the Soviet time with the scholarly accomplishments of language and literature studies, since they only weakly dealt with the questions of real speech. In part, these problems were addressed by culture of speech, a discipline that emerged in the late 1920s, early 1930s by the efforts of wonderful language scholars G. O. Vinokur, D. N. Ushakov, and L. V. Shcherba, and was developed further in the works of S. I. Ozhegov, V. V. Vinogradov, O. S. Akhmanova, V. G. Kostomarov, A. A. Leontiev, and many others. (par. 19)

The rich Russian tradition of language studies supplied a favorable environment for these scholars to develop the discipline of culture of speech. Yet their work was not without an imprint of the political conditions under which they worked.

The strong leaning of culture of speech toward rigid standards of language use was complementary to the reigning ideology. The concept of the *norm*, central to culture of speech, primarily endorsed standards for correct language use. Annushkin adds, "However, the concept of the norm [did] not exhaustively address the requirements for organization of persuasive and effective speech—careful reading of works on culture of speech demonstrates a gradual enrichment of its terminological apparatus" ("Russian Classical" par. 20). As its goal was to deal with real-life language, the discipline inevitably took on certain rhetorical characteristics. Annushkin comments on the evolution of culture of speech into a discipline approaching rhetoric: "Analysis of works

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on culture of speech, rhetoric, and stylistics demonstrates that with all the variety and seeming contradictions of ideas of certain scholars, a process of mutual enrichment of ideas is taking place [. . .]. We see that definitions and delineations of requirements for culture of speech are enriched with the understanding of 'speech mastery' (L. I. Skvortsov, 1st ed. of *The Russian Language* encyclopedia—12, 119), 'ethics of interaction,' and 'effectiveness in achieving communicative goals' (E. N. Shiriaev, 2nd edition of the same encyclopedia—13, 204). The same terminology, having independently emerged in works on culture of speech, is present in the majority of definitions of rhetoric of A. K. Mikhalskaia, Y. V. Rozhdestvenskii, A. A. Volkov, and many other authors" (par. 21). The last three authors, as contemporary theorists and teachers of rhetoric, have made significant contributions to the development of Russian rhetorical theory in the last Soviet decade and in the following years.

With its emphasis on correctness, culture of speech seems closely related to the current-traditionalist approach in American composition and rhetoric. Like current traditionalism, it preceded a more functional approach to language. In contrast to current-traditionalist ideas, the discipline embraced some rhetorical principles of effective communication, in particular, the understanding of "speech mastery" and "effectiveness in achieving communicative goals." While culture of speech acquired these rhetorical characteristics, it did not transform itself into rhetoric, as evidenced by the concept of the norm remaining central to the discipline.

Although during the Soviet period culture of speech continued as the accepted discipline for the study of real-life language, in a surprising way, rhetoric even then smoldered under the surface. In the works of Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin, ideas of

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dialogism germinated, later becoming an essential part of the post-Soviet rhetoric. Bakhtin's theory of dialogism was the most radical, influential rhetorical development of the Soviet period. The Soviet system's effect on rhetorical thought was not the one intended: the Soviet policy of thought control, instead of eradicating thought, stimulated it. Thus Bakhtin's work is a prominent example of reaction to a totalitarian system.

Bakhtin stands apart from specific disciplines, without direct affiliations. His writings address both linguistic and philosophical questions. Bakhtin's contribution to the development of rhetoric in the twentieth century is momentous. In Russia itself, his influence is profound, arguably equal to the impact of his theories in the United States. Having gained the regard of the Soviet academy in the 1980s, his work became integral to the emerging discipline of rhetoric. V. I. Kovalëv, Russian language studies instructor at Shevchenko Lugansk State University, remarks that in his work Bakhtin laid the foundation, specifically, for *genre studies*, a branch of communicative rhetoric. Kovalëv maintains, "In a small but very capacious essay 'The Problem of Speech Genres,' written, it seems, in the late 1940s and having received wide recognition in the 1980s (at that, first in the USSR then abroad), Bakhtin laid the foundation for an immense, now rapidly growing edifice of one of the most important branches of modern rhetoric—genre studies" (par. 3). While the practical realization of Bakhtin's concepts of language was delayed, the amazing tenacity of his ideas underscored their value.

In the introduction to *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist describe the essay: "'The Problem of Speech Genres' [. . .] is extremely dense because it takes up within relatively small compass a topic to which Bakhtin planned to devote a large book during the last twenty years of his life (*The Genres of*

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Speech). The essay as it is presented here was written in 1952–53, while Bakhtin was still teaching at the Mordovian State University in Saransk, but shows evidence of Bakhtin's own editing that makes it more organized and cohesive than some of the others here included" (xv). In his essay, Bakhtin defines speech genres with welcome lucidity:

> Language is realized in the form of individual concrete utterances (oral and written) by participants in the various areas of human activity. These utterances reflect the specific conditions and goals of each such area not only through their content (thematic) and linguistic style, that is, the selection of the lexical, phraseological, and grammatical resources of the language, but above all through their compositional structure. All three of these aspects—thematic content, style, and compositional structure—are inseparably linked to the *whole* of the utterance and are equally determined by the specific nature of the particular sphere of communication. Each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is used develops its own *relatively stable types* of these utterances. These we may call *speech genres*.[3] (60)

The idea that language works in a dialogic manner and that in different circumstances it takes on different forms, crucial to the conveyance of meaning, encapsulates this essay. Speech genres, those "relatively stable types" of utterances, are given particular attention since they determine the parameters of successful communication. Bakhtin divides speech genres into primary and secondary. The former are simple and are represented by spoken or written utterances; the latter are complex, exampled by various forms of scientific discourse and creative literature, and are built on the primary ones.

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[3] Translated by Vern W. McGee.

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Bakhtin emphasizes active participation of both individuals in communication in contrast to a model with an active speaker and a passive listener. He maintains that "[a]ny understanding of live speech, a live utterance, is inherently responsive, although the degree of this activity varies extremely" (68). This understanding, so commonly accepted today, was radical at the time the essay was written. Bakhtin develops the idea of live speech to conclude that "all real and integral understanding is actively responsive, and constitutes nothing other than the initial preparatory stage of a response (in whatever form it may be actualized)" (69). Written language is included in this definition.

Perhaps one of the most fascinating aspects of the essay is Bakhtin's concept of the utterance, "the *real unit* of speech communication" (71). He postulates, "For speech can exist in reality only in the form of concrete utterances of individual speaking people, speech subjects. Speech is always cast in the form of an utterance belonging to a particular speaking subject, and outside this form it cannot exist" (71). Bakhtin defines the utterance: "The boundaries of each concrete utterance as a unit of speech communication are determined by a *change of speaking subjects*, that is, a change of speakers. [. . .] The utterance is not a conventional unit, but a real unit, clearly delimited by the change of speaking subjects, which ends by relinquishing the floor to the other, as if with a silent *dixi*[4], perceived by the listeners (as a sign) that the speaker has finished" (72). By defining the utterance by its boundaries, Bakhtin creates a term that envelops all utterances, both primary and secondary. His functional approach to language is compelling, and the brilliance of his ideas is in their lucidity and cohesiveness.

Building on his definition, Bakhtin discusses speech genres as types of utterances. He contends, "We speak only in definite speech genres, that is, all our utterances have

[4] A Latin equivalent for "I have spoken."

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definite and relatively stable typical *forms of construction of the whole*" (78). Bakhtin insists that speech genres are the essential means of communication, not merely convenient forms: "If speech genres did not exist and we had not mastered them, if we had to originate them during speech process and construct each utterance at will for the first time, speech communication would be almost impossible" (79). This statement, perhaps the essay's strongest assertion, has changed the way language instruction is conducted in both Russia and Ukraine. Yet, the idea of the dialogic nature of language, with utterance and speech genres as its central concepts, required time to affect pedagogy.

Bakhtin's theory of dialogism contributed to the dissolution of the Soviet ideology by challenging its view of language as monologic. His was a subtle and persistent persuasion that took three to four decades to be realized. Effectively undermining the Soviet totalitarian model of discourse, Bakhtin's ideas about language did not lead to the opposite extreme of no boundaries. While the utterance as a unit of dialogic interaction emphasized individuality, speech genres, characterized as "relatively stable" types of utterances, predicted a degree of stability in communication. Although challenging the totalitarian monolog of the Soviet system, Bakhtin's theory simultaneously implied and endorsed order.

In the 1970s, Bakhtin's ideas continued to assert their influence, culture of speech took on some rhetorical characteristics, and the discipline of rhetoric began to reappear. But in practice, language instruction in the Soviet Union strongly resembled the American current-traditionalist approach with its implicit advocacy for transcription of knowledge. This pedagogy, with its focus on grammar and punctuation, remained the

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predominant form of language instruction in the secondary schools until the 1980s when a functional approach to language instruction began developing.

Bakhtin's contribution, with the Soviet academy embracing his theories in the 1980s, was in the moving away from purely structural analysis of language to functional analysis—from anatomy to physiology. This took the form of emerging instruction in speech genres in the schools. Kovalëv indicates that such genres as descriptive essay, argumentative essay, narrative essay, and newspaper article have been a part of the language curriculum for some time (par. 4). However, these genres must not have been taught across the board in Soviet schools. As a secondary school student in Eastern Ukraine in the last decade of the Soviet Union, in a very good school in a somewhat peripheral city, I primarily received instruction in grammar and punctuation—the typical student experience. Essays, dictations, and expositions [*izlozheniia*] were a part of the curriculum, but instruction in a variety of genres was absent. The art of writing was not modeled to the students nor its principles delineated, although the expectations of student writing were high. The instruction in written composition as well as principles of communication must have been unevenly distributed in the 1980s.

The transition to functional language instruction necessitated revised methodologies. In 1982, *Stylistic Text Analysis* by S. N. Ikonnikov was approved by the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Education and published in Kyïv. Designed for secondary school instruction, the text aimed at equipping teachers with methodologies for introducing a new curriculum, emphasizing the importance of extending learning past the knowledge of grammar to the way language functions. This revision in language pedagogy was another step toward teaching rhetoric.

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In *Stylistic Text Analysis*, Ikonnikov combines a discussion of style and grammar—style in terms of grammar. This work echoes Bakhtin's assertion: "Where there is style there is genre" (*Speech Genres* 66). Ikonnikov outlines the system he suggests:

> Stylistic analysis is a theoretical-practical method of teaching, a system of stylistic exercises of analytical nature, with the help of which the students acquire and reinforce the knowledge of various functional styles and genres of speech; they learn to distinguish emotional-expressive coloring of the language means, evaluate possible language and speech options applicable to the style of speech and the various tasks and conditions of communication, and acquire the skill to define the stylistic role of language units and stylistic techniques in oral and written language. (6)

The author describes the newly developed need, in the 1980s, for encouraging stylistic awareness in students: "The introduction into the school curriculum of elements of stylistics creates the necessity for developing and applying in school practice other teaching methods alongside the ones present, and a certain restructuring of the educational process. One of the most important methods of teaching stylistics and the development of stylistically differentiated language is stylistic analysis" (6). The systematic nature of Ikonnikov's approach to developing in students an understanding of style and genre sounds very promising, exhibiting the potential for successful achievement of its goal. The same principle of consistency, of systematically building students' composition knowledge and skills that has been advocated by American composition teachers is present in this work. His reference to the term "speech genres"

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likely exhibits a connection to Bakhtin, whose influence at this time extended broadly. Ikonnikov's functional approach to language is distinguished from the approaches commonly promoted by the Soviet textbooks of the time. In fact, Ikonnikov's description of stylistic text analysis parallels the practice of teaching grammar in the context of writing that has been widely discussed and applied in American composition pedagogy.

In addition to his systematic approach to instruction, Ikonnikov emphasizes the importance of hands-on writing exercises. He highlights the role of practice in attaining language mastery:

> Underscoring the important role of stylistic analysis in the development of culture of speech, we must at the same time note that teaching cannot be limited to exercises of an analytical nature. It is necessary to use other methods of speech instruction—editing (perfecting a text in a stylistic sense), composing sentences with stylistic purpose, reconstructing text, and writing style etudes, expositions [*izlozheniia*], and essays. (7)

Although hints at rhetoric are present in this text, it is culture of speech, the term Ikonnikov uses here, that is still the predominant discipline. However, the author's emphasis on the need to expand the teaching approach to include exercises not only of an analytical but also of a practical nature is remarkably progressive. His description of the method he espouses seems very much in line with the advanced theoretical developments of the period. Unfortunately, Ikonnikov's system did not find widespread practical application in the 1980s. It was likely a contributor, however, to the further advancement of academic language explorations.

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Ikonnikov's work seems to have encouraged student explorations of language as well. He describes another aspect of his method: "Stylistic analysis is used to familiarize the students with tropes (simile, metaphor, and metonymy) and with stylistic figures (inversion, rhetorical questions and exclamations, gradation, anaphora, and syntactical parallelism). In the process of stylistic analysis, the students master stylistic resources of word-formation, morphology, and syntax" (11). Ikonnikov's statement that stylistic analysis is used to teach figures seems almost an inductive approach, which also makes it quite progressive. His general focus on style demonstrates a critical shift in Soviet thought on language instruction. In essence, without directly referring to Bakhtin, Ikonnikov deals with speech genres as he deals with questions of style. This work does not seem to cross the line between a functional study of language and its practical use but remains within the boundaries of Soviet academic learning.

The gradual transformation of Soviet language theory and pedagogy yielded remarkable results. Having begun in a stifling, even oppressive, environment, by the end of the 1980s the eastern-Slavic language studies have acquired vibrant rhetorical characteristics. Although the discipline took on a definite shape only after the Soviet Union's dissolution—first suppressed by Stalin's government, then invigorated by Bakhtin's conceptions—rhetoric germinated during the Soviet period. It is both Bakhtin's theory as well as the classical rhetorical heritage of the pre-Soviet era that will shape the discipline's post-Soviet image.

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Chapter III

RHETORICAL THEORY AND PRACTICE IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

The unraveling of the Soviet Union and the introduction of democratic principles of government contributed to rhetoric's abundant growth and immense popularity both in Russia and Ukraine. Interaction between the political systems and rhetorical theory and practice continues, the antagonism displaced by a productive interplay. The new political system is motivating theorists to construct a rhetorical education model that will effect a generation equipped to participate positively in a political system that still lacks maturity and stability. The developing nature of the post-Soviet period is reflected in the discipline of rhetoric. Although Russian and Ukrainian scholars continue to work out their conceptions of rhetoric as an academic discipline, there does not yet seem to be a foundational differentiation into distinct schools of rhetoric. However, current eastern-Slavic rhetorical theory reveals a definite leaning toward classical rhetoric and dialogism, with the concepts of Bakhtinian dialogism reinterpreted in the works of theorists who attempt to combine the two.

While some still question rhetoric's viability as a discipline, V. I. Annushkin advocates its academic validity. To demonstrate that the discipline has taken root in the Russian academy, he points to the abundance of publications, conferences, and theoretical works on the subject, and observes that rhetorical instruction is widely given on the secondary school level and in the majority of Russian higher learning institutions.

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The theorist documents the establishment of a professional association of researchers, instructors and teachers of rhetoric, with regional branches in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Perm, Ekaterinburg, Voronezh, Saratov, Krasnoiarsk, Volgograd, and Ulianovsk. All higher learning institutions in Moscow teach rhetoric, and most offer a major in the field. In "What Is Rhetoric," Annushkin addresses the criticism of his contemporary, M. T. Baranov, regarding rhetoric's viability. Baranov considers rhetoric a redundant discipline and instead advocates reform in the already existing discipline of culture of speech, seeing it as still relevant and sufficient for language education. Annushkin insists that rhetoric, with its uniquely practical aims, is needed to meet the requirements of instruction in a nascent democratic society; such comprehensive theory of rhetoric serves the pedagogic goal of fostering in individuals the ability to cope with various rhetorical situations, which culture of speech is unable to deliver, being essentially concerned with surface features of language.

For Annushkin, the development of language disciplines is inseparable from the future development of Russia. In *History of Russian Rhetoric*, published in 1998, he writes, "Now in Russia a rhetorical boom is taking place with the current change of socio-political style. The creation of a new ideology, morals, and a new style needs to be acknowledged as an existing reality and necessity. Our future well-being cannot be independent of language. And the practical language is exactly what rhetoric deals with. The shape our new rhetoric will assume, and as a result the new ideology and new morals, is directly affected by our present efforts" (15). By underscoring the connection between rhetoric and ideology, Annushkin excludes an approach to language that is only

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concerned with style, as is current traditionalism, and instead advocates a rhetoric that is a potent life-shaping instrument.

Vital to ideology building in the post-Soviet period, the discipline of rhetoric itself continues to be constructed. The energetic exchange among the theorists and teachers of rhetoric presents a still-unfinished picture of the discipline. D. K. Vagapova remarks in her textbook *Rhetoric in Intellectual Games and Exercises*: "There is not yet a unified concept of this subject, and it appears there will not be, which is indicated by the materials of the scholarly-methodological seminar 'Rhetoric in Higher Learning Institutions and Secondary Schools: Theoretical and Methodological Aspects' (MSPU, 1996). The same is true of the Moscow All-Russian Conference on Rhetoric (MSU, 1997)" (7). As Vagapova explains, Russian scholars differ in their views of rhetoric's subject and purpose. This lack of agreement, however, does not prevent the discipline from continuing to develop and to be used effectively in teaching oral and written language mastery. The conversation, although not bringing consensus, continues to generate new ideas and has the potential for eventually producing distinct schools of rhetoric, with more obviously defined sets of ideas about rhetoric's purpose. It seems that those involved in the conversation are attempting to arrive at a single concept of rhetoric, so it is possible that the schools that will emerge will be less radically different than the American schools of composition and rhetoric (current-traditionalist, expressivist, social-constructioninst). Additionally, because the majority of Russian and Ukrainian theoreticians and teachers share similar epistemological positions, most commonly a neo-Platonic view, it is unlikely that major differences will surface in the near future.

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Tver State University professor Y. N. Varzonin contends in his lecture notes entitled "Introduction to Rhetoric" that rhetoric's subject must be clarified if it is to be securely established as an academic discipline. Varzonin observes two directions that characterize post-Soviet rhetoric: a modified version of classical rhetoric and what he calls "integrative rhetoric." Varzonin sees little academic worth in the first branch of rhetoric, characterizing it in the following manner:

> Orientation toward the system of classical rhetoric yields as a result only the outward similarity between the modern and the ancient rhetoric. With such an approach, the classical system becomes a collection of rhetorical tools and rules for their use (in a scholarly sense during our time, this idea is more than doubtful, although amazingly persistent). This is where the similarity ends since ancient rhetoric was always built around a central idea—truth, justice, law, and none of these ideas (or those similar to them) can be conceived as a linguistic category. The only thing left for such an impoverished rhetoric is to wander in the endless labyrinth of tropes and figures and to hope in the magical power of language norms. (par. 17)

The key to Varzonin's unwillingness to legitimize neo-classical rhetoric as a contemporary linguistic discipline is his insistence that truth, justice, and law, essential to classical rhetoric, are not linguistic categories. Accordingly, the theorist views contemporary adaptation of classical rhetoric as a fruitless exercise, not conceiving of a place for it in present-day rhetorical theory. He is justified in devaluing a rhetoric that is purely form without an ideological substance. Theorists who value classical rhetorical heritage address Varzonin's criticism by bringing in a Christian worldview to be

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expressed through classical rhetorical forms. Both A. K. Mikhalskaia and G. M. Sagach draw upon Russian and Ukrainian Christian heritage as the basis for preventing the hollowness Varzonin points out in purely "linguistic" rhetoric. Annushkin too addresses the issue of ideology in his discussions of rhetoric, indicating that, as a practical field of study, rhetoric cannot be a purely linguistic discipline but a mixture of language, ethics, and philosophy.

The second branch of post-Soviet rhetoric, Varzonin asserts, is "notably different from the first" (par. 18). In "integrative rhetoric," classical rhetorical principles are applied to non-linguistic disciplines, such as psychology, for instance. He describes this approach:

> Integrative rhetoric thus is able to bring into a rhetorical system specific categories, which, for example, do not find a place in a linguistically understood rhetoric. An overt deficiency of the second branch is the absence of a common rhetorical base, on the basis of which particular models can be developed and clarified—meanwhile it is appropriate to speak of the presence of a multitude of particular isolated models. (par. 20)

Integrative rhetoric as Varzonin presents it seems to be more of an application than a branch of the discipline. For this reason, it offers little help in classifying current rhetorical theory. Varzonin's description does raise a question of whether rhetoric will be established as an independent discipline or only survive as a practical tool for other branches of learning.

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Varzonin's method of classifying post-Soviet rhetoric, though valid in its criticism of "linguistically understood rhetoric" and valuable in offering insight into its application to other disciplines, is not sufficiently comprehensive. O. A. Levchenko uses a different basis for her organization of rhetoric. From a pedagogue's position, she distinguishes four approaches that are taken in the teaching of the discipline: normative rhetoric, theory of rhetoric, history of rhetoric, and rhetoric of communication (56). Normative rhetoric, Annushkin's culture of speech, is concerned with language accuracy and recalls the current-traditionalist approach to language instruction, but, lacking "rhetoricity," this category is not applicable to rhetorical theory. Levchenko's second category, theory of rhetoric—which deals with general rhetorical principles—and the third, history of rhetoric, restate the classical rhetoric addressed by Varzonin. The final category, rhetoric of communication, concerned with addressing particular rhetorical situations, contributes new insight into current rhetorical theory as it incorporates elements of Bakhtin's dialogism.

V. I. Kovalëv describes communicative rhetoric as a model in which "rhetorical knowledge and skills are adapted to the task of optimizing everyday interaction (public and private, official and unofficial)" (par. 7). He describes the "three pillars" of communicative rhetoric:

> 1) Speech studies, or general theory of communication, deal[ing] with general principles of successful interaction, and structure and particulars of different types of communication.
>
> 2) Genre studies, deal[ing] with characteristics of the most frequently used speech genres, oral and written (its foundation is Bakhtin's conceptions).

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> 3) Training of the speech apparatus (the foundation of which is an adaptation of the achievements of theater and vocal pedagogy). (par. 7)

While genre studies described by Kovalëv are directly connected to Bakhtin's dialogism, speech studies combine classical rhetorical traditions with the experience of Soviet language disciplines. Communicative rhetoric then may be called a synthesis of classical heritage and recent developments in the area of rhetoric.

Varzonin's and Levchenko's classifications are helpful for outlining rhetoric's theoretical course in Russia and Ukraine. Their categorizations, combined with the writings of other authors, seem to yield two general rhetorical directions: *rhetorical classicism* and *dialogism.* The two become elements synthesized in different approaches, distinguishable by variations in emphasis.

Classicism, directly, and dialogism, indirectly, echo the eighteenth century definition by M. V. Lomonosov: "Oratory [*krasnorechie*] is the art of fine speaking and writing regarding every particular matter and by that inclining others to one's opinion about it'" (Annushkin, *History* 7). In this formulation, Lomonosov, who considered rhetoric to be rules for the orator's education and eloquence an expression of the orator's art, blends two classical ideas—Quintilian's notion that rhetoric is primarily concerned with fineness of expression and Aristotle's emphasis on persuasion. Lomonosov's use of the term "inclining," less forceful than Aristotle's "persuasion," makes his view of rhetoric predisposed to the kind of harmonizing dialog that is espoused by Mikhalskaia.

Although Vagapova argues, as do other authors, that "[t]here is not yet a unified concept" of the subject of rhetoric, and Levchenko notes a number of pedagogical approaches to rhetoric, a relative homogeneity of views exists among rhetoric's major

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voices. The elements of classical rhetoric and dialogism are fused together in the work of such recognized eastern-Slavic rhetors as A. K. Mikhalskaia, V. I. Annushkin, A. A. Volkov, and G. M. Sagach.

Academic discourse in language disciplines is altering its tone in post-Soviet time. Mikhalskaia, a theoretician and a teacher of rhetoric, puts forth Russian academic speech of the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century as a model of discourse for the contemporary Russian academy. This Russian classical model, characterized by "substantial precision combined with vivid expression," was retired in Soviet time in favor of one more suitable for the reigning ideology with its aim to homogenize (*Russian Socrates* 47). Mikhalskaia describes the process by which the classical model was supplanted:

> Indeed, because of certain social reasons, a change took place in the accepted model/ideal, even for scholarly speech, a rather conservative system. Turning to the best texts of scholarly work of the pre-revolutionary period and of the 1920s, the modern reader is surprised, being already made accustomed by the editorship to average, smoothed out, abstract, inexpressive, pseudo-scientific and pseudo-academic speech. "The editorship" bringing scholarly texts to agree with the speech ideal, ruling in this social realm, was only one manifestation of "purism" as a form of language policy engrafted during the epoch of totalitarianism and stagnation. (47)

Her opposition to the notion that academic language must be entirely abstract and devoid of figurative expression, a standard painstakingly maintained by the Soviet editors for

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decades, and her assertion that it must appeal to intellect and sentiment alike underscore the changes in the voice of the post-Soviet academy.

Mikhalskaia's approach to rhetoric is a synthesis of classical rhetorical heritage and dialogism, in which the elements are fused and reinterpreted. In characterizing Russia's present rhetorical atmosphere, she reveals the classical roots of her rhetorical model: "In our native contemporary speech environment, the logosphere, at least three rhetorical ideals of a different origin and nature are existing and battling. The first, most common since it is the one accepted by the mass media, is the American ideal or, more accurately, Americanized ideal. It can be traced back to the sophist ideal and is close to it in essence. The second is our old native Russian, eastern-Christian ideal, close to that of Plato and Socrates. [. . .]. The third rhetorical ideal is that of 'Soviet' rhetoric" (44). Along with the classical rhetorical features, elements of dialogism are likewise present in her rhetorical model.

While embracing the "tradition of Plato and Socrates" (172) as its most important source, the eastern-Christian rhetorical ideal presented by Mikhalskaia is characterized by an interaction of subjects, with a cooperative dialogic nature, and, as a result, a harmonizing character. The author contrasts the rhetorical ideal she advocates to what she calls the Western monologic rhetorical ideal, describing it as an individualistic model with a subject-to-object interaction. Mikhalskaia summons Bakhtin's dialogism to substantiate her rhetorical conception. She contends, "The essential difference in monologic and dialogic rhetorical ideals, as we have noted in the previous lectures, is profoundly and comprehensively reflected in the work of M. M. Bakhtin, for example in his book *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. This is not accidental. Dostoevsky

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discovered, and Bakhtin, analyzing his work, comprehended 'the new world,' full of subjects with equal rights not of objects. That is why Bakhtin calls dialogic interaction 'the true life of the word' [. . .]" (175). Although this theorist draws on Bakhtin's concept of dialog for her model, her reading of dialogism differs from Bakhtin's.

As Mikhalskaia integrates classical rhetorical tradition and dialogism, she must reinterpret them because they differ considerably. Classical rhetoric presupposes an unbiased language by means of which the inquirer arrives at truth. In contrast, Bakhtin's dialogism maintains that language is "ideologically saturated," never neutral. Although Mikhalskaia refers to Bakhtin's dialogism as she advocates her rhetorical model, she must omit Bakhtin's key point, as expressed in "Discourse in the Novel," that meaning is made in a dialogic struggle. For Mikhalskaia, dialog is not a struggle but a search for consensus. As a result, her rhetorical model, seeking to unify, is monologic in Bakhtin's sense of the term. Likewise, by making the Platonic/Socratic tradition essential to the model, she designates it as monologic as Bakhtin would read it: "Take a dialogue and remove the voices (the partitioning of voices), remove the intonations (emotional and individualizing ones), carve out abstract concepts and judgments from living words and responses, [then] cram everything into one abstract consciousness—and that's how you get dialectics[5]" ("From Notes Made in 1970–71" 147). Mikhalskaia takes from Bakhtin the understanding that the world is full of subjects engaged in dialogic interaction. But her unifying, harmonizing model strongly resembles the centralizing language in Bakhtin's theory of dialogism. It would seem that Mikhalskaia's Christian philosophy cannot allow her to embrace Bakhtin's theory completely.

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Mikhalskaia's approach to classifying Russian rhetorical trends is reminiscent of W. Ross Winterowd's classification of branches of rhetoric in *Composition in the Rhetorical Tradition.* Winterowd divides the fabric of rhetorical tradition, on an epistemological basis, into Platonic idealism, Aristotelian empiricism, and Isocratic skepticism. Plato, "*the* foundational absolutist, [holds] that perfect knowledge exists and is attainable" (3). Aristotle, the pragmatist, establishes rhetoric as a practical tool in the service of society. While sharing Plato's notion of independent reality, he maintains that truth can be discovered by rhetorical means. Isocrates, asserting the fluidity and contingency of truth and knowledge and denying the existence of independent reality, voices his position of skepticism. In agreement with Aristotle's desire to employ rhetoric practically, Isocrates describes philosophy as "not the search for an absolute, but the ability to cope with the events in an ever-changing, uncertain world" (16). Mikhalskaia's division is similar to Winterowd's in that she also classifies on an epistemological basis. Her classification, not as neat probably because it represents a narrower slice of rhetoric, is significant because by bringing in philosophy she rescues rhetoric from the hollowness described by Varzonin. Mikhalskaia's classification, perhaps stereotypical, allows a glimpse of the Russian academy's epistemological position embracing neo-Platonism.

Mikhalskaia simplifies the American rhetorical environment when she aligns it with the sophist tradition. Although Isocratic skepticism is prevalent in the American academy, an epistemological wrestling, similar to the one unfolding in Russia, is taking place in the West as well. Of course, in presenting the Russian rhetorical ideal as preferable or even superior to the American postmodern ideal, she must stereotype, simplifying the complexity of the Western rhetorical environment. And yet Mikhalskaia's

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evaluation of the Western rhetorical ideal is a reflection of the epistemological divide between the Western and eastern-Slavic academies. It is important to note that she qualifies her discussion of the eastern-Christian rhetorical model by saying that it is an ideal and a dream, and that the modern-day Russian logosphere does not reflect it. The theorist hopes, however, that eventually the academy will return to its Russian classical roots. Her reaction against postmodern thought is clearly motivated by her Christian worldview and causes her to endorse a rhetorical model that advocates Platonic epistemology, although in contemporary democratic context. To construct this rhetorical model, Mikhalskaia must necessarily reinterpret Bakhtin's dialogism.

Annushkin is another major theorist in whose work classical rhetoric and dialogism find their reflection. He characterizes rhetoric as "a discipline about thought and speech, directly related to ideology and worldview" ("What Is Rhetoric" par. 5). By including ideology, his definition implies persuasion and exhibits an Aristotelian quality. Such emphasis on ideology, similar to Mikhalskaia's, is a significant departure from the Soviet discipline of culture of speech. His approach is clearly oriented toward classical rhetoric. In "Russian Classical Teachings about Speech," Annushkin maintains, "Rhetoric is based on the principles of grammatical correctness, but requires individual creativity and thought-style innovation, to which the term 'invention' corresponds best. Invention in rhetoric supposes newness and originality of expression, without which it is impossible to form the individual character of speech interaction, the search for which always occupies the speech participants" (par. 7). Thus, this theorist applies classical rhetoric to the problems of contemporary communication.

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With Greco-Roman and Russian classical ideals as the foundation for his approach to contemporary rhetoric, Annushkin addresses modern-day rhetorical concerns. In a classical style, he considers rhetoric "a continuation of the knowledge gained from the general understanding about language" that a school student acquires in the study of orthography, orthoepy, morphology,[6] syntax, and punctuation. According to this approach, which he entitles "Russian classical," the students are first taught basic language principles, to which other language skills and knowledge are added later—in the order of moving from reading and writing to grammar and finally to rhetoric ("What Is Rhetoric" par. 19). The early instructional stages of this pedagogic model are reminiscent of the current-traditionalist philosophy, widely criticized in the American academy for its failure to instill desired language skills in students. However, by continuing on to the study of rhetoric, Russian language teachers distinguish their approach from current traditionalism. This classical model arguably has pedagogic value for today, if it is not viewed as a rigid system but rather a method that may be useful in addressing certain educational needs.

Annushkin also finds relevant the "traditional structure of the rhetorical canon"—invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery—arguing that it "is beginning to show itself with new colors in the modern teaching of rhetoric" (par. 39). The educator adds, "Rhetorical theory exploration and recent textbooks on rhetoric rather clearly demonstrate how the problem of speech invention (a classical problem, restored in accordance with ancient models and not grasped in the school subject of 'speech development') is able to provide a model for generation of design and content of speech according to new creative models" (par. 39). He discusses the current state of oratory:

[6] Orthography is a study of spelling, orthoepy of pronunciation, and morphology of word formation.

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"The elementary inability of modern orators to create a simple congratulatory address or a speech according to traditional schemes happens because orators, untrained by the modern school, do not suspect the existence of commonplaces and the chreia as traditional models that can be creatively followed in speech construction" (par. 40). Annushkin further contends that not knowing the classical chreia as a "general scheme of speech arrangement" limits, or perhaps even disables, an orator. The elements of the simple chreia—proposition, explanation of the proposition, proof, addressing the opposition, comparison, example, appeal to authority, and conclusion (Volkov 88)—parallel the elements of standard academic writing, where a claim must be stated and then substantiated by examples and explanations, and where an appeal to authority or an address of the opposition are commonly made. Similarly, the concept of the writing process, discussed in American composition courses, corresponds to the classical rhetorical canons of invention, arrangement, and style. The elements of the rhetorical canon and the chreia, which Annushkin describes as structures that aid and direct language invention, are usefully employed in the American composition classroom and can be similarly engaged for the benefit of Russian and Ukrainian students of rhetoric.

The role of figures of speech in invention is also addressed by Annushkin, who argues that the modern subject of speech development (a phrase synonymous to "culture of speech") has neglected the idea that speech is also created through figures. He explains, "[. . .] [T]he absence of figures of speech in teaching, or more accurately, the lack of understanding that people speak in figures of speech as forms of speech expression and that these forms need to be taught gave birth to the inarticulacy of the twentieth century—and our society, educated by the [secondary] school, is its worthy

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inheritor" (par. 41). Annushkin's use of the term "forms of speech" echoes Bakhtin's speech genres, while he finds that teaching the skills of speech delivery is equally important for nurturing a rhetor.

Although the issue of dialog is addressed in Annushkin's model, it is more of a pedagogical tool rather than Bakhtinian dialog. Annushkin explains, "If the problem of oratory is connected with the theory of monolog, then in a completely new way the theory of dialog appears in modern rhetorical scholarship and pedagogy. Dialog is being developed both from the point of view of general rhetoric, and from the position of considering different types of dialog, which can be included in school lessons at different stages of learning" (par. 38). Bakhtin's formulation of the dialogic nature of discourse, not being embraced in its completeness, has translated into a pedagogic approach. His statement—"[i]n the actual life of speech, every concrete act of understanding is active[7]" ("Discourse" 1206)—is reflected in the current language pedagogy. But, as in Mikhalskaia's rhetorical model, Annushkin's dialog is in fact monologic by Bakhtin's definition.

Another major contributor to the contemporary Russian rhetorical theory, A. A. Volkov, defines rhetoric's subject and purpose: "Rhetoric is a philological discipline, studying the relationship of thought to word. Its immediate task is prose speech or public argumentation" (*Rhetoric Fundamentals* 3). Volkov explains that although traditionally rhetoric as a subject is taught dogmatically, "[its] rules are not compulsory prescriptions and prohibitions: they simply synthesize the experience of the great masters of the word, pointing out the difficulties and dangers lying in wait for everyone who speaks and writes for the public" (4). Volkov extensively borrows from the classical rhetorical tradition in

[7] Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist.

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his exposition of the orator's image and the classical rhetorical canons of invention, arrangement, and style. But as reflected in his evaluation of rhetoric's rules, his system lacks classical rigidity.

Following in the footsteps of Lomonosov, who emphasizes fine speaking and inclining others to one's position, Volkov prefers Quintilian's view of rhetoric as a science of eloquent and worthy speech (42). The theorist advocates a moral rhetor and distinguishes his approach to rhetoric from Aristotle's emphasis on persuasion, in which he sees potential for coercion. Volkov's rhetorical model disfavoring persuasion parallels Mikhalskaia's description of the harmonizing character of the Russian rhetorical ideal, as he concurs: "Rhetorical argumentation assumes the creation of public utterances, leading to the agreement and the joining of the audience" (43). Despite his opposition to a strong emphasis on persuasion, Volkov uses the Aristotelian model of ethos, pathos, and logos for his discussion of rhetoric, a model widely used in Russian and Ukrainian textbooks on rhetoric.

Like Annushkin, Volkov values the chreia. He argues, "A strong instrument for engendering a habit for correct rhetorical logos is the chreia, the make-up and sequence of basic rhetorical arguments, by means of which a proposition is substantiated" (87). Volkov explains that the chreia was invented in Byzantium in the fourth century and was used until the mid-nineteenth century mostly in church sermons (88). The theorist further maintains that "the make-up and especially the sequence of the elements of the chreia should not be viewed as compulsory and appropriate for any position—the means of substantiating a position are determined by the situation, specific goal and type of speech, and the sequence of argumentation is determined by relative importance or strength of

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arguments for specific audience" (90). Volkov's approach lacks classical rigidity, yet his view of rhetoric is decidedly classical and Platonic: "The goal of rhetorical invention is not discovering new ideas nor expressing the opinions of the author, but creating a design for an expedient utterance, meant for a specific audience in specific circumstances" (92). In this definition, Volkov sets aside the discovery of new knowledge but, rather, emphasizes the discovery of the form which the already existing knowledge will assume. He is strongly anti-sophist, a characteristic common to Russian and Ukrainian rhetors (87). In the tradition of both the classical and contemporary eastern-Slavic academy, Volkov draws upon the Christian tradition to construct his rhetorical model with its emphasis on rhetoric as a tool for consensus building.

G. M. Sagach, one of the most influential contemporary Ukrainian voices on rhetoric, also heavily relies on the classical heritage in her treatment of rhetorical theory. She remarks that the post-Soviet rhetoric, first of all, follows in the tradition of Aristotle, as opposed to Quintilian's approach emphasizing ornamentation. It is also based on the works of classical eastern-Slavic rhetors, including F. Prokopovych, M. V. Lomonosov, and M. M. Speranskii, who developed Aristotelian concepts, and of a number of contemporary scholars who have drawn on the classical heritage to develop rhetorical concepts for present-day goals (*Rhetoric* 61). Her reading of Quintilian differs from Volkov's, which places an emphasis on Quintilian's worthy speech, not merely eloquence.

In agreement with Varzonin and Vagapova, Sagach asserts that rhetorical theory is not clarified for the present. She attempts to present a "general theoretical system, using a single conceptual apparatus, in the boundaries of which to consider a portion of

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the approaches" to rhetoric that exist today (61). And as others have, this theorist names issues that still require resolution, such as rhetoric's subject and goals and its relationship to other disciplines.

Sagach's emphasis on rhetoric's usefulness for fostering creative individuality distinguishes her from the three Russian theorists, except perhaps Annushkin, who addresses this issue briefly. She argues that "[r]hetoric namely belongs to such a group of disciplines that are directed toward shaping and developing a person's individuality" (59). Sagach's model, emphasizing individuality, may be motivated by Ukraine's political legacy. Having the historical experience of subordination to the Russian empire first and then to the Soviet system, Ukraine now insists on an independent identity, with a greater emphasis on individuality in its citizens. Also, Ukraine's geographic proximity to Europe may be a reason for valuing individuality (as described in Mikhalskaia's model of Western rhetorical ideal) more than in Russia. Although Sagach upholds individuality in contrast to Mikhalskaia's greater emphasis on community, Sagach's understanding of dialog is quite in line with Mikhalskaia's model.

Writing in Ukrainian, Sagach produces a different quality in her discussion of rhetoric. She invokes Ukrainian poets, Ukrainian folklore, and perhaps even more strongly relies on Ukraine's Christian heritage. None of it is radically different from Russian rhetoric, but Sagach's treatment of rhetoric has a uniquely Ukrainian personality. Her style, a graceful example of Ukrainian prose, reflects traditional Ukrainian standards for fluid, melodious language and is mellower than that of the three Russian rhetors. And although it would be premature to draw a far-reaching conclusion based only on the example of Sagach, her style likely reflects the general Ukrainian rhetorical style. Both

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Russian and Ukrainian language disciplines value folklore, yet perhaps Ukrainian rhetoric is relying more heavily on it, while Russian rhetoric leans a bit more toward traditional classicism. Ukrainian rhetoric is also employing a language that is more figurative. The lyrical Ukrainian voice of Sagach's writing distinguishes her from the Russian authors and reflects a different national personality, asserting an independent identity.

Because rhetors like Mikhalskaia and Sagach attempt to synthesize classical rhetoric and dialogism, they must reinterpret them to achieve such synthesis. Consequently, Bakhtin's concern with ideological saturation of language is not addressed in his terms. Both Mikhalskaia and Sagach bring up the issue of language and power but do not deal with it by focusing on the imbalance of social power invested in different rhetorics. Because they consider the struggle for power to be personified in the sophistic rhetoric of relativity, as a solution they promote the Socratic epistemology and the Christian moral code, concerned with the well-being of others. A similar emphasis on morality in rhetoric is commonly made by other eastern-Slavic theorists. The omission of Bakhtin's negative view of the centralizing language is probably motivated by their perception of ideological cohesion as paramount to the success of their societies, but they may yet have to address the issue of heterogeneity in a democratic society. The role of these rhetoric theorists is just as affected by the political situation in which they find themselves as was Bakhtin's—he tore down the ideals of an oppressive political system, and they must set forth the ideology for a society aimed at democracy.

This overview of eastern-Slavic theory of rhetoric, although a rough sketch and a record of only four major voices, is generally representative of the processes that are

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shaping the discipline in post-Soviet times. The work of defining rhetoric will continue to unfold, while the question remains whether distinct theoretical approaches to scholarly rhetoric will emerge in the future. For the present, the hope is that a synthesis of classical rhetoric and dialogism will benefit the development of the two countries by being a unifying voice for their ideologies and by equipping individuals to cope with different rhetorical situations in a new political system. Eastern-Slavic teachers insist that a new system of education is essential to revitalizing their societies. As a result, the direction of the post-Soviet theory of rhetoric is mirrored in the new language pedagogy.

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Chapter IV

COMPOSITION AND RHETORIC PEDAGOGY IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

Rhetoric's potential for articulating a nation's ideology and for fostering critical thought in its citizens is employed by Russian and Ukrainian educators as they endeavor to shape the future of their countries through the medium of the classroom. The elements of classical rhetoric and dialogism in rhetorical theory are paralleled in composition and rhetoric pedagogy by the espousal of conformity and individuality. The complexity and richness of eastern-Slavic language pedagogy can hardly be captured in these two terms, but considering it in this schematic way can offer a general understanding of its post-Soviet direction.

Language pedagogy is best considered in the context of the political and educational situation in the two nations. A look at Russia's and Ukraine's political development in the 1990s provides a background for discussion of eastern-Slavic language pedagogy. After the break-up of the Soviet Union and the transformation of Soviet republics into independent states, the direction of the new countries became the subject of first importance, with the system of education being central to this choice. In "The Russian Federation in Transition," Janusz J. Tomiak argues that in post-Soviet Russia several visions for the country's future were proposed, but solid consensus was not achieved regarding any of them. This absence of agreement produced a stalemate that Tomiak insists prevented Russia from initiating speedy reforms in its political as well as

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educational systems. He lists the forces that played a part in deciding Russia's direction: "Most important of them were: the President of the Federation; the newly established political parties; the Russian Orthodox Church; the military; the *nouveau riche*; the Mafia and the old *nomenklatura*" (148). The existence of these distinct and interacting forces has yielded three divergent visions for the future of the nation: the liberal-democratic vision of Russia as a "federal state, based upon political pluralism and market economics" (148); the nationalist vision of "new Russia as a great power" wielding its influence on the world stage (149); and the neo-communist vision seeking a "return to Communism, reintroduction of a much stricter system of central control and regimentation, but also the return of greater stability and discipline" (151). From 1991 to 1999 none of these approaches gained wide popular support, and, as a result, sweeping reforms were not instituted. Likewise, the system of education did not undergo major restructuring because consensus was not reached on a single educational model, this failure resulting from the uncertainty of the nation's political future. Despite the fact that an overhaul of the system of education was not realized, the quality of learning was improved in numerous educational institutions due to the efforts of individual educators, when private enterprise was introduced in the system of education in the early 1990s. Tomiak describes the faculty of these private schools as excellent teachers, often university instructors, whose contributions have helped schools and colleges approach "the level of success comparable with similar establishments in the most advanced countries in the West" (156). At the same time, the state system of education remained in great need of rebuilding.

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Despite the nations' historic ties, Ukraine did not develop identically to Russia. In Ukraine, nationalist feelings continued to grow, as did the desire to be separate from Russia. Crispin Jones explains that in shaping its identity today, "[m]odern Ukraine looks Westward rather than to the North" ("Change as Normality" 201). Jones maintains that the country's tumultuous history, including the experiment of Russification and the engineered Great Hunger of the 1930s, helped Ukraine to develop into a more stable state than expected after its independence (193). His discussion offers a heartening perspective on Ukraine's political situation, indicating that there is "increasing economic stability" and that "[p]olitical parties on democratic lines are evolving and maturing" (201). Although political conflicts continue, in Ukraine the political and ideological picture is perhaps more unified than in Russia. Without yet being firmly established on democratic principles, Ukraine strives for democracy, wanting to borrow from Western experience but ultimately to produce a distinct Ukrainian national identity.

During the 1990s, the Ukrainian system of education underwent revision. In *Burden of Dreams*, Catherine Wanner observes that a year after independence was proclaimed, a commission from the Ministry of Education issued a document outlining the proposed reform. She explains that "[t]he report claims that post-Soviet educational reform intends to eliminate the 'authoritarian pedagogy put in place by a totalitarian state which led to the suppression of [the] natural talents and [the] capabilities and interests of all participants in the educational process'" (82). The 1992 report rejects the Soviet goal of fostering uniformity and collectivism and "asserts that the educational system must strive to develop 'individuality, nationality, and morality' as a top priority among primary and secondary school students" (82). With the Communist vision set aside, the new

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direction for Ukraine's education included both individual and national elements, reflecting a tentative ideological consensus.

Wanner questions the possibility of successfully developing the characteristics of both nationality and individuality in students, as she argues, "The restoration of a Ukrainian cultural identity is seen as part and parcel of the process of fostering individual development. Yet the simultaneous focus on individuality and nationality is inherently contradictory" (82). Wanner further explains, "There is a persistent tension between the state's articulated goals of encouraging individuality and individual choice at the same time that it aims to impart a collective identity based on an interpretation of Ukrainianness that the state has sanctioned and is attempting to institutionalize in schools" (82). A dual emphasis on nationality and individuality is not necessarily contradictory, especially since Ukraine's goal is to promote individuality within the framework of national identity. Engendering a Ukrainian national identity seems reasonably necessary for the country's ideological unity, while the goal of allowing individual expression is reflective of the aspirations of a democratic society. The value of both the individual and the communal identity is better seen on a smaller scale: family, workplace, religious community, or classroom. In this context, the tension between the two can be seen as a desirable element. The community benefits from the individual's unique talents and interests; the individual finds fulfillment in the context of the community. On a larger social scale, national identity is needed for ideological cohesion. Although in Ukraine the state has formulated a general ideological direction for the society, based on its history and contemporary pursuit of democracy, national identity must be engendered through persuasion—by both establishing the proposed ideology

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and, in time, augmenting it to represent different strata of Ukrainian society. This is rhetoric's role. And it is what Sagach and Mikhalskaia are attempting to do as they summon their countries' national histories and Christian heritage.

Ukraine's language pedagogy is developing as a reflection of the principles put forth in the educational reform. As indicated in the phrase "individuality, nationality, and morality" (82), Ukraine is seeking a balance between conformity and individuality. The need for such balance is asserted by Sagach in her 1995 essay, entitled "Rhetorical Individuality and How It Is To Be Fostered in the School of the New Type[8]." While censuring an exclusive emphasis on individuality, Sagach stresses the necessity of nurturing this quality in students. She insists, "We believe that today we must choose the way for the development of education, which will provide a fundamentality [sic] and a truly scholarly-methodological basis for nurturing a creative individual who will come to master rhetorical knowledge and skills with the goal of adapting to new socio-economic and political conditions, who will completely realize his or her creative potential in the conditions of competition, instability, and search for solutions to overcome the economic crisis" (67). Sagach views dialog as an indispensable element of the educational process and an effective method of fostering student individuality. She explains, "In an academic pedagogic situation, dialog is the most effective way for educating and nurturing the new generation, the way that promotes the intensification of the learning process and the democratization of the interaction in the school of the new type" (*Rhetoric* 127). Sagach also asserts the need for conformity, as her neo-classical rhetorical ideas discussed in the previous chapter indicate. Because both elements are present in her philosophy of language instruction, it may be considered a model for Ukrainian education as a whole.

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[8] The reformed post-Soviet school, characterized by new goals and teaching approaches.

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Sagach is idealistic in placing on the teacher the weight of the responsibility for rearing such a rhetorically savvy student, but she is not alone. This view of the teacher's prominent role in building the society through education is found in the writings of the majority of eastern-Slavic theorists and teachers.

The means by which the country is being transformed must have a measure of effectiveness as evidenced in Ukraine's progress in rebuilding its system of education. While saying that the educational system seems similar to its Soviet predecessor, Jones notes that "[t]he curriculum has been completely changed" (202). Ukraine is continuing to search for a balance between a workable decentralization of education and state unity. This challenge of aligning individual and communal interests arises on various levels, but Jones believes that despite the need for further development and improvement, "[. . .] Ukraine's educational system has emerged from its transitology looking far more effective in meeting the educational needs of its citizenry than it was before" (202). Sagach confirms the presence of an ideological struggle in Ukraine similar to the one Mikhalskaia describes in Russia. Yet in Ukraine, the ideological direction is more unified and is helping the nation to advance, though tentatively. Such a common ideological foundation has not been successfully determined for Russia, this absence resulting in a stalemate in the political arena as well as the area of state-sponsored education.

Sagach's pedagogy is in agreement with the educational reform statement that recognizes education as a tool for shaping ideology, being wary not to repeat the Soviet model of authoritarian pedagogy and instead seeking to promote individual development in context of community. She seems to place equal importance on both components. The presence of individuality in this equation, in contrast to Mikhalskaia's model, can be

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explained in part by the beginnings of Ukrainian rhetoric. When the discipline began to emerge in the eastern-Slavic lands in the seventeenth century, because of Ukraine's proximity to Europe, Latin education was soon installed there and with it Western influence with a greater emphasis on individuality. Today, the same influence is confirmed, as Ukraine looks to the West in its formulation of a national identity. Because Sagach's model assumes balance between conformity and individuality, it appears less dramatic than the Russian models.

The two concepts are also implied in the work of Russian authors. T. A. Ladyzhenskaia, a highly-regarded Russian teacher of rhetoric, is the head of an association of teachers who have compiled a number of well-received textbooks for both secondary school and college-level instruction on rhetoric. Mikhalskaia is Ladyzhenskaia's colleague and one of the contributors to *Culture of Speech of a Teacher (Pedagogic Rhetoric)*, edited by Ladyzhenskaia and published in 1999. In a course on rhetoric for future teachers included in this anthology of curricula, Ladyzhenskaia emphasizes correctness and appropriateness of language use. The characteristics of speech to be engendered in the students during this course are "correctness, purity, precision, richness, expressivity, and communicative appropriateness" (5). The term "expressivity" assumes a degree of individuality, but most of the characteristics reflect the course's design to foster conformity and correctness. The fact that the description for this course does not reveal an intent to encourage individuality in teachers likely indicates that the educational goals they will set for their future students will not emphasize development of individuality either. Ladyzhenskaia's pedagogical model, which is in harmony with Mikhalskaia's rhetorical model, perhaps can be related to the tradition of

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Russian rhetoric also dating back to the seventeenth century. While Latin education was established in Ukraine, in Russia rhetoric was taught initially in Russian and Greek. The Orthodox Christian ideal, emphasizing community, was strongly defended in Russia, in opposition to the Western Catholic and Protestant ideals. It seems that the same influence, favoring community over individuality, continues in Mikhalskaia's and Ladyzhenskaia's rhetorical and pedagogical philosophies. Like Sagach, Mikhalskaia works to influence her country's ideological direction rhetorically. Both authors build their rhetorical theory on Christian principles, but with differing emphases. They are in agreement, however, that the Christian moral code is the agent for edifying their countries.

In contrast to Ladyzhenskaia's approach, D. K. Vagapova, another Russian author, places a greater emphasis on individual performance, although she too sets out principles to be followed. In a textbook published in 2001, titled *Rhetoric in Intellectual Games and Exercises*, Vagapova argues that in the post-Soviet context, those individuals are sought after who are able to function in different rhetorical situations. Her course, based on classical rhetorical principles, aims at developing in its students "activity, initiative, and the ability to defend personal interests by means of speech" (7). The pedagogical usefulness of Vagapova's textbook is in both presenting the necessary knowledge and guiding the reader through a practical course in acquiring rhetorical skills. Notably, Vagapova widely employs dialogic interaction in her course, agreeing with Sagach's conviction of dialog's pedagogical usefulness for fostering individual development. Ladyzhenskaia's primary emphasis on conformity and Vagapova's on individuality are just two different examples of the generalized direction of pedagogic

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thought in a Russia that is still looking for a single educational philosophy. Hopefully, the two emphases will balance out each other as the students interact with both kinds of teachers.

In addition to being affected by the post-Soviet political processes, the current pedagogic thought has been influenced by the developments of the Soviet period. The transition to the new period has been more continuous than radical because the pedagogic practices of the last decades of the Soviet Union's existence were moving toward a rhetorical curriculum. While conformity to a philosophical or linguistic standard has been a defining characteristic of Soviet language education during most of the Soviet period, in the 1980s a requirement for uniqueness and individuality in language studies arose, motivated by the democratizing processes of this decade. Bakhtin's concept of the dialogic nature of language had made a contribution to these processes several decades earlier. Y. A. Ozerov's *Reflections before Composition*, published in 1990, is one of the pedagogic works on composition that reveal this relatively new trend of requiring individuality in student work. Addressing his book to students preparing for college entrance exams, Ozerov underscores the importance of the composition exam for gaining admission to a number of higher learning institutions. The author asserts the need for a solid language- and literary knowledge-base and a freshness of thought in student compositions. It is his expectation of individuality that is significant. Ozerov remarks, "The experience of giving entrance exams testifies to the fact that written compositions about literature in most cases are distinguished by the absence of lively thought, sincere feeling, and an individual view of the world" (3). He also notes that student work is characterized by "well-known truths, stereotypical thinking, dryness of expression, and

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impoverished language" (11). Such lament over the lack of uniqueness and freshness in student writing reveals an important shift in language pedagogy. Notably, it echoes American educators' concerns about the quality of their students' writing.

Although Ozerov's text is a valuable resource for teachers, it is less effective as a student text simply because by its very organization and content it treats the ability to write as knowledge rather than skill, without an acknowledgement that becoming an effective writer requires time, practice, close study of good writers, and often an experienced writer's guidance. Although helpfully expanding a student's theoretical understanding of academic composition, the text comes up short in offering the kind of practical help a college-bound student would need to improve his writing in a relatively short period of time. This work reveals a curious attitude, wide-spread at the time: the expectation of performance, where the student ought to produce intelligent, individual written work but is not given systematic composition instruction over an extended period of time. The internal social and political changes in the Soviet Union since the 1980s were reflected in the changing nature of the system of Soviet education. The standards have evolved faster than the students and teachers. Students are now expected to perform much more individually and creatively, and, when they do not, the examiners are appalled. One type of vegetable is planted and another is expected to be harvested.

Nonetheless, the expectation of individuality in student compositions is an interesting feature of Ozerov's text, a feature that has grown in importance in the decade following the text's publication, as Sagach's and Vagapova's work indicates. During the 1990s, pedagogic practice began to catch up with the teachers' expectations of their students' work. Another step is made in the ongoing shift toward functional language

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pedagogy. D. N. Aleksandrov's *Rhetoric* reflects the growing recognition that speaking and writing effectively are skills that need to be given time and attention in the language curriculum. He remarks, "If someone does not possess the techniques of performing before an audience, it is not enough simply to list the necessary rules: an extended period of time is needed to master these skills. Mastery of Russian oratory [*krasnorechie*] is built on knowledge, skills, and extended practice of delivering speeches before different audiences in particular" (10). Aleksandrov's approach indicates an important pedagogical change, and his text, designed to help students develop oratorical skills, contributes to a repertoire of techniques for functional language instruction.

Present eastern-Slavic rhetorical theory seeks tools for developing reasoning skills and an understanding of rhetorical situations. Because Russian and Ukrainian teachers desire to promote successful rhetorical development in their students, more emphasis must be given to writing instruction, as almost all Russian and Ukrainian discussions of cultivating rhetorical skills assume oral language. There is a tenacious attitude in the eastern-Slavic academy that writing mastery is not needed for all students but only those who are being prepared for occupations directly connected to written language. V. I. Kovalëv explains, "At the pedagogical [university], where I work, written genres are not given much attention since the teacher is to be a masterful speaker [*zlatoust*] not a masterful writer [*zlatopisets*[9]]" (par. 4). This division between spoken and written language instruction is perhaps believed to produce better results since students are able to concentrate on one area of study. However, this pedagogy is not taking into account that the development of students' written language aids their mastery of oral language

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[9] Both *zlatoust* [one with golden lips] and *zlatopisets* [golden writer] bring to mind Ukrainian *zolotosliv* [golden-word].

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when there is instruction in both. Moreover, clear thinking is best developed through written discourse. It was for this reason that Greek and Roman students of rhetoric composed their speeches in writing before delivering them orally.

No matter what epistemological differences may exist between the Western and Eastern academies, the experience of American composition and rhetoric studies can be beneficial to eastern-Slavic students of writing. Russian and Ukrainian teachers could usefully borrow from the work of such writing teachers as Erika Lindemann, Constance Weaver, Thomas Newkirk, Ralph Fletcher, and Nancie Atwell, who have developed methodologies for effective composition instruction. Such instructional techniques as employing journal writing, imitating master writers, sequencing assignments, involving grammar in composition instruction, and utilizing informal assessment can help Russian and Ukrainian students in the process of composition mastery. Conversely, American university students would benefit from more systematic and extensive instruction in the principles of oratory. Since development of masterful speech is imperative for a teacher, fostering this kind of mastery would enhance American teacher education.

With the employment of the elements of classical rhetoric and dialogism, a useful balance can be achieved in rhetoric pedagogy. Individuality in the model, fostered by dialogic interaction, allows for the development of uniqueness and freshness in students' work, while the presence of the notion of conformity, cultivated through adherence to classical rhetorical principles, prevents students from asserting their opinion as valid simply because it is individual. For the teacher, the goal of promoting both individuality of expression and conformity to academic standards presents a challenge that can be addressed by maintaining a productive tension in specific teaching situations. The teacher

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must recognize which of the two is lacking in students, or which one is needed for a specific purpose.

The discussion of Russian and Ukrainian composition and rhetoric pedagogy as seeking to cultivate conformity and individuality in students has been schematically organized to present an overview of the subject by examining pedagogical trends and relating them to rhetorical theory. This narrative does not presume to capture the nuances of eastern-Slavic pedagogy with its several hundred years of impressive history. During the Soviet period and, to some extent, after the USSR's dissolution, Russian and Ukrainian methodologies for language development simply have not given much attention to direct writing instruction, a weakness that is beginning to be addressed today.

During the post-Soviet decade, the interplay between political systems and the discipline of rhetoric has matured the discipline, and it now offers its service to the society. Rhetoric's potential for unifying ideology and engendering rhetorical mastery is already being harnessed in the two nations as they develop their economic and political structures. Unfortunately, the wealth of Russian teaching methodologies is lost to the state educational system as a whole, disabled by ideological ambiguity. On the other hand, Ukraine's clearer ideological vision appears to have placed it in a better position to develop its political and, as a result, educational structures. For both nations, however, time and many revisions will be required for their aspirations to be translated from theory to practice.

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Conclusion

Consideration of the history of rhetoric in Russia and Ukraine in the twentieth century reveals a mutually affecting interaction between the discipline and the political systems within which it exists. The discipline's resilience after periods of neglect and suppression seems to argue that rhetoric's concern with inquiry, reasoning, and persuasion is essentially human. When rhetoric is freely employed in a society, it will be expressed through the lens of a particular epistemology, as suggested by Winterowd, and will convey a particular worldview.

Both in Russia and Ukraine, the discipline rests on a neo-Platonic/Christian foundation, although the competing Isocratic model is present in the logosphere of the two societies. The theorists' assertion of a rhetorical model according to which absolute laws exist is a return to the traditions of classical eastern-Slavic rhetorical theory. The rhetoric that evolved from ancient Rus to the first half of the nineteenth century has provided an enduring model for the present. In the seventeenth century, the eastern-Slavic culture, already favoring eloquent speech, readily embraced the classical Greco-Roman rhetorical tradition. While revering the ancients, eastern-Slavic rhetoric added its own personality and values. So rhetoric was reinterpreted for the eastern Slav. During the period of Peter the Great, the discipline grew abundantly, with many texts on rhetoric being produced. M. V. Lomonosov gave momentum to the establishment of Russian classical rhetoric by clarifying rhetorical theory. He chose its terminology out of several interchangeably used words—*elokventsia* [eloquence], *ritorika* [rhetoric], *vitiistvo* [oratory], and *krasnorechie* [oratory]. He discarded the Latin *elokventsia* and the

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antiquated book-Slavic *vitiistvo* and clarified the relationship between *ritorika* and *krasnorechie*, defining rhetoric as rules for the orator's education and oratory as an expression of the orator's art. Lomonosov's eighteenth-century systematizing of rhetorical theory became the foundation for the consequent development of Russian rhetoric. From the second half of the eighteenth to the first half of the nineteenth century, rhetoric flourished in Russia and Ukraine. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, the discipline's vitality began to decline. The new theory of philology, with its emphasis on creative literature, replaced rhetoric in the academy until the 1920s when the discipline returned through the efforts of the St. Petersburg Institute of the Living Word.

In the 1930s, having finished with the experiment of promoting linguistic parity, the Soviet government also retired the discipline of rhetoric. In its place, culture of speech was developed as a study of real-life speech. The concept of the norm, foundational to culture of speech, was unable to supply guidelines for effective language use, suitable to each individual situation, and a functional approach to language instruction gradually developed, furthered by the writings of M. M. Bakhtin. The interplay between the discipline of rhetoric and the Soviet political system left an impact on both. Although the Soviet system suspended rhetoric's official development, rhetorical thought continued, invigorated by Bakhtin's ideas, and eventually contributed to the political system's dissolution. When Soviet hegemony waned and rhetoric returned to the academy, the discipline presented itself in a new light: its classical heritage was blended with elements of Bakhtin's dialogism. During the post-Soviet years, the interchange between rhetorical theory and practice and political systems continues, but it is now meant to produce beneficial results. The discipline, while being affected by the political

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system, is engaged in its service. Current rhetorical theory, in which eastern-Slavic theorists attempt to synthesize classical rhetoric and dialogism, is a reflection of the eastern-Christian worldview. As a result of this synthesis, Bakhtin's dialogism is reinterpreted and the dialogic interaction is viewed as cooperative rather than antagonistic. The fusion of the neo-Platonic epistemology of classical rhetoric and of the undulating dialogism is understood in light of Christian philosophy. Such blending is in harmony with the Scriptural assertion of the immutability of God's word and of the power of human word to shape temporal reality. Likewise, the simultaneous desire for individual and collective identity is a reflection of the Biblical idea of community as a body of many members, made possible by the Eternal Reality breaking through to bring harmony between the individual and the society without effacing the individual or dismantling the society.

The goal of encouraging individuality and of fostering national identity can be usefully served by creative and non-creative national literatures. The treasury of Russian and Ukrainian literary classics, so beloved and esteemed, embodies the historical eastern-Slavic identity, while recent literary works help articulate its contemporary meaning. The essential characteristics of Russian and Ukrainian national identities can be highlighted further through a comparative study of literature of other nationalities, while demonstrating the value of other national identities. Literature that would encourage the students to value and embrace their nationality also can be employed to demonstrate the variety and richness of individuality possible in context of national identity—the teacher, for instance, can underscore the individuality of the author and the characters to encourage the same quality in the students. Writing also can be effectively employed to

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this end, its effectiveness facilitated by a tension maintained between process- and product-oriented instruction. While adhering to the standards of academic discourse, the teacher and the students can rest in the understanding that they are engaged in a continuous pursuit of learning.

Discarding the shortcut of propagandizing, the teacher's honest persuasion, proceeding from moral wholeness, will be required for the successful shaping of individuality and nationality in students. Without such ethics, the teacher's efforts will fall short. Hopefully, the emphasis on ethical persuasion in contemporary rhetorical theory will foster such values in teachers.

Further study of eastern-Slavic rhetorical theory and practice can help to construct a more comprehensive picture of the discipline. Perhaps a study that would include teacher and student surveys as well as an examination of student writing would deepen the understanding of eastern-Slavic rhetoric pedagogy. In like manner, consideration of the speech genres in which the students are instructed may reveal certain emphases made in rhetoric pedagogy that would help characterize it in greater detail. Because the countries' political and economic standing is still uncertain, rhetoric's future in Russia and Ukraine is difficult to predict. Yet its philosophical foundation confirms rhetoric's potential to be established as an independent discipline with well-developed theoretical and practical elements and serve the essentially human endeavor of meaning making and persuasion.

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