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Bakalářská práce

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Charismatic Leadership Rhetoric: The Case of Nursultan Nazarbayev (Comparative Discourse Analysis of Strategy-2030 and Strategy-2050)

Rétorika charismatického vůdcovství: Příklad Nursultana Nazarbajeva (komparativní diskurzivní analýza Strategie-2030 a Strategie-2050)

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Declaration:

I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis independently, using the listed literature and resources only. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.

Prague, December 25, 2021

Prohlášení:

Prohlašuji, že jsem bakalářskou práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Praze, dne 25. prosince 2021

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Abstract (in English):

This thesis deals with the charismatic leadership rhetoric. The work will analyze the rhetoric of the former president of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev based on comparative discourse analysis of Strategy-2030 and Strategy-2050. The author will examine how the concept of charismatic leadership is realized in Nursultan Nazarbayev's rhetoric. The theoretical part of the thesis presents the definition of a charismatic leader, the role of the rhetoric as well as the historical and political background of Kazakhstan and the former president. The analytical part of the work analyzes selected texts and the concept of charismatic leadership in Nazarbayev's discourse.

Abstrakt (česky):

Tato Bakalářská práce se zabývá rétorikou charismatického vůdcovství. Práce bude analyzovat rétoriku bývalého prezidenta Republiky Kazachstán Nursultana Nazarbayeva na základě komparativní diskurzivní analýzy dokumentů Strategie-2030 a Strategie-2050. Autorka bude zkoumat, jak se pojem charismatického vůdcovství uskutečňuje v rétorice Nursultana Nazarbayeva. Teoretická část práce uvádí definici charismatického vůdce, úlohu rétoriky a také historické a politické pozadí Kazachstána a bývalého prezidenta. Analytická část práce rozebírá vybrané texty a pojem charismatického vůdcovství v diskurzu Nazarbayeva.

Key words (in English): *political discourse, charismatic leadership, authoritarian regime, discourse analysis, rhetorical strategies, Kazakhstan, Nazarbayev*

Klíčová slova (česky): *politický diskurz, charismatické vůdcovství, autoritářský režim, diskurzivní analýza, rétorické strategie, Kazachstán, Nazarbayev*

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Introduction

The bachelor's thesis is going to study the rhetoric of the former president of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev using his annual addresses to the people of Kazakhstan from 1997 and 2012. He presented programmes named Strategy-2030 and Strategy-2050 in these addresses. Nursultan Nazarbayev has ruled the country from the first day of its independence and he has certainly imprinted in the history of Kazakhstan as a leader. The work would like to examine how the concept of charismatic leadership is realized in his presidential rhetoric. It will compare both addresses using discourse analysis. In conclusion, the bachelor's thesis is aiming to answer a research question which is: how did the concept of charismatic leadership discursively transform from Strategy-2030 to Strategy-2050?

Strategy-2030 was introduced in 1997, at the beginning of independence. Nursultan Nazarbayev as the president of the country presented his own vision about the future of the newly independent Kazakhstan. Next in 2012, the president announced a new development programme for the country that is Strategy-2050. Yet this is another strategic plan made by the head of state, the presidential rhetoric differs in the current text. The address from 2012 shows the ex-president's pragmatic self-representation, whereas the 1997 presidential address is more idealistic and has a form of literary work. These two texts serve ideally for analyzing the dynamics of the concept of the charismatic leadership of the former president of Kazakhstan. The thesis is based on a hypothesis that the concept of charismatic leadership in Strategy-2030 and in Strategy-2050 respectively is discursively constructed by Nazarbayev through different means and that the concept is capable of changing over time.

The bachelor's thesis will be divided into three parts: introduction to the concept of charismatic leadership, background, and analysis. The work, firstly, intends to describe what does the term 'charismatic leader' means. The second part of the thesis will discuss Kazakhstan, its political situation, and former president Nursultan Nazarbayev for a better understanding of the topic. Finally, in the analytical part, the work will touch upon the methodology and continue with a detailed analysis of Nursultan Nazarbayev's rhetoric and the concept of charismatic leadership in his discourse.

1. The concept of charismatic leadership

Before we start a discourse analysis of Strategies-2030 and 2050 we should first learn what the term 'charismatic leader' means. This theoretical part of the thesis is aiming to define the traits we are going to look for when examining the concept of charismatic leadership in Nursultan Nazarbayev's rhetoric?

Oxford Dictionary defines the word 'charisma' as *the powerful personal quality that some people have to attract and impress other people*. The word 'leader' means a person who leads a group of people or a country (Oxford Learner's Dictionaries).

Max Weber in his well-known work *Economy and Society* defined a charismatic leader as someone with extraordinary qualities. Such a leader has personal qualifications and abilities which make him seem capable of doing heroic or 'miracle' acts. In fact, Weber often writes about the need of performing 'miracles' for a leader and about 'a magical charisma'. All of this entails a personal devotion from his followers. They believe that the leader is chosen and belongs to God's grace. In turn, a charismatic leader needs recognition from his followers which he can get in case he is successful enough or at least seems to be successful.

A charismatic political leader, as Weber puts it, rejects everyday interests or routine, also money and economy. The reason for this is that a leader considers politics as his given task, in other words as a vocation. This takes us to Weber's second famous work 'Politics as a Vocation' where he points out that a charismatic leader does not 'live from' politics but 'lives for' politics. Another inherent trait of the charismatic leader is the moment when he appears. Such leaders appear during distress and revolutionary times in society and tend to lose their power because of material interests (Adair-Toteff, 2005).

According to aforesaid, we can say that Nursultan Nazarbayev partly fits Weber's charismatic leadership definition. He became the president of the newly emerged country during the economic crisis and the chaos caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union. The former president is associated with the development of modern Kazakhstan from scratch.

At this point, the work needs to explain why rhetoric was chosen as a base for analysis of the concept of charismatic leadership.

2. The importance of rhetoric

This part of the thesis is going to clarify why rhetoric matters, what it represents, and what kind of rhetoric Nursultan Nazarbayev uses. Aristotle described rhetoric as the ability to see what is persuasive. In other words, rhetoric is a tool for persuasion. He divided rhetoric into three categories of persuasion, that is, ethos, logos, and pathos. Ethos is a type of means of persuasion which is based on the reputation of the speaker. The public is more likely to be persuaded if the speaker has a good reputation and credibility (Rapp, 2002). Isocrates, for instance, considers ethos as the main tool for persuasion (Benoit, 1990). Unlike Aristotle for whom logos play a crucial role in rhetoric. A speaker who relies on this technique of persuasion uses logic or reason to support his point. Lastly, pathos is based on the emotional appeal of the audience. A speaker can appeal to the audience's emotions, such as anger, pity, and so on in order to convince them a certain way (Rapp, 2002).

Nursultan Nazarbayev's rhetoric consists almost of all three types of techniques for persuasion. He has a reputation (ethos) of a long-experienced politician who has been at the centre of Soviet politics, therefore, making him credible. In Strategy-2050 you may find facts and numbers that Nazarbayev uses as an argument (logos) to support the successful implementation of Strategy-2030. Finally, pathos is also used by Nazarbayev in his addresses. He generally appeals to emotions like worry and hope about the upcoming future.

Now let's answer the following question: why does rhetoric matter in Nursultan Nazarbayev's case? Leroy Dorsey in his book named 'The Presidency and Rhetorical Leadership' (2008) concludes that leadership and rhetoric are intertwined with each other. A successful leader, in order to align the public around himself/herself, must be able to make an appropriate and reasonable message. One thing is important in rhetorical leadership and that is prudence. It is about a quality of a leader that includes ethics, appropriateness, right timing, and momentum.

According to the mentioned book, annual presidential messages is ceremonial occasion where presidents may strategically enhance their political positions while exercising the so-called rhetorical leadership (ibid.). The President of Kazakhstan addresses the people every year defining new courses of internal and external politics of the country (Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 1995). Annual addresses of the president set the new trends and it is the only mechanism through which the president can appeal to the people and propagate his ideas. Therefore it makes it important to rely on presidential addresses for examining the concept of charismatic leadership.

3. Historical and political background of Kazakhstan

In this chapter, the work shall describe a little bit about the origins of Kazakhstan, the features of its political regime, and what kind of a role the former president has in the modern history of the country. This part of the bachelor's thesis aims to give both historical and political background about Kazakhstan.

3.1. Historical background

The history of the formation of Kazakhstan includes three major topics: Kazakh Khanate, the colony of the Russian Empire, and the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. In this subchapter, I would like to briefly talk about the main periods in the history of Kazakhstan.

Kazakh Khanate was the first serious attempt to build a unified Kazakh state. It was founded in the mid-fifteenth century by the two brothers Kerei and Zhanibek when they decided to break free from the khan of the Uzbeks Abulkhair. As Martha Olcott (1995) observed, the Khanate was a political union consisting mainly of Turkish-speaking nomadic tribes. Kazakhs led a nomadic lifestyle and were engaged in stock raising.

Kazakh Khanate was divided into three separate hordes: *Kishi Zhuz* (Small hundred), *Orta Zhuz* (Middle Hundred), *Ulu Zhuz* (Great Hundred). *Zhuz* was a union of tribes that had no common ancestry and served for military and political purposes for Kazakhs who did not have a central authority. Each of the hordes had its own territory, its own ruler and every horde was able to make arrangements with foreign countries. Despite this fact, Kazakh people were still the same nation both culturally and economically (ibid.).

Unification with Russian Empire started in the eighteenth century. In 1731 the Small Horde joined a Russian Empire by taking citizenship (*poddanstvo*). The next horde to join Russian Empire was the Middle Horde. In the 1860s the territory of the Great Horde was conquered from the Kokand Khanate by the Russian Empire (ibid.).

Kazakh Khanate was a politically and militarily weak state, focusing mainly on stock raising. Due to that Kazakh steppe was constantly attacked by neighbouring khanates, especially by Jungars attempting to conquer it and Russian Empire was able to protect the Kazakhs (ibid.).

After the unification with the Russian Empire Kazakhs had to deal with the shortage of land. They lost the majority of their pasturelands which resulted in a decrease in their livestock number. In 1867 and 1868 all the land that once belonged to the Kazakhs was declared Russian state property. This led to some forces of resistance among the Kazakh people. Sirim Batir from

the Small Horde was known for leading the revolts against khans and Russia's colonial policy. He blamed khan's institution for its incompetence due to which Kazakhs had to join the empire. Another important opposition leader was Kenesary Qasimov from the Middle Horde, Khan Ablai's grandson, and first Kazakh nationalist. For more than ten years Kenesary and his supporters were fighting for Kazakh Khanate's independence from Russia. He believed he could unite the Kazakhs under one rule. Kazakhs from the Small Horde also took part in the Pugachev peasant uprising of Yaitsk cossacks. The main reason for Kazakhs to join the revolt was again a dissatisfaction with the land distribution and economic crisis resulting from it (ibid.).

According to Olcott (1995), Kazakhs did not support the transformation from tsarism to communist rule right away. Although the 1917 February Revolution gave the nation hope about political and cultural autonomy within the new democratic, federative and parliamentary Russia. There were several political groups and societies of young Kazakh intellectuals in the empire that were helping to spread political awareness among the people. But there was one distinctive Kazakh nationalist political movement, *Alash*, that was fighting for the liberation of Kazakhs. Alash declared the creation of Alash Orda Autonomy at the second Kirgiz (Kazakh) congress held in Orenburg in 1917. Alash Orda filled the political vacuum in Kazakh steppes created due to political transition in the Russian Empire. The battle between the White Forces and Bolsheviks caused instability and uncertainty among the society. In order to defend Kazakh autonomy, they decided to support the White Forces against the Red Troops. Later with the defeat of the White Army, Alash Orda government gained amnesty from the Bolsheviks and in 1920 Kazakh Autonomous Socialist Soviet republic was finally formed (ibid.).

Kazakhs had terrifying economic and social consequences of the First World War and Civil War. They experienced land shortage, crop shortage, and livestock drops. All of the mentioned caused famine in the winter of 1920 when approximately over a million of the population died of hunger. The second famine took place during Josef Stalin's rule ten years later (ibid.). Martha Olcott (2011) argues that the Soviet's collectivization policy was made to change the traditional nomadic way of life to sedentary and to end the traditional economy of Kazakhs. This part of history took approximately 2 million people's lives away which equals to half of the Kazakh population in the 1930s (Ohayon, 2013). Kazakh intellectuals were slandered and prisoned, killed, or sent to labour camps during Stalinist political repressions. Among them, there were members of the Alash political movement and other public figures (Boteu, 2019).

The Soviet Union undoubtedly was the main winner in the Second World War (Tharoor, 2015) but it had disastrous economic consequences at home. Drought and a bad harvest season caused

another famine in the country between 1946-1948 in which, mostly, people with no eligibility to food died of starvation i.e. rural citizens (Ellman, 2000). Therefore in order to reboot the Union's economy, leader of the Soviet Union Nikita Khrushchev presented a programme named The Virgin Lands Policy. It was an agricultural campaign created to increase grain production and to improve livestock breeding in the USSR especially in Kazakhstan, the Urals, Siberia, some parts of the North Caucasus, and the Volga region (Olcott, 1995). This programme mostly brought Russian settlers to Kazakh lands increasing the population growth of Kazakhstan by almost a quarter (Mihailov, 2018). As a result of The Virgin Lands, Kazakhstan became more active and integrated into the Soviet Union's economy exporting meat, milk, eggs, and cereal crops (Olcott, 1995).

3.2. Political background

Today the Republic of Kazakhstan is a unitary and secular state situated in the middle of Central Asia. Nur-Sultan (former Astana) is the capital of the country. It's the ninth biggest country in the world with no access to an open sea. Kazakhstan is a presidential republic. The President decides most of the internal and external affairs of the country. The president of the country is directly elected for two five-year terms. Kazakhstan's legislative branch consists of Mazhilis (lower house) and Senate (upper house). Kazakh is an official language of the country as well as Russian (Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 1995). Kazakhstan gained its independence on the 16th of December in 1991 after the Soviet Union collapsed.

Kazakhstan is not a democratic country. Freedom House rates Kazakhstan as a Consolidated Authoritarian Regime with only 5.36% of the level of democracy (Freedom House, 2020). The President of the republic has very strong executive powers. Nursultan Nazarbayev during his ruling has consolidated exclusive rights after himself. Among many of them is a right to declare a state of emergency, appoint government and leaders of regions and initiate referendums. Laying the foundation for a president-dominated system began in 1993 when the first constitution that included some referrals to democracy was announced. This constitution limited the president's powers and established a parliamentary republic. Despite this, president Nazarbayev was not amused and caused a political crisis. Two elected parliaments were dissolved in 1993 and later in 1995 being announced illegal. With the help of the 1995 referendum, Nazarbayev extended his term until 2000 and adopted a new constitution that is still valid today and strengthened his powers (Mihir, 2020).

According to Hale (2015), Kazakhstan has a patronalistic presidential system with a highly popular president. Nazarbayev's charisma and successful economic growth of the country won him popularity. The former president, as Hale puts it, has no lame-duck syndrome securing his power on a constitutional level. Nursultan Nazarbayev as the First President of Kazakhstan has the life-term powers (The Constitutional Law On the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2000). In 2007 he was given the title 'Leader of the Nation' or 'Elbasy'¹ which gives him a life-term right to veto all policy initiatives and protect him and his family members from possible future investigations and prosecutions (Hale, 2015).

¹ Elbasy - from Kazakh meaning head of the nation or the people. (The author's own translation).

Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev was born in Chemolgan, a village near the city of Almaty to a family of herders on July 6th of 1940. Young Nursultan graduated from Kaskelen high school and his professional journey started in Dneprodzerzhinsk, Ukraine during training courses for future steelmakers. As Aitken states (2009), young Nazarbayev soon became a leader among the other young Kazakhs thanks to his speaking and initiative skills and knowledge of the Russian language. Among the colleagues from Temirtau metallurgical plant, Nazarbayev was known for being persistent, ambitious, and having great organizational abilities. He successfully continued climbing a professional ladder and as Aitken argues it was possible thanks to his personal traits such as communication skills, perseverance, boldness, and personal ambition.

Now the work shall briefly discuss the nature of Nursultan Nazarbayev's regime in Kazakhstan. Nursultan Nazarbayev became the president of Kazakhstan on the 22 of April 1990 and resigned on the 19 of March 2019 ruling Kazakhstan for twenty-nine years (Britannica). The patronalistic regime of Nursultan Nazarbayev is built around his family members and also his associates and there is a lot of evidence for this (Bohr et al., 2019; Olcott, 2009). Fisun (2007) categorizes Kazakhstan into sultanistic regimes since the head of state controls both political and business areas through semi-traditional and modern incentives and rewards.

Kazakhstan has a monocentric regime with a dominating leader which uses both formal (president Nazarbayev's exclusive legal rights) and informal (popularity among the electorate) institutions. The republic officially has a multi-party system and a plurality yet in reality the decisions are made by the president and the ruling elite without taking people and their opinions into consideration. The pro-president party 'Nur Otan' has the majority of the seats in the parliament and despite the fact that parliament of the country has other parties in it there is no real opposition. Kazakhstan is a constitutional state and formally has democratic procedures such as regular elections and democratic institutions. But all of this is just an imitation of democracy. The distinctive feature of Nazarbayev's regime is the dominance of clanistic structure which is connected with the Zhuz division. Such structure keeps the ruling system working by recruiting family members or members of other clans (zhuz) (Shkel', 2009).

Nursultan Nazarbayev's cult of personality is another specificity of his regime. The already mentioned title 'Leader of the Nation' or 'Elbasy' confirmed the existence of the cult on a constitutional level. Evidence of the former president's cult of personality is spread all over Kazakhstan, starting from streets renamed after Nursultan Nazarbayev to the capital city (to read more about it see Joanna Lillis, 2012). Sign of cult of personality is also found in the former president's neo-Eurasianist rhetoric (Anceschi, 2014). It is an idea that later became

‘... which prompted me to advance and to further develop the idea of Eurasianism, which has, I am sure, a bright strategic future.’

(Strategy-2030)

‘... Kazakhstan should become a bridge for dialogue and interaction between East and West.’

(Strategy-2050)

The idea implies an integration² process between the countries that belong to the region. Eurasian Union is, for instance, a project that was created based on the Eurasianism idea. It has been propagated by Nursultan Nazarbayev (Mostafa, 2013).

‘Our next aim is to create a Eurasian Economic Union...’

(Strategy-2030)

Aneschi (2014) argues that Nazarbayev using neo-Eurasianist rhetoric has constructed a country’s identity and also leveled up his own cult of personality. Eurasian idea is also accentuated in both strategies by Nursultan Nazarbayev.

‘... our geographical position on the very crossroads in the Eurasian region.’

‘Establishing peace and good-neighbourly relations of confidence on the whole of the Eurasian continent ... ‘

‘The Kazakhstan of theirs, being the centre of Eurasia, would play the part of a connecting link between the three rapidly growing regions - China, Russia and the Moslem world.’

(Strategy-2030)

‘... a unique Eurasian model of intercultural dialogue.’

‘Our country must become the most attractive place in Eurasia... ‘

‘... including our participation in Eurasian Economic Space... ‘

(Strategy-2050)

² Integration - the action or process of successfully joining or mixing with a different group of people.
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/integration>

The regime has many times approved its interest in cooperation and integration with Europe and Asia. Going through the president's rhetoric we shall see that Nazarbayev mentions the Soviet Union and post-soviet era, China as a 'great neighbour', Asian Tigers: Singapore and Malaysia, 'friendly' Russia, West European countries, and the USA as one of the investors and Moslem world (Strategy-2030).

Nazarbayev when talking about the past almost does not mention Kazakh khanate and early history of Kazakhs mostly accentuating the Soviet part of the country's history. When talking about establishing modern Kazakhstan in his first strategy, Nazarbayev proceeds from the Soviet past. In Strategy-2030 the 'Soviet' rhetoric is mentioned multiple times, 8 times to be exact and the word 'communist' is used 5 times.

'For over 70 years Communist regime failed to form a united Soviet people.'

(Strategy-2030)

In Strategy-2050 Nazarbayev remembers the 'post-Soviet chaos' from 1997 and points at the fact that Kazakhstan is the only 'post-Soviet' country that chaired the OSCE and will now host EXPO-2017. 'Post-soviet' rhetoric is only found two times in the 2050-Strategy.

On the other hand, in this strategy, Nazarbayev recalls Kazakh ancestors more than the Soviet Union. There are 5 mentions of it in total.

'Our ancestors used to say...'

(Strategy-2050)

Since this chapter is discussing the distinctive features of Nursultan Nazarbayev's regime, it can not miss the fact that Nazarbayev uses his rhetoric to legitimize his own rule. According to Omelicheva (2016), authoritarian regimes persist in Central Asia by using an effective authoritarian discourse of legitimation. Calling the president of Kazakhstan a prolific writer who has written books and articles, she points out a few discursive strategies found in Nursultan Nazarbayev's rhetoric. One of them is a comparison between the harsh times of the 90s and modern times. The author cites the 2012 address where Nazarbayev states that since the mid-1990s earnings of citizens of Kazakhstan grew 16 times. Kazakhstan's membership in different international organizations, its world ranking, and Kazakhstan's economic recognition around the world all of this is emphasized by Nazarbayev in his legitimation discourse. The next discursive strategy is the former president's programmes, such as 'Strategy-2050', 'Kazakhstan,

one of the world's 50 most competitive nations' which represents him and his cabinet as competent and forward-looking. He also mentions the topic of democracy which he describes as not only freedom for political opposition but also socio-economic development. Speaking of economic development. Kazakhstan's economy saw a rise thanks to the vast natural resources the country has. The economic prosperity that has resulted from exploiting mineral resources has been used by Nazarbayev to legitimize his authoritarian rule. 'Economy first, then politics' is often repeated by Nazarbayev himself (for example, this formula is present in Strategy-2050) and his supporters (Isaacs, 2011). National unity, according to Omelicheva (2016) is another discursive strategy that Nazarbayev uses in his legitimation discourse. The former president earned himself additional credibility by pointing out the importance of unity in a multi-confessional and multi-ethnic country such as Kazakhstan. An Assembly of the People is, for instance, a project propagated by Nursultan Nazarbayev.

'The Kazakhstan's People's Assembly has become a unique Eurasian model of intercultural dialogue.'

(Strategy-2050)

According to the statistics, Kazakhstanis consider Nursultan Nazarbayev a leader. 42.6% of the respondents call him a 'Leader of the Nation'. For 32% of people, Nazarbayev is the founder of the state while the rest 30% think of him as an international leader (IA-Centr, 2009)

Another survey showed what kind of merits the former president has. 50% of the country's residents are grateful to Nazarbayev 'for the peaceful sky over their heads'. Maintaining stability in the country and in the region, strengthening interethnic tolerance are the main merits of Nazarbayev's rule according to half of the respondents. 40% of citizens consider that Nazarbayev has built an independent Kazakhstan as well as included the country in one of the 50 developed countries of the world. The creation and development of the new capital - Nur-Sultan (Astana) was mentioned only by 10% of the respondents (Demoscope, 2019).

Independence, stability, and interethnic peace are the main merits which citizens of Kazakhstan attribute to Nazarbayev. These opinions are also supported by citizens during the elections in the country. As Bohr et al. (2019) report, Nursultan Nazarbayev was a popular candidate among the voters. Even in the case of fair and democratic elections, the ex-president would still outpace the opponents (Bohr et al., 2019).

The work would like to compare the election results after when each strategy was presented. In 1999 Nazarbayev won the presidential elections with 81% of the votes, losing 11.90% to his communist opponent Serikbolsyn Abdildin. In comparison with the 2015 elections where Nursultan Nazarbayev won 97,75% of the Kazakhstanis votes (ibid.). These kind of results might indicate that in the 90s Nazarbayev had some real opposition but despite that, he was able to win most of the electoral votes. Meanwhile, in the 2015 elections which were held during the economic crisis in the country, Nazarbayev was a guarantor of stabilizing the economy (Vaiskolf, 2016)

4. Analysis

In the last chapters, the paper gave a brief theoretical, historical and political background about the concept of charismatic leadership and Nursultan Nazarbayev's regime. Having done that we can finally move on to the analytical part of the work which should demonstrate how Nursultan Nazarbayev constructs his charismatic leadership in Strategy-2030 and Strategy-2050 through rhetoric? I, first of all, will begin by presenting the methodology used for the research and after that, the thesis is going to focus on the charismatic leadership discourse analysis itself.

4.1. Methodology

The method based on which the bachelor's thesis will examine the concept of charismatic leadership in the former Kazakhstani president's rhetoric is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The reason for choosing this approach is because CDA has a set of tools that helps to effectively analyze political texts and speeches by seeking ideological and power interests that might be present in them (Machin and Mayr, 2012). It views 'language as social practice' (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 1). That means CDA is not about a mere linguistic analysis but rather an approach that also includes a context of a language. The role of CDA is to examine social inequalities found in discourse (ibid).

Norman Fairclough (1995) argues that discourse analysis should be conducted including textual and sociocultural analysis. He has developed a three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis. According to him, there are three steps to discourse analysis: 'analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice.' (Fairclough, 1995:2) First step to discourse analysis is a text analysis (description) which examines, for example, rhetorical devices, vocabulary, and syntax. Next up is a discursive practice (interpretation) which refers to the production and consumption of texts. The last step of

the three-dimensional model is a social practice (explanation). It studies power relations and hegemonic features that might be present in the discourse (Fairclough, 1995, 1989; Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002).

The thesis will use Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to CDA as a methodology for discourse analysis.

4.2. Introduction to Strategy-2030 and Strategy-2050

Before the work will conduct a discourse analysis of Strategy-2030 and Strategy-2050, it shall first give an introduction to both documents.

Strategy-2030 was presented on October 10 in 1997 during president Nazarbayev's annual address to the nation. It is a long-term development programme that focuses mainly on the economic development of future Kazakhstan. After gaining independence in 1991 the country had the following goals set: national unity, social justice, economic prosperity for all the Kazakhstanis and political stability (Utegenova, 2011).

The 2030 Strategy was the first serious plan of action presented by the then president Nazarbayev to the country at the beginning of its independence. Therefore the work may describe the 1997 address as an appeal to the future full of hopes for independent and democratic Kazakhstan with ambitious plans and goals. To some extent, it may even be characterized as a poetic text.

'When we feel ourselves a part of the world and of the planet at large, we can't help feeling the nagging breath of the new epoch and new times drawing ever near.'

(Strategy-2030)

Strategy Kazakhstan-2050: new political course of the established state, on the other hand, is a more rational programme than the previous one. It was issued in 2012 also during the president's annual address. This strategy was presented after the global economic crisis in 2008, it accentuates pragmatism and profit rather than romanticism. Another noticeable trait of the current document is the dominance of praises of past success.

'This path was outlined in the "Kazakhstan 2030 Strategy". This strategy helped define our strategic goals and targets and provided a crucial breakthrough in our world outlook.'

'Today I'm honored to announce that we made the right decisions all those years ago.'

‘Since 1997 we have built 942 schools and 758 hospitals across the country.’

(Strategy-2050)

Nursultan Nazarbayev constructs the state identity on the basis of the notions of sovereignty and historical justice which he restored.

‘First, Kazakhstan became a sovereign independent state. Today many take the fact for granted but the Kazakhs must have remembered that it was a fairly rare occurrence in our history.’

‘For over 20 years our country has worked to strengthen its sovereignty and political influence - a goal which we have accomplished. The formation of our nation has been successfully completed.’

(Strategy-2030)

Kazakhstan, as Nazarbayev concludes in the 2050-Strategy, is an established state,

‘Our key achievement is that we have established an independent Kazakhstan.’

(Strategy-2050)

strong and successful state which was able to overcome challenges

‘That was fifteen years ago when the post-Soviet chaos has not been overcome [...] Kazakhstan faced a difficult period too.’

‘Established Kazakhstan - trial by crisis of our statehood...’

‘Today every single one of us can say: “the 2030 Strategy has succeeded, modern Kazakhstan is an established state”. This is a result of our unity, steady hard work and the true realization of our hopes and dreams.’

(Ibid.)

In the next passages, the thesis will do a textual analysis of the selected texts.

4.3. Lexical analysis

The analytical part will begin with a lexical analysis of both documents. It will focus on the word frequency which will show us the most repeated words found in addresses using the Voyant Tools application.

According to an analysis of Voyant Tools, the 1997 address has 18705 words in total from which the most common words are: state (108), country (74), Kazakhstan (69), world (61), development (54). The second address also consists of words such as Kazakhstan (134), state (120), country (80) as well as new (135), policy (74). This text includes 18668 words.

Words such as state, Kazakhstan and country are common for both texts. Strategy-2030 is a text in which Nazarbayev convinces the people of Kazakhstan to support his development programme and that is the reason the word development is used so frequently. Also since the address was published in the late 90's development of the country was the main topic then. Plus Kazakhstan after gaining independence from the Soviet Union became a new part of the world and Nazarbayev naturally could not ignore this fact. On the other hand, in Strategy-2050 one of the most often used words like new and policy represent the ex-president's new development programme for Kazakhstan.

An interesting point is that the word modernization is used only 2 times in the first strategy and 20 times in the Strategy-2050. This is explained by a shift in the 2050-Strategy towards pragmatism after the 2008 economic crisis. Word democracy is used almost the same amount of time in both texts with no decisive differences. It is about two and three times respectively. But the word economy, for instance, is used 40 times in Strategy-2030 and 33 times in the 2050-Strategy. This justifies Nursultan Nazarbayev's 'Economy first, then politics' policy once again.

Anaphora

In Nursultan Nazarbayev's rhetoric, the most commonly used anaphora is *We have*. It was used 53 times in total in Strategy-2050. Nazarbayev recapitulates Kazakhstan's success and enhances it by this anaphora.

'Our key achievement is that we have established an independent Kazakhstan. We have legally formalized our borders.'

'We have secured fundamental rights and liberties in our country's Constitution.'

'We have created equal opportunities for education.'

(Strategy-2050)

The next anaphora is *This* (2x) which is used to enhance the important role of Strategy-2030.

'This path was outlined in the "Kazakhstan 2030 Strategy". This strategy helped define our strategic goals and targets and provided a crucial breakthrough in our world outlook.'

(Strategy-2050)

Here Nazarbayev repetitively asks the audience about the kind of future they want for their children and grandchildren using *Will they* (6x) anaphora:

'Will they be well-off, well-fed, healthy and well-educated? Will they live in a prosperous and democratic society?'

(Strategy-2030)

Later during the address he answers the previously asked question using *They would* (6x) anaphora:

'They would be responsible and enthusiastic representatives of their generation, would be in the prime of their life. They would be well-educated and healthy.'

(Ibid.)

Nazarbayev, while answering these questions, performs as a father of the nation who thinks and cares about his children's future and knows what's best for them.

Another anaphora found in the text is *It would be* (2x) where Nazarbayev shares his vision about future Kazakhstan.

'It would be inhabited by representatives of numerous nationalities sure of equal opportunities enjoyed by all the nations but deeming themselves to be citizens of Kazakhstan, first and foremost. ... it would be a country that has covered a long way with flying colours and is now entering the future with firm confident steps.'

(Ibid.)

Anaphoras are used to emphasize the impact on the audience. In the case of Nursultan Nazarbayev, anaphoras in Strategy-2030 emphasize Nazarbayev's image of a father, a patron who cares about the children and grandchildren, and also his vision about the future of the country. Meanwhile in Strategy-2050 anaphoras are used to accentuate what the country achieved from the beginning of the 1990s, mainly from 1997 when the first-ever strategy was

out.

Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions tend to indicate the obvious. Nazarbayev uses this rhetorical device in order to support his arguments and to invoke certain emotions among the audience.

Strategy-2030 7 Strategy-2050 4

'But when was it easy?'

(Strategy-2030)

Nazarbayev is trying to justify the hard times that the country was having in 1997 indicating the obvious:

'Was it easy with our fathers and grandfathers all along this century, say, in the years of the Civil war, at times of famine and starvation, at those of mass repressions, in the years of the Great Patriotic war and in conditions of the post-war devastation?'

(ibid.)

and attempting to invoke compassion in the listeners.

'What prevents us from doing it today and tomorrow?'

(ibid.)

In this example, Nazarbayev invokes motivational emotions encouraging the audience to act together.

'Do they need to be wrapped in headscarves?'

(Strategy-2050)

In Strategy-2050 there are only four rhetorical questions and all of them are used in order to make the audience think about whether to follow foreign culture or not.

Metaphors in Strategy-2030

This part of the bachelor's thesis will analyze metaphors found in both presidential addresses. The work studied the frequency of metaphors found in Nursultan Nazarbayev's rhetoric in Strategy-2030 and created a table:

Aphorisms	24
Trial	50
New beginning	34
Children	21
Building	20
Journey	12
Animal	7
Time is money	6
Tomorrow	4
Yesterday	2
Family	1
A building	1

Strategy-2030 begins with a slogan:

*‘PROSPERITY, SECURITY
AND EVER GROWING WELFARE*

OF ALL THE KAZAKHSTANIS'

This is an orientational aphorism that sets the theme and represents the key words of the future that is projected by Nursultan Nazarbayev.

The 1997 address consists of plenty of folk proverbs, wisdom words and quotes of famous poets, philosophers and other famous people. In total there are 24 of such metaphors in Strategy-2030. An interesting fact is that the authors of these metaphors are Kazakh, European, Oriental and even American.

WE ARE IN FOR A NEW CENTURY,

NEW TIMES ARE COMING...

Virgil

NOTHING IS MORE REMOTE AS YESTERDAY,

NOTHING IS MORE CLOSE THAN TOMORROW

Kazakh folk proverb

GIVE SOME THOUGHT TO WHAT LIES AHEAD

AND CHOOSING A GOOD AIM PURSUE IT TO THE END

Firdusi

THERE OCCURS A MOMENT OF HIGH TIDE IN A MAN'S LIFE

WHICH BRINGS LUCK IF ONE AVAILS OF IT.

BUT IF ONE MISSES IT, HE WILL HAPPEN TO FOLLOW

A WAY OF SHALLOW WATERS AND DISASTER.

Shakespeare

ONE TODAY IS WORTH TWO TOMORROWS

Franklin

(Strategy-2030)

By quoting proverbs, wisdom words president Nazarbayev sends an image of a wise and authoritative leader.

Animal metaphor

This next metaphor is worth separate attention because of its unusualness. Nazarbayev uses a strong animal metaphor in his address comparing Kazakhstan to a Central-Asian or Kazakhstani Snow Leopard that is KAZAKHSTAN IS A SNOW LEOPARD. The original idea for this is derived from the so-called Asian Tigers. Those are the countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, and Korea. As a matter of fact, Nazarbayev mentions Singapore at least 4 times in Strategy-2030 when he talks about its successful journey from being one of the poorest Asian countries which were able to increase its living standards in a very short amount of time. Asian countries like this are great examples of quick economic development that Nursultan Nazarbayev considers as an example and as a path that needs to be followed by Kazakhstan.

There are three total paragraphs about the Snow Leopard and one mentioned in conclusion. Nazarbayev presents his vision of Kazakhstan in 2030 using this metaphor:

'I, for my part, am sure that by the year of 2030 Kazakhstan would have become a Central-Asian Snow Leopard and would serve a fine example to be followed by other developing countries. Tigers are not found in Kazakhstan while the Snow Leopard inhabiting our mountains is but a stranger in the world community. Though a relation to the Tiger in the animal kingdom, Snow Leopard bears some substantial distinctions therefrom. It will be virtually a Kazakhstani Snow Leopard with inherent elitarianism, sense of independence, intelligence, courage and nobleness, bravery and cunning. It will never be the first to attack anyone, ever prone to avoiding direct clashes.'

Here you can see how Nazarbayev imagines future of Kazakhstan: independent, civilized, strong and neutral towards conflicts.

'However, any time when his freedom, habitation or descendants come to be threatened, the animal would defend them with all its might. The animal must be wiry and springy, it must not suffer from obesity and laziness for otherwise it would hardly survive in severe environment. He will be persistent and stubborn in mastering ever new peaks, in its indefatigable search for secret but sure paths that lead to the goal. He will neither be frightened by severe cold of threats nor made soft in intolerable heat of opportunities. He will exercise fine wisdom in bringing up its descendants: he would protect them against unwelcome visitor, he would share most tasty

morrels with them attending to their health, education and world outlook thus preparing them for an early life of their own in conditions of ruthless competition in any environment. He would keep vigilant watch so that the water he drinks be pure and the environment he inhabits and the air he breathes be clear and healthy.'

Nursultan Nazarbayev portrays future Kazakhstan using the Snow Leopard metaphor. He also describes citizens of Kazakhstan, more precisely, the qualities they should and should not obtain.

'Kazakhstani Snow Leopard would also possess western elegance multiplied by the advanced level of development, oriental wisdom and endurance. He will be all at one in his strivings, victories and failures with his brothers brought up by a single mother, i. e. by Uzbek, Kyrgyz and other Central Asian Snow Leopards. He will be ever proud of their progress and achievements.'

Kazakhstan should contain both western and eastern cultures while cooperating with other brother-countries of Central Asia.

Children metaphor

When Nazarbayev talks about the future he relies on the FUTURE IS CHILDREN metaphor only. Strategy-2030 begins with this metaphor and ends with it too. He shows how much he cares and worries about the future generation, their children and grandchildren, their well-being, their education, health, their safety, and so on. Just the same way a parent, a father would care about his family which is in Nazarbayev's case Kazakhstan stands for a big family and his role is to be a father, a leader of this family.

'Time has come to say once and for all what future we want to build for us and for our children.'

'What will our children and grandchildren be - the way we want to see them in that remote future - when they are our age? Will they be well-off, well-fed, healthy and well-educated? Will they live in a prosperous and democratic society?...'

'Our children and children of our children would live a full value life in healthy conditions.'

Family metaphor

Nazarbayev represents Kazakhstan as one family.

'... we have to do much for us to feel a single family'

Building metaphor

In Strategy-2030 rhetoric, the former president also uses building metaphors. Newly independent Kazakhstan is being built and Nazarbayev is the person who is leading this construction.

'We must have a clear-cut knowledge and understanding of what we mean to construct...'

'It is not enough to build a foundation-it must be substantiated with floors, walls, roof and all.'

'First, we've laid the foundation of our independent sovereign state.'

Journey metaphor

The president's discourse consists of the DEVELOPMENT IS JOURNEY metaphor. Kazakhstan is on a developmental journey to the future Kazakhstan of 2030. Here are some of the examples of this metaphor:

'... what should be the trajectory, the highway of our development'...

'... we shall dispense with unnecessary off-tracking...'

'... blocking our way.'

'Once some man of wisdom remarked that if one doesn't know his way, he may reach the goal following any path.'

Metaphor of a building

Nazarbayev uses the metaphor of a building to describe what is needed to achieve independence and welfare. He compares it with a building that could be opened with the key, that is people and their traits.

'All this is but to emphasize the fact that actually paramount factors are people themselves, their willpower, energy, persistence and knowledge. In fact, it is the very "key of gold" that would enable us open the door to welfare and independence.'

Trial metaphor

Nursultan Nazarbayev draws parallels between Kazakhstan's future in 2030 and a trial that the people of the country must pass.

'... the mission of our state...'

‘... accomplishing our mission.’

‘... it is quite clear that we have withstood the first trial...’

‘... if the country fails to survive...’

‘... to ensure our gaming the objectives we've set. ‘

‘... for settling this task common to all.’

‘We are sure to fail implementation of goals we set if inflation in the country exceeds the critical level...’

Metaphor of a new beginning

There is a new chapter for Kazakhstan and Nazarbayev uses the metaphor of a new beginning for describing it.

‘... in the new millenium,’

‘... new epoch and new times...’

‘... a new state, a new market economy and a new democracy...’

Metaphor of the past

President Nazarbayev talks about the past using the yesterday metaphor. He uses it to explain the reason why Kazakhstan did not get its independence earlier in the meantime accentuating that now it's the right time.

‘... it was too early yesterday...’

‘... we were not ready for this yesterday...’

Metaphor of the future

Nazarbayev also has the future metaphor in his discourse. This metaphor helps him to emphasize the idea of the close future which might not be so good unless everyone will work together on the Strategy he proposes. He warns the audience before it gets too late.

‘... but it might be too late tomorrow.’

Time is money metaphor

As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue, time is considered to be a valuable commodity. In Nazarbayev's case, TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE.

'... we cannot afford putting off solution of this task for tomorrow, we can't afford waiting for the completion of our reforms.'

'...settle them without wasting their time...'

Metaphors in Strategy-2050

After the work has looked at the metaphors used in Strategy-2030, it is time to finally analyze metaphors from Strategy-2050 and after which the paper will compare the metaphors from both texts.

Crisis metaphor	4
More is up	57
Less is down	10
Challenge metaphor	10
Building metaphor	15
Success is a journey	2
Resistance metaphor	3
Beacon metaphor	1
Aphorisms	4
Bridge metaphor	2
Computer metaphor	2
Milestone is money	1
Military metaphor	1

Crisis metaphor

The current metaphor is used by Nazarbayev to describe a crisis in which Kazakhstan was due to the global economic crisis and which the country exited successfully.

'... face an unprecedented global financial and economic crisis...'

'...trial by crisis of our statehood...'

'The crisis has not destroyed our achievements, but has made us stronger.'

More is up

The next two metaphors are orientational metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). They are named so because these metaphors have spatial orientations. During the analysis the work has found two of such metaphors: MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN. The MORE IS UP metaphor is used here to note Kazakhstan's achievements.

'...the incomes of our citizens have grown 16 fold...'

'...Kazakhstan's GDP increased 16 fold.'

Less is down

Nazarbayev does not use this metaphor as often as the previous one nevertheless the LESS IS DOWN shows some of the world's and country's rates that are orientated down.

'Low birth rates...'

'We have the lowest unemployment rate...'

Challenge metaphor

In the current case, the former president Nazarbayev speaks about challenges and about overcoming them.

'As we faced these challenges...'

'Today humankind faces new global challenges.'

'...allowing to adequately react to the modern challenges...'

'...overcome the contemporary challenges we all face...'

Building metaphor

Building metaphor is not new in Nazarbayev's discourse. We saw it in the first strategy and it is found in the 2050-Strategy as well.

'...build a full grown state...'

'...to build up reserves...'

Success is a journey

Nazarbayev talks about the future success of Kazakhstan and this leads to the next metaphor found in his rhetoric: SUCCESS IS A JOURNEY. Kazakhstan is on its journey to gain even more success.

‘...that will lead us to success.’

‘...our path to success...’

Resistance metaphor

According to this metaphor, Kazakhstan has successfully resisted the economic crisis and challenges it had along the way in its development.

‘Kazakhstan has withstood. The crisis has not destroyed our achievements...’

Beacon metaphor

Beacon metaphor is used only once in Strategy-2050 and it’s used to describe the role of the 2030-Strategy. Nazarbayev compares Strategy from 1997 to a navigating beacon.

‘... our strategy served as a beacon to guide our way forward and keep us focused on our target.’

Aphorisms

Compared with the first strategy this strategy does not contain as many aphorisms as the first strategy, nonetheless, Nazarbayev still quotes proverbs underlining his wisdom.

‘...“the eyes may be frightened, but the hands are working”...’

Bridge metaphor

Bridge metaphor was found two times and both times were used to illustrate the integration of western and eastern countries, in other words, named a Eurasian concept. Nazarbayev, through this metaphor, tells us that Kazakhstan is a bridge between those two worlds supporting his Eurasianist idea.

‘... become the bridge for dialogue and interaction between East and West...’

Computer metaphor

Nazarbayev uses a computer metaphor to speak about the nation warning it before the breakage.

‘When does the bug happen in the computer program?’

Milestone is money

Money is a valuable commodity (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) and Kazakhstan’s milestones are compared to the MILESTONE IS MONEY metaphor.

‘We have paid a great price to achieve these milestones.’

Military metaphor

Nazarbayev prepares Kazakhstan and its people for the 2050 future using a military metaphor.

‘I call on all of our people to arm themselves with eternal qualities...’

To conclude this part of the thesis, Strategy-2030 has quantitatively more metaphors than the second strategy. The most frequent metaphor is a *Trial metaphor* which represents both the tasks from Strategy-2030 and the state sovereignty which was under question at the time. Metaphors in the first document make Nursultan Nazarbayev seem like a wise ruler, a father of the nation, a leader of the construction and an independent journey of the country and finally a president with a poetic soul. He presents his values and vision through different metaphors in the text imposing them to the audience.

Meanwhile, in Strategy-2050, Nazarbayev’s image has changed into a more rational ruler. Metaphors in the second document show Nazarbayev’s pragmatic side. Although he still quotes wise words but not as often as in Strategy-2030. Nazarbayev’s rhetoric includes numbers and statistics making him appear less poetic and more pragmatic. The most frequent metaphor here is the *More is up metaphor*. Such a metaphor concludes Kazakhstan’s achievements in numbers.

In Strategy-2050 Nazarbayev praises the nation claiming that the 2030-Strategy was successfully realized, the state-building is finally finished and that the 2008 economic crisis did not harm Kazakhstan’s economy. By doing this at the same time he accentuates his main role and own merits. This indicates a president’s pragmatic self-representation strategy (Nugayeva, 2010) as well as the way to seem to be successful. Therefore, making Nazarbayev partly fit the Weberian definition of a charismatic leader.

4.4. Usage of pronouns

Analyzing the usage of personal pronouns can help study the intentions of politicians (Alavidze, 2017). There is a difference in the use of pronouns between the two strategies. The thesis

analyzed and counted the frequency of personal nouns found in Nazarbayev’s discourse using Word Frequency Counter:

Personal pronouns	Strategy-2030	Strategy-2050
I	34	90
We	257	365
You	8	27
They	50	21

As you can see from the table above, in the 2050-Strategy the first singular pronoun ‘I’ is used more than in Strategy-2030. This pronoun shows the speaker’s authority, commitment, his or her involvement and personal responsibility. The ‘I’ pronoun helps to praise the politician, highlight his/her qualities and accomplishments in a positive way (Alavidze, 2017).

‘I appeal...’

‘I want to present to you a strategy which I am sure will help...’

‘ I believe... ‘

(Strategy-2030)

‘I present to you my vision...’

‘As I outlined our ambitious goals...’

‘... I will be on the side of our women.’

(Strategy-2050)

The pronoun ‘we’ on the other hand makes the audience engaged with the speaker. Both of the actors are involved in the act. ‘We’ is used by the politicians to share the responsibility with the audience also in case of controversial decisions, to make them feel collective (Alavidze, 2017). Nazarbayev uses this pronoun very often in Strategy-2050.

‘Our key achievement is that we have established an independent Kazakhstan.’

‘We have secured fundamental rights and liberties in our country’s Constitution.’

(Strategy-2050)

The next personal pronoun ‘you’ is used far less than other pronouns in Nazarbayev’s rhetoric. Politicians appeal whether to the entire audience or to some part of it using the pronoun ‘you’. This pronoun is a generic pronoun like the pronoun ‘we’ (Alavidze, 2017).

‘I appeal to you, the people of Kazakhstan,...’

(Strategy-2030)

‘You are a pillar of family...’

‘...I appeal to every one of you...’

(Strategy-2050)

The last pronoun analyzed in the strategies is ‘they’. This personal pronoun is used by the politicians to divide the audience between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Alavidze, 2017). Nursultan Nazarbayev uses ‘they’ to appeal to the skeptics of his vision

‘... they would think it a sheer Utopia...’

(Strategy-2030)

and to describe future citizens of Kazakhstan

‘They are citizens of the world. They travel. They are open to new knowledge. They are industrious. They are patriots of their country.’

(Strategy-2050).

The fact that there are more ‘I’ pronouns in Strategy-2050 shows Nursultan Nazarbayev’s positive self-representation strategy again. It helps him to put himself in a position of responsible politician who stands by his political programmes.

Meanwhile, in 2030-Strategy Nazarbayev uses the pronoun ‘they’ more often than in the second programme. He refers to skeptics of his strategy and also it’s used to name citizens of future Kazakhstan. Thereby dividing the audience between those who support his programme and those who do not.

4.5. Other rhetorical strategies

The previous chapters made a lexical analysis of Nursultan Nazarbayev’s discourse and additionally studied the use of some pronouns. The current chapter will focus on other rhetorical

strategies found during the analysis.

Colloquial language

When reading both strategies the first thing that any reader can notice is how Nazarbayev addresses the audience. According to Fairclough (in Machin and Mayr, 2012), speakers may use some lexical choices to demonstrate a co-membership with the audience. In Nazarbayev’s case, he addresses his audience using the next collocations: *Dear fellow-citizens; country-men* (Strategy-2030) and *Fellow citizens!* (Strategy-2050). This lexical choice, that is, colloquial or casual language influences the audience by giving them an impression that Nazarbayev is also a part of it.

Strategy-2030	Strategy-2050
3	6

Conversational genre

Another representational strategy found in the former president’s discourse is the conversational genre. Frequent use of pronouns such as ‘your’, ‘you’, and ‘I’ creates a sense of dialogue between equals. In Nazarbayev’s discourse, there are quite many personal pronouns that give the audience a sense of being equals with the president which is also a way to influence the listeners indicating a co-membership with them (ibid.).

Pronoun	Strategy-2030	Strategy-2050
Your	0	10
You	8	27
I	34	90

‘I appeal to you...’

‘I want to present to you a strategy...’

(Strategy-2030)

‘I rely on you, the new generation of Kazakhstan.’

‘I believe in you...’

(Strategy-2050)

Anonymisation

Anonymisation, as Machin and Mayr (2012) describe it, is used by speakers to avoid a detailed argument, it also helps them to avoid specification. In Nazarbayev’s case the thesis has found the following anonymisations in his rhetoric:

Anonymisation	Strategy-2030	Strategy-2050
Some people	2	0
Others	4	3
Many	18	8

‘Some people will consider...’

(Strategy-2030)

‘We’ve done things that many other countries achieved in 100 or 150 years.’

(Strategy-2050)

Use of honorifics

Another representational strategy that is found in the texts is the use of functional honorifics which makes the speaker or a politician sound authoritative and important (Machin and Mayr, 2012). Nazarbayev uses the term ‘Head of State’ and ‘Leader of the Nation’ to point out his degree of seniority.

Strategy-2030	Strategy-2050
2	3

‘As the Head of State I must say the following...’

(Strategy-2030)

‘As the Leader of Nation...’

(Strategy-2050)

Colloquial and conversational language mainly dominates in Strategy-2050 where Nazarbayev makes him and his audience seem like equals in order to influence them. Both of the texts have tools of self-representation. Nazarbayev speaks to the audience through using his titles.

Strategy-2030, on the other hand, has more anonymisations which Nazarbayev uses to refer to his skeptics and non-supporters of his programme, the same way he does when using the ‘they’ pronoun.

Nursultan Nazarbayev from 1997 draws lines between those who believe in his programme and those who do not, polarizing the nation. In Strategy-2050 he changes his approach and tries to speak a so-called casual language. Here the charismatic leader acts as the everyday man uniting the country.

On the basis of Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of CDA (1995), the paper came to the following conclusions. Textual analysis of Strategy-2030 and Strategy-2050 revealed anaphoras, rhetorical questions, and metaphors in the documents.

Analysis of discourse practices showed the existence of several discourses in Nursultan Nazarbayev’s rhetoric. First of all, there is a paternalistic discourse that was illustrated through metaphors found during the analysis. Strategy-2030 demonstrated the existence of romantic discourse. Also, Strategy-2050 revealed a pragmatic discourse. All of the mentioned discourses overlap and create a charismatic leader discourse, nation-building discourse, and the father of the nation discourse, the latter being common to both of the strategies.

Socio-political level discovered next. Kazakhstan is a post-Soviet autocracy with a paternalistic president who is also pragmatically oriented and willing to cooperate with the West countries. Nursultan Nazarbayev uses rhetoric to strengthen his authoritarianism and the title Elbasy. Discourse analysis discovered features of conservatism, traditionalism as well as modernism in the charismatic leadership rhetoric of Nursultan Nazarbayev.

Conclusion

The bachelor's thesis applied Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional model and has studied the rhetoric of the former president of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev. It used presidential annual addresses to the people of Kazakhstan from 1997 and 2012.

During these addresses, Nursultan Nazarbayev presented development programmes for the country: Strategy-2030 and Strategy-2050. He was the first president of independent Kazakhstan and ruled the country for almost three decades. Nazarbayev while ruling Kazakhstan obtained all the power and created a patronalistic regime around him. Being the first-ever president of the country, he became an authority and a leader. The thesis argued that Nursultan Nazarbayev constructed his image of a charismatic leader realizing it through rhetoric. The purpose of the work was to study how the concept of charismatic leadership is realized in the former president's discourse and how it transformed from Strategy-2030 to Strategy-2050?

The work has done a lexical analysis studying word frequency, rhetorical devices and ideologies of both documents. Text analysis showed that Nursultan Nazarbayev frequently talks about *state*, *country* and *Kazakhstan* in both strategies. In Strategy-2030 *development* and *world* are the words which he often uses. On the contrary, in the 2050-Strategy the most frequently used words are *new* and *policy* which exactly describe the purpose of this document including the word *modernization* which was found twenty times whereas in Strategy-2030 it was used only two times.

One of the distinctive features of Nazarbayev's regime is his 'Economy first, politics second' policy. During the text analysis, the paper has discovered that the word *economy* was used thirty to forty times in Strategy-2030 and 2050 whereas the word *democracy*, for instance, is only used two to three times. The foregoing confirms the existence of pragmatic discourse.

Next, the paper analyzed rhetorical devices and found anaphoras, rhetorical questions and metaphors. Anaphoras that were detected in Nazarbayev's rhetoric from Strategy-2030 showed how he uses them to emphasize his image of a patron of the country exercising the charismatic leader and paternalistic discourse. Strategy-2050, on the other hand, demonstrated that anaphoras were used in order to accentuate and summarise all the tasks that were achieved from Strategy-2030 which indicate a strategy of self-representation.

Rhetorical questions that were found during the lexical analysis indicate how Nazarbayev uses rhetorical questions to invoke certain emotions, to support his argument and to show the

obvious.

Metaphors are the biggest part of the discourse analysis in Nursultan Nazarbayev's case because there are plenty of them and there are few original ones. In addition, metaphors only proved the fact that the concept of charismatic leadership tends to change throughout time. The leader in the first strategy is poetic, wise, has his own vision, acts as a father of the nation and a builder of Kazakhstan. Exactly the mentioned indicated romantic, nation-building and father of the nation discourse. Oppositely, in Strategy-2050 Nazarbayev is more pragmatic and uses metaphors to highlight and praise past success related to Strategy-2030.

Discourse analysis of charismatic leadership rhetoric has also studied the usage of pronouns in the documents. Strategy-2030 showed how Nazarbayev often uses the 'they' pronoun as well as anonymisation strategies polarizing the country. In the second strategy, Nursultan Nazarbayev once more uses a self-representation strategy by using the 'I' pronoun which makes him sound responsible and initiative. Besides he also mentions his own titles in order to represent himself as an authoritative president.

The charismatic leader in the 2050-Strategy uses colloquial language and nouns such as 'you', 'your', 'I' to influence the audience giving them an impression of being equal thereby uniting Kazakhstan.

The paper has also made a count of all the figures of speech and rhetorical devices in the selected documents.

Figures of speech, rhetorical devices	Strategy-2030	Strategy-2050
Anaphora	14	55
Rhetorical question	7	4
Metaphor	182	110

As illustrated in the table, Strategy-2030 contains more metaphors than Strategy-2050 which proves that Nazarbayev was romantic and poetic in Strategy-2030. Anaphoras dominate in Strategy-2050 thanks to the *We have* anaphora which helps Nazarbayev to exceed his own feeling of confidence. For instance, the following snippet of text can demonstrate it: *we have maintained peace and stability in our country.* (Strategy-2050). From this, the work can conclude that Nazarbayev balances between appeal to emotions and pragmatism. As for rhetorical questions, there aren't many of them but there are plenty of questions that Nursultan

Nazarbayev asks and then answers himself.

The concept of charismatic leadership is based on the conclusion that Nursultan Nazarbayev partly fits the Weberian concept of charismatic leadership since he became the president of Kazakhstan during the economic and social chaos. Jonathan Aitken (2009) speaks about the former president's personal traits such as speaking skills and ambition which helped him to become the leader he is now. Next, as Hale (2015) argues Nazarbayev has both charisma and political success which eventually made him a popular president. Legally Nazarbayev owns the title of Leader of the Nation or Elbasy which gives him exclusive rights as the First President of Kazakhstan (ibid.). Another conclusion on which charismatic leadership is based is constructed cult of personality. The thesis has come across Nazarbayev's Eurasianist rhetoric which he propagates in both strategies, therefore, supporting the growth of his personality cult. Omelicheva (2016) states that thanks to various discursive strategies among them which is Nazarbayev's political, strategic programmes he successfully legitimates his rule. Legitimation discourse is another conclusion which indicates charismatic leadership. Last but not least, surveys show that Kazakhstanis consider Nursultan Nazarbayev a leader, founder of the state and associate him with independence, stability and interethnic peace in the country (See chapter 3.2).

A discourse analysis showed that the concept of charismatic leadership is realized through the following ways:

- . Neo-eurasianist rhetoric which Nursultan Nazarbayev propagates in both documents which strengthen his personality cult;
- A. Nazarbayev's self-representation strategies such as praising the nation and its leader as the work demonstrated it in Strategy-2050, identification of the people and the leader and finally creation of a personality cult.
- B. Nursultan Nazarbayev also uses metaphors as a means of influence and manipulation in his authoritarian personalistic discourse.

The foregoing means that the concept was constructed by Nursultan Nazarbayev and his elite.

The concept of charismatic leadership has a tendency to transform throughout time and here is how. The paper has concluded that the president in Strategy-2030 is a president of a totally new, independent country that is full of ambitions and hopes. Here Nazarbayev appears to us in the form of the wise patron, poetic person and constructor of the new state with his own vision of the future of Kazakhstan.

On the other hand, in Strategy-2050 Nursultan Nazarbayev is demonstrated as a pragmatic ruler who actively and very often uses a strategy of self-representation in order to continue to seem to be successful. He repeatedly mentions the success from the past legitimizing his rule and exceeding his own feeling of confidence.

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