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**ABDIMAN ZHANIYA OMIRKHANKYZY**

**Inaugural Address as Part of Political Discourse**

6D021000 – Foreign Philology

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the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Scientific supervisors

Zh. Tuimebayev, doctor of philology, professor

E. Suleimenova, doctor of philology, professor

Foreign scientific supervisor

M. Lekic, PhD, professor

Republic of Kazakhstan  
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## **NORMATIVE REFERENCES**

In the present dissertation research, references have been made to the following documents:

Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan (adopted by national referendum on August 30, 1995, with amendments as of 2022).

Constitution of the United States of America (adopted on September 17, 1787, with amendments to the present date).

## DEFINITIONS

For the purposes of this dissertation, the following key terms are defined as follows:

**Addressee** is the standard term for a participant in a communicative act to whom someone else (the speaker) addresses an utterance [1, p. 8].

**Addresser** is a participant in a communicative act, representing a person in the opposition of “speaker/listener”. Like the addressee, the addresser serves as one of the variables that characterize the communication situation [2, p.19].

**The communicative act** encompasses the complete set of factors involved in the interaction of communicants through linguistic means. It incorporates all forms of speech activity, including speaking and listening as well as reading and writing [3, p. 83].

**Critical Discourse Analysis** incorporates an examination of the text, an assessment of the processes involved in text creation, reception, and dissemination, and a sociocultural analysis of the discursive event in different types of political speeches, political documents, or research papers [4, p. 23].

**Discourse** represents a linguistic expression of a specific social practice, in other words, an organized and systematic use of language that reflects a particular ideologically and socially conditioned mentality [5, p. 3].

**Epidictic discourse** is the focal point of rhetoric, which is a kind of spectacle designed to please the spectators and enhance the orator's glory by highlighting the subtleties of his technique [6, p. 135].

**Formal language** is a type of language use that involves speaking to a passive audience, where the speaker assumes a specific role, employs artificial communication methods like writing or electronic media, and opts for a “high” dialect or language [7].

**Genre** is “a class of communicative events” [8, p. 45].

**Inaugural Address** is a formal political address given by the newly elected President at the start of their presidential term.

**Institutional discourse** is a specialized, cliched form of communication between people who may not know each other but must communicate in accordance with the norms of a given society [9, p. 195].

**Manipulation** is a form of communication and interaction in which one individual exerts influence over others, often against their desires or best interests [10, p. 360].

**Persuasion** is a speech strategy where the interlocutors can choose to believe or act as they wish, based on their acceptance of the persuader's arguments [10, p. 361].

**Political discourse** encompasses all types of language utilized in political settings, from formal institutional dialogue to informal political expression.

**Performative** is a sentence where a specific illocutionary force is explicitly indicated by naming it within the sentence itself [7].

**Political rhetoric** is rhetoric used to affect political decisions and direct political action. It does not seek the nonpartisan accuracy required by modern social science, nor does it chase after truth regardless of the outcomes [11, p. 9].

**Rhetoric** is the study of the expressiveness of speech, eloquence, and oratory [3, p. 186].

**Stylistic device** is a method of organizing a statement or text that enhances its expressiveness, one of the main objectives of the science of stylistics [12].

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AIDS</b>	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
<b>BCE</b>	Before Current Era
<b>SCO</b>	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
<b>CSTO</b>	Collective Security Treaty Organization
<b>CICA</b>	Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia
<b>CDA</b>	Critical Discourse Analysis
<b>D.C.</b>	District of Columbia
<b>EXPO</b>	Exposition
<b>IPO</b>	Initial Public Offering
<b>JCCIC</b>	Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>OSCE</b>	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
<b>OIC</b>	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
<b>USSR</b>	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>U.S.</b>	United States of America

## INTRODUCTION

The Inaugural Address is the first formal and symbolically significant speech of delivered by an elected head of state. It fulfills a vital ritualistic and symbolic role, legitimizing the political authority while fostering national cohesion. Within the framework of political discourse, it serves to outline the core political values and strategic vision making a new phase in the country's development.

The Inaugural Address is the ideological basis for the formation of social unity at a new stage of the country's development. It contains moral, ethical, and cultural values and political principles for the new leader's domestic and foreign policy. It symbolizes the transfer of power to the new president, confirming his legitimacy and securing the main ideological guidelines of his rule.

The Inaugural Address is given during a solemn ceremony, all elements of which have a meaning, fixed by strict rules and order. Being one of the compelling genres of political discourse, the Inaugural Address, saturated with expressive speech expressions, rightly becomes the focus of linguistic research.

**The relevance of the study** lies in its integration within the contemporary framework of discourse, thereby positioning it as a pertinent subject in both linguistic and sociocultural research. The communication-oriented theory of political discourse allows us to concentrate on the study of Inaugural Addresses. The presidents of the United States of America and the Republic of Kazakhstan are among the striking genres of political discourse, requiring the identification and explication of their specific features.

**The theoretical and methodological basis** of this research is grounded in the academic contributions of both local and international scholars in the field of discourse theory (E.D. Suleymenova, G.G. Burkitbayeva, L.V. Yekshembeyeva, M. Foucault, N. Fairclough, T.A. van Dijk, D. Schiffrin, J. Rankema, A.N. Baranov, V.Z. Demyankov, V.I. Karasik, Y.I. Sheigal, D.N. Arutyunova, etc.), political discourse (B.A. Akhatova, B.K. Momynova, Y.K. Kulichenko, K.K. Kenzhekhanova, P. Chilton, C. Schaffner, T.A. van Dijk, C. De Landtsheer, R. Jacobson, D. Greyber, R. Wodak, C. Morris, C. Schaffner, A.P. Chudinov, Y.I. Sheigal, V.I. Karasik, A.N. Baranov, E.G. Kazakevich, E.V. Budaev, V.A. Maslova, V.Z. Demyanenko, etc.), genre studies (K.K. Cambell, K.J. Jamieson, T.A. van Dijk, V.K. Bhatia, C. Schaffner, M. Reisigl, M.M. Bakhtin, T.V. Shmeleva, A.P. Chudinov, etc.), genre of Inaugural Address in political discourse (Zh.K. Ibrayeva, R. Joslyn, M.J. Korzi, K.K. Cambell, K.J. Jamieson, T.R. Dunn, H. Ryan, V. Tammy, S. Herbert, E.I. Sheigal).

**The purpose of the study** is to analyze Inaugural Addresses as a distinct genre within political discourse.

### **Research objectives:**

- to study the concept of political discourse in modern linguistic studies of domestic and foreign scientists;
- to identify the features and functions of political discourse and to explore the genre diversity of political discourse;
- to analyze the historical and cultural context of the inauguration ceremony;



- conduct a comprehensive functional analysis of the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States and the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- to identify the genre and structural features of the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of the United States and the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- to study the stylistic characteristics of the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States and the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- identify and describe the rhetorical techniques used by the Presidents of the United States and the Republic of Kazakhstan to implement the functions of their Inaugural Addresses.

**The object of study** is the presidential Inaugural Addresses from 1991 to 2025 in the political discourse of the United States (Inaugural Addresses delivered by Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, Donald Trump and Joe Biden) and the Republic of Kazakhstan (Inaugural Addresses delivered by Nursultan Nazarbayev and Kassym-Jomart Tokayev).

**The subject of this research** is the functional, structural, lexical, and stylistic characteristics of Inaugural Addresses as ceremonial (epideictic) speeches and a genre of political discourse.

**The scientific novelty** lies in its first attempt to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the inaugural genre within the framework of political discourse. This has allowed the introduction of an in-depth study of the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of the two countries into the scientific circulation of Kazakhstani political linguistics.

Although Inaugural Addresses, which have been part of U.S. political culture for over 200 years and continue to be actively studied by foreign scholars, they have not been the focus of special consideration in domestic linguistics. In this regard, studying Inaugural Addresses by American presidents alongside similar Addresses by the presidents of Kazakhstan is of particular interest.

The study presents the results of an attempt to characterize the genre, structural, and stylistic features of the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of the two countries in the context of modern political linguistics.

#### **Material of research:**

The research material consists of the texts of Inaugural Addresses delivered by U.S. Presidents from Bill Clinton to Donald Trump, covering the period from 1993 to 2025 and totaling nine Inaugural Addresses:

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| 1) Bill Clinton:   | Inaugural Address delivered on January 20, 1993 in Washington D.C., number of words: 1, 584<br>Inaugural Address delivered on January 20, 1997 in Washington D.C., number of words: 2, 159 |
| 2) George W. Bush: | Inaugural Address delivered on January 20, 2001 in Washington D.C., number of words: 1, 579<br>Inaugural Address delivered on January 20, 2005 in Washington D.C., number of words: 2, 056 |
| 3) Barack Obama:   | Inaugural Address delivered on January 20, 2009 in Washington D.C., number of words: 2, 402  |

- |                  |   |
|------------------|---|
|                  | Inaugural Address delivered on January 20, 2013 in Washington D.C., number of words: 2, 403 |
| 4) Donald Trump: | Inaugural Address delivered on January 20, 2017 in Washington D.C., number of words: 1, 444 |
| 5) Joe Biden:    | Inaugural Address delivered on January 20, 2021 in Washington D.C., number of words: 2, 371 |
| 6) Donald Trump: | Inaugural Address delivered on January 20, 2025 in Washington D.C., number of words: 2, 978 |

The study also considers the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of Kazakhstan from 1991 to 2022. Namely, five Inaugural Addresses of the former President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, and two Inaugural Addresses of the acting President, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, totaling seven Inaugural Addresses:

- |                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| 1) Nursultan Nazarbayev:  | Inaugural Address delivered on December 10, 1991 in Almaty, number of words: 1, 147<br>Inaugural Address delivered on January 20, 1999 in Astana, number of words: 718<br>Inaugural Address delivered on January 11, 2006 in Astana, number of words: 1, 497<br>Inaugural Address delivered on April 8, 2011 in Astana, number of words: 2, 036<br>Inaugural Address delivered on April 26, 2015 in Astana, number of words: 1, 970 |
| 2) Kassym-Jomart Tokayev: | Inaugural Address delivered on June 12, 2019 in Astana, number of words: 1, 774<br>Inaugural Address delivered on November 26, 2019 in Astana, number of words: 2, 174  |

The total number of analyzed Inaugural Addresses of both countries is 16 texts. All translations of the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev and Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, from Kazakh and Russian languages were made by the author of this dissertation unless otherwise stated.

### **Research Sources and Methods**

Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States for this study were retrieved from the source of presidential documents database of “The American Presidency Project”, hosted at the University of California, Santa Barbara, at <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/presidential-documents-archive-guidebook/inaugural-addresses>.

The Inaugural Addresses of President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, along with the final two Inaugural Addresses of President Nursultan Nazarbayev, are available on the official website of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Akorda) at <https://www.akorda.kz/ru/speeches>. As the earlier Inaugural Addresses of President Nazarbayev are not published on his official website (<https://nazarbayev.kz/public/ru>),

the first three were obtained from the Compilation of Selected Speeches of Nursultan Nazarbayev, available on the same site:

1) *Izbrannye rechi* / N.A. Nazarbayev; project manager M. B. Kasymbekov. – Astana: Saryarka, 2009. – 670 p. (Vol. 2: 1991-1995). – 2000 copies. – ISBN 9965-536-88-0 (vol. 2), ISBN 9965-536-90-2 (general) (in hardcover). – Quanysh Sultanov Fund.

2) *Izbrannye rechi* / N.A. Nazarbayev; project manager M. B. Kasymbekov. – Astana: Saryarka, 2010. – 519 p. – (Vol. 4, Book 1: 1999-2002). – 2000 copies. – ISBN 978-601-277-042-1 (vol. 4, book 1), ISBN 9965-536-90-2 (general) (in hardcover). – Published under the program of the Committee of Information and Archives of the Ministry of Communications and Information of the Republic of Kazakhstan. – Quanysh Sultanov Fund.

3) *Izbrannye rechi* / N.A. Nazarbayev. – Astana: Saryarka, 2010. – 526 p. – (Vol. 5, Book 1: 2006-2007). – 2000 copies. – ISBN 978-601-277-043-8 (vol. 5-1) (in hardcover), ISBN 9965-536-90-2 (general). – Published under the program “Publication of socially significant types of literature”.

Inaugural Addresses are presented by general scientific and specific methods and techniques of data collection and analysis: discourse analysis, which combines methods of linguistic analysis (structural analysis, linguistic analysis of text, stylistic analysis of discourse); comparative analysis, which helps to identify national-specific features of American and Kazakhstani political discourse in the genre of Inaugural Addresses; as well as methods of observation, comparison, interpretation, generalization, quantitative analysis.

### **Key Research Provisions for Defense:**

1. The presidential inaugural genre encompasses the four fundamental roles, which are recognized as a unique type of political communication: a) the integrative function – unites the nation around common goals; b) the inspirational function – strengthens national values and emphasizes historical achievements; c) the declarative function – articulates the priorities of the presidents; d) the performative function – assumes the transfer of power. However, within these given frameworks, the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of the United States and the Republic of Kazakhstan vary, emphasizing different functional topoi. Despite the common features, the emphases of the performance of the functions differ: the presidents of the United States emphasize democratic values and historical continuity, while the presidents of the Republic of Kazakhstan focus on stability, traditions, and national unity.

2. Inaugural Addresses are often classified as political performatives. Thus, the conducted analysis of the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of the United States and the Republic of Kazakhstan allows us to align with the arguments of scholars who support this view (K. Campbell, K. Jamieson, O. Yudina, etc.). This is evidenced by the key characteristics of Inaugural Addresses as a genre of political discourse, including an appeal to the history of the people as the source of traditional values, an appeal to the unity of the nation, which reinforces the legitimacy of the elected president, and a declaration of the political principles of the new country. Inaugural Addresses employ various rhetorical devices, primarily metaphors, parallelism,

antithesis, and repetition, which enhance the ritualistic nature of this genre of political discourse. These stylistic devices bolster key ideological statements, making Inaugural Addresses more memorable and persuasive. At the same time, they draw the audience's attention to the performative act of delivering the Inaugural Address as a unique political event and to the ceremonial proclamation of oneself as the president of the country.

3. As a rule, presidents employ a specially restrained style of speech, utilizing various expressive linguistic means to enhance their impact on the audience. The language of Inaugural Addresses plays a crucial role in shaping public perception. For instance, the frequently used pronoun "we," which emphasizes national unity, serves different functions: in the Inaugural Addresses of U.S. presidents, it is used inclusively when addressing the entire nation. In contrast, the speeches of the presidents of the Republic of Kazakhstan use it more frequently to emphasize the collective responsibility of the people. Additionally, in the Inaugural Addresses of U.S. presidents, the use of the first-person singular pronoun has noticeably decreased (until President Biden's Inaugural Address and President Trump's second Inaugural Address), reflecting a shift from individual leadership to collective governance of the state.

4. Differences in political and social systems, along with culture, traditions, and worldviews, reveal significant discrepancies between American and Kazakh Inaugural Addresses as examples of political discourse genres. First, their noticeable substantive difference is evident in the following important points: a) In the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of the U.S., elections are not viewed as instruments or manifestations of national unity. In contrast, elections in all Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of the Republic of Kazakhstan are regarded as an act of unity, and, on the day of the inauguration, unite as witnesses to the event. b) A distinctive feature of the Inaugural Addresses of the two countries is the use of religious symbols. This is clearly and consistently expressed in the Inaugural Addresses of U.S. presidents; however, the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of the Republic of Kazakhstan make no references to religious symbols, God, or holy texts. Only in the Inaugural Address of 2022 did President K. Tokayev mention Mecca – a sacred place for all Muslims – prayer, and the Holy Quran. Secondly, like most official speeches given by the Kazakh political elite, the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of the Republic of Kazakhstan are delivered in both Kazakh and Russian. Over time, the percentage of Kazakh and Russian fragments in the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of Kazakhstan changes significantly.

Overall, Inaugural Addresses serve as powerful rhetorical tools that reflect the political culture and governance principles of each country. Although the techniques used may be similar, their priorities and ideological narratives – shaped by the historical context and political situation of each nation – vary significantly, which inevitably influences the linguistic means used.

**The study's theoretical significance** is related to its contribution to the study of the essence and characteristics of Inaugural Addresses as a genre of political discourse. It determines the general and specific constitutive features of the Inaugural Addresses

of the presidents of the two countries from 1991 to 2022, a period marked by significant geopolitical upheavals worldwide. This makes it possible to consider the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of both countries within the interactional contexts and communicative constitution.

A more detailed understanding of Inaugural Addresses as an ontologically self-sufficient object of linguistic research has been obtained, and a successfully verified classification of political fields of Inaugural Addresses, according to Martin Reisigl, has been created. Altogether, it can be extrapolated to the description of other genres of political discourse.

**The practical significance** of the study is determined by the possibility of using the theoretical principles and conclusions of the dissertation for teaching courses on political discourse, rhetoric, stylistics and oratory, theory, and practice of intercultural communication, for practical guides and recommendations for speechwriters, press services, as well as in a practical course of English and Kazakh languages for special purposes and the formation of students' discourse competence.

The main provisions and results of the dissertation research, starting from September 2014, were presented and discussed at scientific and methodological seminars of PhD students, meetings of the Department of Foreign Philology and Translation Studies of Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, as well as at international and national scientific congresses and conferences. They were published in journals recommended by the Committee for Control in the Sphere of Education and Science of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan, as well as in a foreign scientific journal.

**The total number of scientific publications** on the topic of the dissertation is 7. The main provisions of the dissertation are presented in a publication included in the Scopus database: "Inaugural Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev (1991-2015): Genre Peculiarities of Inaugural Discourse" // *Astra Salvensis*. – 2018. – V. 6. – P. 19–34; in the materials of international congresses, conferences, and seminars: "Inauguratsionnaja rech': strukturno-kompozitsionnoe svoeobrazie zhanra (na materiale inauguratsionnyh rechej N.A. Nazarbaeva)" // *Russkoe slovo v mnogojazychnom mire: materialy XIV Kongressa MAPRJAL (Nur-Sultan, Kazahstan, 29 aprelja – 3 maja 2019 goda) [Elektronnyj resurs]* / Red. kol.: N.A. Bozhenkova, S.V. Vjatkina, N.I. Klushina i dr. – SPb.: MAPRJAL, 2019., "Strukturnye osobennosti inauguratsionnoj rechi (na materiale inauguratsionnoj rechi N.A. Nazarbaeva)" // *Materialy nauchno-teoreticheskoy konferencii "Modernizacija jazyka i vyzovy vremeni"*. – 2019. – P. 149–153.; in journals and publications recommended by the Committee for Control in the Field of Education and Science of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan: "Semanticheskoe oblako ponjatij «vlast'» i «narod» v inauguratsionnyh rechah Prezidentov N.A. Nazarbaeva i D. Trampa" // *Vestnik Evrazijskij nacional'nyj universitet im. L.N. Gumileva*. – 2017. – № 5 (120), chast' 2. – P. 425–429., "Leksicheskie osobennosti inauguratsionnyh rechej N.A. Nazarbayeva" // *Vestnik KazNU. Serija filologicheskaja*. – 2017. – № 3 (167). – P. 125–129., "Issledovanie inauguratsionnogo diskursa v sovremennoj lingvistike" // *Vestnik PGU*.

Filologičeskaja serija. – 2018. – № 1. – P. 9–16., “Inaugural address and inauguration ceremony: symbolism, rituals, and political message” // Philological Sciences Journal. – 2024. – Vol. 7. – №3. – Pp. 37-43.

The goals and tasks of the research have determined the structure and content of this work.

The Introduction substantiates the relevance of the chosen research topic, formulates the purpose and objectives of the research, defines the object and subject of the research, describes the main research methods, as well as scientific novelty, sets out the provisions submitted for defense, the theoretical significance and practical value of the dissertation.

The first chapter of the dissertation analyzes such concepts as “discourse, political discourse, Inaugural Address”. The varieties and main functions of political discourse are considered, and the relations between language and politics, outlined in domestic and foreign linguistic studies, are assessed. Political discourse and constitutional features of Inaugural Addresses as one of its genres are analyzed.

The second chapter examines the predetermined nature of the inauguration ceremony, which has a decisive influence on the substantive and linguistic specific genre characteristics of the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of the United States and the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The third chapter is devoted to the functional and genre-specific aspects of the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of the United States and the Republic of Kazakhstan, as a unique genre of political discourse.

The conclusion summarizes the study’s results, generalizes its main findings, and identifies the potential for further development of the topic under investigation.

# 1 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

## 1.1 Defining “political discourse”

A widespread term of discourse in academic and media environments, both in Kazakhstan and abroad, originates from the Latin *dis*- “apart” and *currere* - “to run”, meaning “running over a subject in speech, communication of thought in words”. However, it does not have a universally accepted definition of its essence [13].

A comprehensive research of discourse conducted by Patrick Serio has shown 8 definitions of this term: 1) the equivalent of the notion of “speech” (F. Saussure); 2) a unit, that is bigger from phrase in a general sense; 3) pragmatics or impact of the utterance on its recipient and the situation (subject of the utterance, the addressee, the moment and the specific place of utterance); 4) conversation as the basic type of utterance; 5) speech attributed to the speaker and opposed to narrative without the explicit intervention of the subject of the utterance (E. Benveniste); 6) language opposed to speech connected with the variety of uses of linguistic units; 7) statements restricted by certain social or ideological positions; 8) discursive mechanisms controlling the utterance [14, p. 26-27].

T. A. van Dijk highlights the considerable Impact that social forces have on discourse. He contends that discourse is not just a standalone means of communication; rather, it’s intricately linked to the socio-cultural context surrounding it, or as he puts it, “directly (or “in the last instance”) controlled by various social forces” that shape and govern the interactions, meanings, and representations within communication [15, p. 8].

French Theorist Michel Foucault developed the concept of discourse. For Foucault, discourse is not just language, in fact, for him “discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this more that renders them irreducible to the language (*langue*) and to speech” [16].

Along with other scholars, Guy Cook emphasizes that the most significant factor in explaining discourse is the message provided in context. When an addressee receives a linguistic message, particularly an oral one, they tend to analyze it using paralinguistic factors such as gestures, voice, posture, and the situation in which they receive the message is equally important for interpreting it [17].

Discourse analysis is, in general, “a rapidly growing and evolving field” [18, p. 1] and is “widely recognized as one of the most vast, but also one of the least defined, areas in linguistics”, where the structure of verbal communication (form) is directly related to its purpose and effectiveness (function) [19].

G. Burkitbayeva, who focused her research on ontology, interaction, and genres of business discourse, found that the communicative process revealed through the analysis of discourse and text reflects the essence of the communicators, encompassing all their social and psychological characteristics during interaction and the context of the communicative situation. Examining discourse while taking into account a person’s social and psychological traits allows us not only to observe the communication process and an individual’s speech behavior but also to assess the influence of social conditions and psychological factors within communication [20].

Discourse is a form of social behavior and means of constructing social relationships that inevitably help shape the social world itself, explaining that it is because discourse generates a field of meanings that defines changes in society and influences people's perspectives and actions [21].

Discourse can be understood in various ways depending on the context. For instance, some scholars argue that in context, discourse may consist of just one or two words, or conversely, can also be represented by many words, as seen in novels, scripts, or bills [22].

M. Stubbs explores discourse as the study of "larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts" and "language use in social context, and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers" [23].

According to Norman Fairclough, discourses represent aspects of the world. They depict the processes, relations, and structures of the material world, the "mental world" of thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and the social world. These representations vary across discourses, necessitating understanding their relationship [24].

In their primary work, "Discourses of Domination", F. Henry and C. Tator identify discourse as "the way in which language is used to socially convey broad historical meanings. It is language identified by the social conditions of its use, by who is using it and under what conditions" [25].

N. Arutyunova also explains that discourse is a speech "immersed in life" or a social act involving a coherent text and extralinguistic factors [26], whereas for T. van Dijk, discourse is a complexity of the linguistic form, meaning, and action, corresponding to the "communicative event" [27].

For instance, V. Karasik, based on the ideas of De Beaugrande and Dressler regarding the categorization of textuality features (cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality, and intertextuality) [28], identified a further classification of political discourse that considers both external and internal features of texts: 1) The constitutive categories that differentiate text from non-text; 2) Genre and stylistic categories that identify its relevance to a specific functional type of speech; 3) Content categories that reveal the meaning of the text; 4) Formal and structural categories that characterize the structure of the text [29].

Russian linguist Valeriya Chernyavskaya analyzed various understandings and conceptualizations of discourse and concluded that discourse is perceived in two primary ways. The first view views discourse as a communicative event manifested in written text or oral speech produced within a specific cognitive and typologically conditioned communicative space. The second view characterizes discourse as a complex of thematically organized and related texts [5, p. 71-72].

Discourse possesses a unique interdisciplinary nature, thus emerging at the intersection of linguistics and political science, created a new field of linguistics.

Today, political discourse has become a recognized area of linguistics, complete with its own theories and research methods. It continues to attract interest from young scholars. Table 1 below outlines the key aspects of the historical development of this field:



Table 1 – Highlights of the development of political discourse as a field

Year	Author	Aspect
1	2	3
5 <sup>th</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> century BCE (Ancient Greece & Rome)	Aristotle, Plato, Cicero	Relationship between language, persuasion, and power
5 <sup>th</sup> –17 <sup>th</sup> century (Medieval & Renaissance)	S. Augustine, N. Machiavelli	Religion & rhetoric in governance. Strategic political communication, deception, and manipulation.
17 <sup>th</sup> –18 <sup>th</sup> century	T. Hobbes, J. Locke, J. Rousseau, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu	Language as a tool of control, shaping people's perceptions and maintaining power and manipulation.
19 <sup>th</sup> Century	J.S. Mill, F. Nietzsche	Censorship, propaganda, and the role of language in democracy, as well as persuasion and power.
Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	F. Saussure, A. Gramsci, J. Dewey	Foundations of semiotics in political discourse.
1930s–1950s	C. Morris	Classification of political discourse.
1950s–1980s	N. Chomsky	Linguistic analysis of power and manipulation.
	R. Jakobson	Different ways language functions in communication, with a particular focus on poetry and stylistics.
	E. Murray	Classification of political rhetoric.
	M. Foucault	Laid the foundation of the theory of discourse, knowledge, and power through a critique of historical methods.
	K. Hudson	Language as a tool of persuasion, control, and ideological reinforcement in political discourse, examining rhetorical strategies, framing techniques, and the role of euphemisms in shaping public opinion.
	V. Vinogradov	Evolution of Russian linguistics from its early roots to modern theoretical frameworks.
1980s–1990s	T. Dijk	The language of elites, media, and institutions, that influence public opinion and reinforce dominance.

Continuation of Table 1

1	2	3
	R. Goodin	The use of language and rhetoric by political actors to manipulate public perception and decision making, analyzing techniques used by politicians to shape narratives influence voter behavior.
	D. Graber	Language as a tool of communication, analyzing the framing the political messages and use of rhetoric.
	R. Joslyn	Science centered approach to discourse analysis, emphasizing that language cannot be studies separately from power dynamics and political structures.
1990s–2000s	P. Chilton,	The study of language at the intersection of ideology and political persuasion, analyzing how political actors use discourse to construct ideological narratives and shape public opinion.
	C. Schaffner	The study of political speeches from a discourse analytical perspective, reflecting ideological positions and influencing audiences through linguistic choices, rhetorical structures, and persuasive techniques.
	K. L. De Landtsheer,	An overview of political discourse analysis, emphasizing its relevance for understanding political communication, including rhetorical analysis, cognitive linguistics, and framing theory, and highlights how political actors shape public perception through language.
2000s–2010s	A. Baranov	The manipulateness in political language, focusing on rhetorical strategies, framing and persuasive techniques in political discourse.
	A. Chudinov	Relationship between political language, power structures, and how audiences interpret political message.
	D. Maximov	Reviews different methodologies for analyzing political discourse, including critical discourse analysis, rhetorical analysis, and cognitive linguistics.

Continuation of Table 1

1	2	3
	Y. Sheigal	Investigates how political discourse reflects and constructs social structures, examining its impact on public consciousness.
	V. Karasik,	Discusses different types of discourse, including institutional and personal discourse, in political communication.
	J. Wilson	Provides a comprehensive overview of political discourse analysis, discussing key theories and approaches to studying language in politics.
	V. Dem'yankov	The realization of political discourse in mass media, exploring issues of bias and agenda setting, and public perception.
	P. Chilton	Introduces theoretical frameworks for political discourse analysis and provides practical methods for studying political language.
	J. Charteris-Black	The role of metaphor in political rhetoric, analyzing how politicians use figurative language to persuade and construct ideological narratives.
	R. Wodak	Critical discourse analysis to political language, examining how political institutions use discourse to maintain power and construct social realities.
	H. Tator	Use of language by dominant groups to maintain power and marginalize others in political and social context.
	K. Brown	Analysis of the different types of political discourse and their functions within various communicative context.
	B. Ahatova	Examines how political discourse shapes and reflects linguistic consciousness in society, with an emphasis on cognitive and sociolinguistic aspect.
	O. Mikhaleva	Analyzes the manipulative strategies used in political discourse, exploring rhetorical techniques, framing, and persuasion.

Continuation of Table 1

1	2	3
	Y. Kulichenko	Focuses on how political discourse is perceived by audiences, investigating its cognitive and psycholinguistic effects on individuals.
	A. Mayr	Introduces the relationship between language and power, discussing how institutional discourse influences society.
	Zh. Zigmann	Investigates the structure of political discourse, categorizing speech genres and analyzing discourse strategies used by politicians.
	A. Buryakovskaya, T. Turkova	Examines the lexical characteristics of political language, including jargon, euphemisms, and rhetorical devices.
Note – Compiled by author		

In Table 1, we present a detailed chronology of the development of political discourse as a scientific field, particularly regarding how language, discourse, and power have been understood and studied in the context of politics across different eras. It also illustrates how the role of language in political life has evolved over centuries, with contributions from philosophers, linguists, political theorists, and communication scholars. In different periods, scholars have focused on various aspects; for instance, in Ancient Greece and Rome, the main focus was on rhetoric and persuasion, during the medieval and Renaissance periods, the role of religion, morality, and manipulation in political speech was thoroughly studied. From the 17<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century, the emphasis shifted to studying political discourse as a tool for shaping political control and maintaining order in society. From the 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century, scholars explored the significance of language as a tool of propaganda and ideology, particularly how it creates political meaning in mass media, elites, and political institutions. By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we see the rise of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and a focused study of how ideology, manipulation, and genre peculiarities shape political discourse.

Nowadays, political discourse is used in linguistics literature in two senses: narrow and broad. In a broad sense, the term includes forms of communication in which at least one component belongs to the sphere of politics: the subject, the addressee, or the content of the message. In a narrow sense, political discourse is a discourse whose goal is to win, preserve, and exercise political power [30].

Table 2 represents the differences between the scholars' understanding of political discourse in broad and narrow senses:

Table 2 – The differences between the broad and narrow understanding of political discourse

Broad sense understanding political discourse	Narrow sense understanding political discourse
1	2
A. Baranov discourse as a way to satisfy social needs, manipulation, and performance of political actions.	M. Edelman studies political discourse as specific types of political language (hortatory, legal, bargaining, administrative) within institutional politics.
Y. Sheigal understand political discourse as necessary component for any political regime; not limited to official texts.	T. van Dijk understands political discourse as communication on an institutional level, both oral and written.
C. Morris describes discourse as part of a general system of signification, covering purposes, forms, and wide functions.	B. Akhatova considers institutional communication to reflect political elite interests, excluding ordinary citizens.
P. Chilton & C. Schaffner understand political discourse as all language use in political contexts: formal (institutions) and informal (activists, media, public).	K. Kenzhekanova describes political discourse as a phenomenon that possesses a unique pragmatic potential though the discourse of political elites.
K. Brown places politics and political discourse in socially constructed frame that is not strictly institutional.	
A. Chudinov emphasizes the interrelation of text, context, and recipient; shaped by socio-political realities.	
Y. Sheigal (text vs discourse) highlights the differences between text (static) and discourse (dynamic, socially embedded) in political communication.	
S. Yergaliyeva understand political discourse as a set of all speech acts related to politics; not only institutional communication.	
J. Charteris-Black describes political discourse as a notion that exists in every system; and includes direct and indirect communication with citizens.	

Continuation of Table 2

1	2
D. Maximov’s understanding of political discourse is multi-theoretical that includes manipulation, reflection, thematization, and ideological influence on the recipients.	
Y. Kulichenko describes political discourse as coherent texts conveying political content and events.	
J. Wilson understands political discourse as reflexive, ambiguous, and interpretative event in the politics.	
Note – Compiled by the Author	

The information presented in Table 2 clearly illustrates that a significant majority of scholars regard political discourse in a broad and inclusive manner. This perspective emphasizes their understanding of political discourse as not limited to formal speeches or official communications but rather encompassing a wide range of communicative acts that occur in various contexts.

Undoubtedly, political discourse is a significant field of study with considerable social and political relevance. Its formal definition in scientific usage was first made by an American political scientist Murray Edelman, emphasizing the understanding of how language operates in political contexts and defined four styles of political language: hortatory, bargaining, administrative, and legal [31].

Each scholar who has investigated the interplay between language and politics has analyzed it from different perspectives. Political discourse is inherently connected to power dynamics, manipulation, persuasion, and ideological influence. For instance, scholars view political discourse as an action with the primary goal as “power struggle” [32, p. 49] with the idea to “secure specific ideas and interests and put them into practice” [33].

Peculiarities of communicative acts in the political discourse attempt to manipulate the listeners, determining the explicit or implicit suggestiveness that dominates the informativity, which reflects the struggle of various authorities to possess power [34].

To this O. Mihaleva adds the secondary aims of the political discourse, nominating them as stimulation, which refers to the encouragement of active engagement and participation from the audience; inducement, which highlights the intention to motivate individuals towards specific actions or decisions; and informing, which encompasses the dissemination of knowledge and information to enhance understanding among the public [35].

She further identifies participants or subjects of communication as:

- 1) The first agent of a political action is the "addresser" (speaker), who willingly

directs his speech to another person communicant.

2) The second agent of political action is the "Direct addressee" (listener) – a communicant, an adversary of the addresser, who can either participate in the communication or may be absent when the speech is delivered.

3) The third agent of political action is the addressee-observer (the public), whose attention politicians aim to capture, to whom they appeal, and whose perspective they represent [35, p. 36–37].

Investigating the prosodic peculiarities and pragmatolinguistic functions of political discourse, Zh. Amanbayeva notes that the aim of the political discourse is "addressing issues taking place in the society and expressing one's own opinions" [36, p. 40]

It is obvious that the power struggle in political discourse takes place among the authorities, but as noted by Paul Chilton "on the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like" [37, p. 3].

John Wilson believes the nature of political discourse is "reflexive and potentially ambiguous" [38] which is mainly underlaid in the power dynamics and can be interpreted firstly, as "a discourse which is itself political", and secondly as "an analysis of political discourse as simply an example discourse type, without explicit reference to political content or political context" [38, p. 398].

A. Baranov also examines the power struggle in the political discourse, but from a different perspective. He argues that the study of political discourse has been prompted by three main factors. The first factor identified by A. Baranov is the internal need of linguistic theory, demonstrated by its various engagements with the real-life spheres of language system functioning throughout history. The second factor is the necessity to develop methods and techniques for analyzing political texts and studying political thought and its connection to political behavior, which represents a purely scientific requirement. The third factor described by A. Baranov is the social order, which relates to the "power struggle". It is characterized by the ineffective attempts of the intellectual segment of society to liberate the audience, or the general public, from the manipulative aspects of political communication used by politicians [39].

J. Charteris-Black agrees with the scholars, stating that in every political system, whether autocratic, oligarchic, or democratic, leaders have depended on verbal communication to persuade others thus struggle for power in having the advantages over the public by their leadership [40].

In addition, Russian linguist A. Chudinov emphasizes that the main objective of linguistic analysis in political discourse is to uncover how language mediates the intricate interplay between power, perception, communication, and action. He asserts that the foundation of political linguistics is rooted in discursive approach to analyzing political texts. Therefore, every political text should be interpreted within the broader framework of the current political environment, and in connection with other pertinent discourses. Thus, each text produced in the political discourse is analyzed by A. Chudinov in context of politics, other relevant texts, the author's intentions, political beliefs, and the varied ways different audiences perceive these texts [41].

Kazakhstani scholar K. Kenzhekanova believes that political discourse is not

merely a mean of conveying information but rather a tool through which a political figure expresses their intentions and idea both explicitly and implicitly, thus the aim of political discourse is to utilize the audience's consciousness and emotional perception to serve the addresser's own interest. She also adds that it affects not only the listener's or reader's mind, but also their emotions, thereby influencing them to think and act in certain direction [42, p. 291].

These scholars underscore political discourse's role in shaping power relations, controlling opinion, and influencing governance, situating discourse as a performative, intentional, and strategic act.

Other scholars discuss political discourse from the point of view of a system of signs, semiotics, and language functions, arguing that discourse must be analyzed not just as content but through its semiotic structure, intentions, and linguistic functions.

For instance, C. Morris accurately notes that everyday language contains a complex system of signs with different modes of signification and various purposes. Accordingly, he defines types of political discourse as "a specialization of language for the accomplishment of specific purposes" [43, p. 356].

Based on this idea, C. Morris's scientific work led him to classify discourse according to two attributes: "use and mode", where "use" stands for the goal of the communicative event and "mode" stands for form. His classification of discourse types helps to understand how political language functions in contexts. According to his classification, there are 16 major types of discourse, as illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3 – C. Morris's major types of discourse

Use \ Mode	Informative	Valuative	Incitive	Systemic
Designative	Scientific	Fictive	Legal	Cosmological
Appraisive	Mythical	Poetic	Moral	Critical
Prescriptive	Technological	Political	Religious	Propagandistic
Formative	Logico-mathematical	Rhetoric	Grammatical	Metaphysical
Note – Source [43, p. 205]				

Taking a closer look at his classification from Table 3, we observe that political discourse is valuative in its use because it primarily involves judgments and evaluations (for instance, in debates and ideological discussions) and prescriptive in its mode as it provides normative guidelines in governance and law.

Understanding political in abroad sense, S. Yergaliyeva identifies characteristics observable in both politicians' speeches and ordinary people's discussions about political topics, thus introducing political discourse as a collection of all speech acts related to politics. These include manipulateness, metaphorical and expressive semiotics, creolization, and pragmatics [44, p. 7-8].

Political discourse is defined as the language used in both formal and informal political contexts by various stakeholders, including politicians, political institutions,



governments, political media, and supporters involved in political activities and pursuing specific objectives. Thus, political discourse can be identified as either written or spoken language, verbal or non-verbal, utilized in politics to sway the audience's emotions, opinions, and attitudes. It distinguishes itself from other discourse types due to its intentional, functional, and directive qualities aimed at a specific group, along with its organized structure and rich employment of figurative language, such as metaphors and similes [45].

These scholars understand political discourse as a symbolic system, where signs and meanings carry political intentions, sharing the semiotic and functionalist perspective on how political language works.

In addition, there are scholars that believe, that discourse is contextual, dynamic, and shaped by socio-cognitive and political processes, thus political discourse cannot be understood outside of its context, as historical background, cultural peculiarities, ideological priorities, and social interests of the country, where the political discourse takes place.

For instance, T. van Dijk understands socio-cognitive approach, stating that it “is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as president and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels” [46] and Brown views the political landscape as not “unambiguously delimited but socially constructed” [47, p. 33].

Politicians' speeches and communication styles are extensively studied by linguists, political scientists, sociologists, and others. They also garner significant public attention as audiences observe their leaders. A country's political elite's speeches, along with the themes they address to varying degrees, reflect the lifestyles, issues, and aspirations of ordinary citizens [48, p. 19].

Political Discourse constitutes a type of social action, shaped by values, social norms, established conventions (which act as ingrained ideologies), and social practices “always delimited and influenced by power structures and historical process” [49].

Discourse and politics are primarily connected in two ways: “1) at socio-political level of description, political processes and structures are constituted by the situated events, interactions and discourses of political actors in political contexts, and 2) at a socio-cognitive level of description, shared political representations are related to individual representations of these discourses, interactions and contexts” [50, p. 205].

Political communication in this understanding can be categorized as internal or external (which corresponds to our understanding of broad and narrow senses of understanding political discourse), based on the context and the communicative partners involved in the process. Internal political communication is “all forms of discourse that concern the functioning of all politics within political institutions, i.e., governmental bodies, parties or organizations” and external political communication, on the other hand, is “aimed at the general public, i.e., non-politicians” [33, p. 202].

Y. Kulichenko, for instance, states that discourse is a coherent text in which events and realities of the surrounding world, in one way or another related to the political

processes occurring in society, receive a certain linguistic expression [51].

On the other hand, political discourse combines and balances various political, social, cultural, and linguistic influences, shaped by both global and local standards. However, while political discourse adapts to global standards, it retains local or national cultural features such as language style, symbols, and references. In addition, politicians and speakers add their unique voice, tone, and communicative style, thus incorporating “individual authorial markers” [52, p. 32].

Moreover, B. Momynova and U. Anessova Conclude regarding the language used by the leader of Kazakhstan, which can be applied to the political elite of any nation: “The language of leaders helps to create a unique ethnic image and mental portrait of the Kazakh people, verbalizes the nation’s spiritual and material experience, outlines its worldview and perception of life, and reflects its life stance” [53, p. 173].

These scholars understand political discourse as non-static, thus it evolves depending on who is speaking, where and why, reflecting the constructivist or hermeneutic angle, grounded in cognitive and social realities.

According to some, political discourse requires systematic categorization to understand its form and functions. In this case, M. Edelman explains that hortatory language is a notion present in all primary fields of political communication and across all phases of governmental processes. The primary reason for this is that all participants in political communication aim to persuade the mass public. Legal language, as defined by Edelman, refers to the language used in legal documents, including constitutions, treaties, statutes, contracts, and bills. The administrative style resembles legal language but differs from that of the legislative branch; it is closely analogous to the formal style of the executive branch, similar to law enforcement. In contrast, bargaining language is somewhat similar to hortatory language while also differing, as the sender of the messages does not appeal to the addressees but instead offers a bargain for negotiation [31, p. 101-106].

To understand the essence of political discourse D. Maximov has made a thorough classification of the theories of political discourse within the Russian school of thought:

1. Theories of manipulateness (A. Romanova, Yu. Cherepanova) examine politicians’ language strategies to control society.

2. Theories of thematic analysis (Yu. Karaulov, A. Baranov, A. Chudinov) emphasize the semantic orientation of the speaker's discussion. This approach considers the object of communication, characteristics of the recipient's perception, their level of cognitive perception, conditions of communication (stereotypes and stable blocks prevailing in the environment), etc.

3. Reflection theories (T. Milevskaya, N. Basenko) emphasize that "producers" of political discourse may understand the same concepts differently and change them according to their ideological beliefs. In Maximov’s opinion, the theory of reflection reveals the dynamic side of discursive formations.

4. Theories of axiological analysis (G. Slyshkin, V. Karasik) focus primarily on the value component of political discourse.

5. Theories of the content analysis (T. Ushakova, N. Pavlova) prioritize the connotative rather than denotative value and indicate the suitability of any text.

6. The ideological analysis of political discourse (V. Bazylev) analyzes political discourse from the point of view of the transfer of value-weighted semantic structures that claim to be objective [54].

Political discourse can be discussed from at least four points of view:

- political science – within the framework of political science interpretation,
- purely philological – like any other text taking into account, however, the background of the political and ideological concepts that prevail in the interpreter's world, interpreter,
- socio-psycho-linguistic - in measuring effectiveness in achieving hidden or explicit, and undoubtedly political goals of the speaker,
- individually hermeneutical – when identifying the personal meanings of the author and/or interpreter of discourse in certain circumstances [55].

Events in a country's political landscape shape and change the overall framework of politicians' speech, including its language, tone, and content. Politicians, often seen as the voice of the nation, must adapt their rhetoric to align with new political realities and public expectations. In this sense, the political environment directly influences political discourse, ultimately affecting how messages are crafted and perceived in society.

The previously discussed points lead us to a significant conclusion regarding the concept of political language, discourse, and corresponding texts. Upon examination, it becomes evident that these terms are often perceived as somewhat ambiguous or unclear, thus labeling them as “vague terms” [33, p. 202]. This ambiguity can arise from the evolving nature of political discourse and its reliance on context, interpretation, and the ever-changing political landscape.

Political discourse includes the process and the result of the generation and perception of texts in a broad sense, as well as extralinguistic factors that influence their generation and perception. In addition, the term “discourse” in modern linguistics also denotes different types of speech, the comprehension of which should be based on the whole set of linguistic and non-lingual factors [46, p. 2-3].

Christ'l de Landtsheer accurately points out the ambiguity of the term by interpreting that “political language, political speech, political rhetoric, and political discourse are interchangeable terms that political officials, such as scientists, and journalists, use to denominate the relationship between language and politics” [56, p. 2].

Thus, political discourse is undoubtedly an evolving and multifaceted phenomenon. It is not merely a statement, expression, text, or communicative strategy; rather, it is a powerful tool used by political actors to struggle for and maintain power, control and construct public opinion, shape their image, and legitimize their authority.

A distinct feature of political discourse lies in its high intentionality, performativity, and directiveness, which are employed to persuade, mobilize, and regulate public opinion within governance and policymaking. The genres of political discourse are not limited to basic elements such as speeches, debates, and policy and legislative documents, but extend to media communications and campaign narratives, demonstrating an ability to adapt to different forms of transmission and audiences.

Ultimately, political discourse is not only about how and why politicians use various techniques and rhetorical devices, but it also highlights the crucial role of language in influencing opinions, fostering ideas, and shaping ideologies within the political systems of a country.

## 1.2 Features and functions of political discourse

To identify the functions of political discourse, we must first examine how language functions in a sociocultural environment. The functional properties of language were first defined by Karl Bühler, who understood language as a tool or “an organum for the one to inform the other of something about the things” and called his system the “organon model”. It follows from Bühler’s triadic model that language serves three significant functions: expression, appeal, and representation [57].

Bühler’s ideas also influenced Roman Jakobson’s model of communication. According to Jakobson, the act of verbal communication is composed of six factors: 1) a context (the co-text, that is, the other verbal signs in the same message and the world in which the message takes place), 2) an addresser, 3) an addressee, 4) a contact between an addresser and addressee, 5) a common code and 6) a message [57, p. 353].

Each factor signifies a central specific relation or a corresponding function between the message and the factor. According to Jakobson, communication serves six functions, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4 – Jakobson’s model of communication

Target factor	TARGET FACTOR	SOURCE FACTOR	FUNCTION
Function No.			
1	Context	Message	Referential
2	Addresser	Message	Emotive
3	Addressee	Message	Conative
4	Contact	Message	Phatic
5	Code	Message	Metalingual
6	Message	Message	Poetic
Note – Compiled by author			

These two communication models can be applied to language in general, as the functions mentioned above not only represent those of communication but are universal functions of language. It is essential to note that discourses are distinguished based on how much they fulfill this or that constitutive function.

M. Edelman notes that the main features and functions of political discourse is connected to its’ main aim, as “most political language has little to do with how well people live, it has a great deal to do with the legitimation of regimes and acquiescence of publics in actions they had no part in initiating” [58, p. 14].

Other aim of political discourse is to impose a subjective interpretation of the essence of a given denotatum on the addressee and create a platform for persuading the addressee, generating intentions in them, and spur them into action [41, p. 63].

D. Graber identifies following features of political discourse:

- information dissemination;
- agenda setting;
- interpretation and linkage;
- projection to future and the past;
- action stimulation [59].

Temporal deixis can have a political significance. It can require one to assume a particular historical periodization – for example, *nowadays*, *today*, or just *now* could require to be understood as “after the revolution” “after the fall of the Berlin Wall”, “after the election of New Labour” or some such [37, p. 56].

V.I. Karasik classifies types of discourse based on the principle of orientation. He identifies two main types: personal (person-oriented) and institutional. In the former, the speaker embodies a person with the full depth of his inner world, while in the latter, he represents a social institution. Personal discourse has two primary forms: everyday communication and existential communication. Institutional discourse takes place within the framework of status-role relations and includes types such as diplomatic, administrative, legal, military, pedagogical, and business, among others, indicating the presence and political [60].

O. Mihaleva points out three main attributes that help to isolate political discourse from other discourse types: 1) the aim of the communication, 2) the participant of the communication, and 3) the mode of communication: strategies and tactics [35, p.33].

According to V.Z. Demyanenko, several characteristics distinguish political language from ordinary speech. For example, Demyanenko notes that it is common for “political lexis” to employ many unique terms and to use non-political signs in a manner different from how they are usually used in the common language, as well as other particular features of political discourse according to V. Demyanenko are:

- specific structure;
- sometimes a result of peculiar language techniques;
- specific realization of discourse –oral or written formulation [55, p. 377].

Scholars analyzing political speech must choose whether they take it as an example of spoken or written discourse, or both. The analyzed political speech may also have “different denominations: prepared speech, non-spontaneous oration, or spoken monologue, and comprises three characteristics: it has been delivered to a large audience, it has been prepared beforehand, and the audience has to process that talk as being delivered” [61].

Paul Chilton makes 12 assumptions about political discourse that may help to interpret political behavior:

1. Political discourse operates indexically.
2. Political discourse operates as interaction.
3. Interaction functions to negotiate representations.
4. Recursive properties of language subserve political interaction.
5. Modal properties of language subserve political interaction.
6. Binary conceptualizations are frequent in political discourse.
7. Political representations are sets of role-players and their relations

8. Political discourse draws on spatial cognition.
9. Political discourse involves metaphorical reasoning.
10. Spatial metaphors make concepts of the group and identity available.
11. Political discourse has specific connections to the emotional centers of the brain.
12. Political discourse is anchored in multi-dimensional deixis [37, p. 201-205].

J. Charteris-Black notes that the functions of political discourse are closely related, if not totally dependent on the discursive strategies that are applied to the communication, where strategy is understood as “a plan of practice consciously adopted to achieve a certain political, social or psychological aim” [62].

In his analysis of political communication, Chudinov notes the following antinomies: rituality vs. informativity (ритуальность – информативность), institutionality vs. individuality (институциональность – личностный характер), esoterism vs. accessibility (эзотеричность – общедоступность), reductionism vs. multidimensionality (редукционизм-многоаспектность), authority vs. anonymity of a political text (авторство-анонимность политического текста), intertextuality vs. autonomy of a political text (интертекстуальность – автономность), aggression vs. tolerance (агрессивность- толерантность) [41, p. 53-71].

O. Parshina has identified four types of strategies used in political communication: 1) strategy of persuasion; 2) strategy of power retention; 3) strategy of power struggle; 4) strategy of self-representation. Furthermore, Parshina explains each strategy. For instance, the strategy of persuasion involves agitation and argumentation, where agitation includes tactics such as calls and promises, while the argumentation strategy employs tactics like illustrating, comparative analysis, and presenting perspectives and evaluations. The strategy of power retention is characterized by creating an emotional mood in the addressee through tactics such as unification, emotional appeals, and highlighting core values. The power struggle strategy incorporates self-defense tactics like criticism, disputation, and justification of the opposing party, as well as manipulation tactics including demagoguery and attacks through insults and accusations. Finally, the self-representation strategy encompasses opposing and solidarization tactics along with tactics of self-identification four types of strategies [63].

Scholars assume that the functions of language proposed by V. Vinogradov [64] communication, information, and persuasion are also present in political discourse. Persuasion is the most important of those functions, as politics aims to influence the audience rather than inform it. Communication is of secondary importance because there is often no communication between the speaker and the audience [65].

It is important to note that, in general, “we” functions exclusively (refers to the speaker, excluding the addressee) or inclusively (refers to both the speaker and the audience). Still, in the case of political discourse, inclusive use of “we” predominates [66].

K. Volobuyev argues that the most significant peculiar characteristic of political discourse is the usage of speech strategies, where strategy is understood as a super-task of speech. Further on, he classifies the strategies of political discourse in two super

tasks as “strategy of power struggle” (стратегия борьбы за власть) and “strategy of maintaining the power” (стратегия удержания власти) [67].

The classification of the sub-groups of the speech strategies by K. Volobuev are given in Table 5.

Table 5 – K. Volobuev’s Classification of speech strategies in the political discourse

No.	Name of the strategy	Characteristics
Strategy of power struggle		
1.	Discrimination and attack strategy	Undermine the authority of the discredited object, humiliate and diminish his or her reputation in front of others
2.	Manipulative strategy	Discredit the political addressee, deprave him or her of the opportunity to express his or her point of view
3.	Defense strategy	Explanation of the sender’s behavior, negative evaluation of the specific situation, identification of his or her the position in the political speech
Strategy of maintaining the power		
1.	Informative and interpretational strategy	Informing the addressees of the main events in economic and political life
2.	Strategy of forming the emotional mood of the addressee	Addressing the addressees in emergency situations
Note – Source [67, p. 132]		

In K. Volobuev’s classification shown in Table 5, we observe a clear-cut difference between the rhetorical strategies that politicians use in political discourse, divided into two overarching categories: those who struggle for power and those used to maintain power once it has been achieved.

When analyzing the issues of investigating political discourse, Y. Sheigal pointed out key factors of 12 constituent features that need to be taken into account:

1. The predominance of the mass addressee - generally addressed to a mass public;

2. The dominance of emotive factor – foster social solidarity and commitment, acting as a motivational impulse for speech, both inspiration and verbal aggression

3. A significant share of actual communication – the fact of delivering the speech is more important than the message itself.

4. The semantic uncertainty, related to the phatomism of the series of denotations and fideism – the importance of the moment of belief as an expression of irrationality in political discourse;

5. The esoterism – not a semantic, but a pragmatic category that determines the usage of euphemisms and deliberate loquaciousness.

6. The mediation of political communication by the mass factor – mass media regulates (approaching or keeping the distance) the distance between the leader and the people;

7. The theatricality – the addressees of the political communication perceive politics largely through mass media, thus pushing the politicians to use speech strategies and tactics to impress the public and create a positive image;

8. The dynamism of language – due to the topicality of the reflected realities and variabilities of the actual political situation [68].

Yu. Sukhanov connects the specific feature of political discourse to its main function: the application of political power as a tool to obtain, struggle for, preserve, realize, stabilize, and redistribute power [69, p. 148].

The main aspects of political discourse involve a deep exploration of the relationship between individuals and society, a focus on public awareness, personal connections with participants, a progressive outlook, involvement in debates, a mediated political reality for the majority of citizens, elements of faith, theatrical elements, and the use of formal techniques [70, p. 170]

Thus, to fully grasp the concept of political discourse, it is essential to examine the main features and specific functions used to fulfill the primary purposes of political discourse: shaping public perception and influencing political outcomes. Understanding and exploring these characteristics help us comprehend how language and communication strategies impact the political processes occurring in a particular country. Moreover, investigating the primary functions of political discourse allows us to appreciate its importance within the political system and society, as well as its ability to promote either common or divisive ideologies among different political communities.

### 1.3 Genre Diversity of Political Discourse

Both foreign and domestic scholars classify the genres of political discourse, focusing on a range of different aspects. They may include, but are not limited to, the rhetorical strategies employed, the intended audience, the socio-political context, and the underlying ideologies that shape the narratives presented in political communication. The major aspects of discussing the genres of political discourse can be classified as given in Table 6.

Table 6 – Major aspects of political genre analysis by scholars

Aspect	Scholar	Focus of the genre classification
1	2	3
Thematic and Functional Classification	N. Fairclough	Focuses on the categorization of the genres based on the primary purpose and roles within political activity.



Continuation of Table 6

1	2	3
	V.K. Bhatia	Focuses on the structural and contextual analysis of genre through systematic steps and communicative purpose.
	C. Schäffner	Focuses on prototypical political texts, that can be used to categorize the genres of political discourse.
	T.A. Van Dijk	Focuses on the political discourse as a set of specialized genres based on the specific themes and functions in the political communication.
Rhetorical and Speech-Based Classification	R. Wodak K.K. Campbell & K.H. Jamieson, Alyoshina	Focuses on the categorization of genres based on the rhetorical strategies and speech types.
Hypergenre-Based Classification	B. Karimova Zh. Zigmann	Focuses on classifying the genres of political discourse into broad overarching categories.
Contextual and Situational Classification	M. Reisigl Y. Sheigal C. Miller	Focuses on the communicative context of the political discourse.
Note – Compiled by author		

Thus, the classification enhances our understanding of how political messages are constructed and perceived within distinct cultural and political landscapes. Various examinations of the genres of political discourse from different angles aim to illuminate the complexities of political dialogue and its implications for governance, public opinion, and civic engagement.

The first group of investigators looked at the thematic and functional peculiarities of political discourse to produce a classification of its genre. For instance, V.I. Karasik breaks down political genres into categories according to spheres of action and the functions of genres related to the political system (e.g., parliamentary debates, political manifestos and programs, parliamentary or party conference speeches by political leaders, policy documents), political genres in mass media (e.g., political news reports,

political interviews, political “chat shows”, party political broadcasts, political advertising in the press and on billboards), the political public sphere (e.g., public meetings, campaign literature of social movements, political forums, and focus groups) [9, p. 234].

N. Fairclough notes the “fluid and shifting character of political genres, their hybrid character, and their openness to new forms of hybridity” [24, p. 35] and the “interconnection of political genres, the relations that are contracted between them in genre chains or networks, the relations of recontextualization that obtain between them, and the linguistic transformations entailed” [24, p. 37].

Nevertheless, there are ideas that contradict the classification of N. Fairclough. For instance, J. Swales asserts that genres have fixed structural conventions, meaning that political discourse follows sustainable and recognizable patterns [8, p. 58].

Even though V.K. Bhatia’s framework of genre classification was initially applied to classify the genres of professional and academic discourse, it can also be applied to the classification of genres of political discourse. He stated that the analysis of any genre should include the following steps: 1) placing the given text in a situational context, 2) surveying existing literature, 3) refining the situational/contextual analysis, 4) selecting corpus, 5) studying the institutional context, and 6) making a linguistic analysis [71].

Another scholar who has a similar view of the genres of political discourse is C. Schäffner, who states that any topic can become political or can be politicized to some extent. However, she notes the presence of prototypical text or form of talks “that either discusses political ideas, beliefs, and practices of a society or some part of it (e.g., textbooks, academic papers, essays), or texts that are crucial in constituting a political community or group (e.g., treaties, a manifesto of a political party, a speech by a politician) [72].

T. van Dijk’s classification of the genres of political discourse is based on the distinctiveness of political discourse, including specialized genres, he proposed that the diversity of political discourse should be analyzed separately from others, recognizing its specific function and the political structure of society [46, p.13].

Conversely, Ruth Wodak’s theory, which can also be included in this classification of genre diversity, emphasizes the increasing overlap among political discourse, media, and public communication. This convergence blurs the distinctions between these forms of discourse, leading to a significant blending of their genres. Her examination of political texts includes discourse-historical analysis from various angles, such as historical events, socio-political structures, and organizational contexts, and she believes that they “are linked and connected to power relations in power-knowledge complexes in political organizations” [73, p. 45].

A. Chudinov has performed a medium-based classification of political discourse genres. He was able to identify oral (presentations at a meeting, reports, conversations, debates, interviews, and so on) and written (program, leaflet, article, letter to a political leader) genres of political discourse. He further distinguishes monological genres (radio messages, articles in a periodical, and so on) and dialogical genres (discussion, negotiations, etc.) of political discourse. In addition, he identified the genres of political

discourse in terms of the volume of transmitted information: small genres (motto, slogan, chant), medium-sized genres (presentation at a meeting or a speech in parliament, leaflet, article), and large genres (party program, political report, book on political themes, etc.). Depending on the intended purpose of the information, he differentiates informative, evaluative, and imperative genres. It is important to note that informative, evaluative, and imperative (or call for action) aspects can all be present in one text and be manifested in it to various degrees [74].

Another representative of this group of scholars is Russian linguist I.A. Tortunova, who bases her categorization on the assertion that among all functional genres, the publicist's style serves the political sphere while differentiating between oral and written texts. Genres such as press releases, biographies, and PR interviews, along with historical references, are considered written texts, whereas public speeches are viewed as oral texts [75].

The genre diversity of political discourse is classified by a rhetorical and speech-based perspective. For instance, K.K. Campbell and K.H. Jamieson primarily focused on presidential rhetorics and explained it as speeches “illuminating their symbolic functions and identifying common qualities that make them distinct” [76] and through which “each president is invested with the office, and at the moment of transition the continuity of the institution of the presidency and of the system of government of which is a part is affirmed” [76].

The representative of the same understanding of genres in political discourse is Y. Alyoshina, who has developed a speech type-based classification of the genres:

- Informative genres (public presentations (including Inaugural Address, State of the Union Address, parliamentary speeches), press releases, press conferences, roundtables, talk shows, lectures, articles in press, etc.);
- Persuasive genres (public presentations (including speeches at meetings, campaign speeches), debates, mass media publications, etc.);
- Imperative genres (public presentations (campaign speeches, addresses), posters, slogans, leaflets, political advertising, publications in mass media, including appeals for help (public speeches/addresses, publications in mass media, slogans, etc.);
- Defense/repentance genre (public speech of repentance, speech in one's defense) [77].

In addition, Y. Alyoshina identifies the central genres: funeral orations, Fourth of July addresses, and various events such as the Boston Massacre Orations, welcomes, farewells, dedications, commencement addresses, introductions, and Inaugural Addresses and identified as more peripheral genres are acceptance speeches, keynote addresses from conventions, campaign rallies, and after-dinner speeches. Expanding the genre further, she included performative addresses like declarations of war [77, p. 287].

Throughout the investigation of political discourse genres, scholars have used a hyper genre-based approach to this field. One such scholar is B.S. Karimova, who describes political discourse as a collection of specific genres organized by a field structure. This structure includes genres typical of political discourse at the center, alongside marginal genres that possess a dual nature and exist at the intersection of

various types of discourse. She classifies political texts into four major hyper-genres: program documents, a politician's public speech, pre-election campaigns, and political memoirs. In her opinion, among these four hyper-genres, program documents and politicians' public speeches in pre-election campaigns are central, as they represent the primary purpose of political discourse. In contrast, political memoirs are a relatively marginal genre specific to both political and literary discourse [78].

The ideas of Zh. Zigmann on political discourse are consistent to that of B.S. Karimova; she presents political genres in the form of a hierarchical structure, where the first layer is the hyper genre, which comprises: 1) program documents (program, manifesto, charter), 2) pre-election campaign (pre-election platform, political advertising, interviews, addresses, genre blocks such as biography, addresses, program thesis), and 3) political debates (political discussions and roundtables) [79].

While we recognize the significance of various theories on the classification of political discourse genres, we nonetheless adhere to the contextual and situational classification of genres within this field. In our work, this classification is informed by the work of several scholars who have conducted comprehensive examinations that captures the multifaceted nature of politics discourse.

One of them is the classification of Russian linguist Y. Sheigal, who suggested several criteria to help distinguish genres of political discourse. The first criterion posited by the scholar is the institutionality of political discourse, which is described by the degree of communication ranging from interpersonal to institutional:

- Discussing political issues with family, friends, and random people in the street and public places (brief informal discussions, unverified sources of information, informal channels of communication);

- Self-made leaflets and graffiti (in these situations, an individual speaks for himself but thinks of himself as a part of the society; potential addressees are institutions and their representatives, and the layout is not restricted, although clichés are frequently used);

- Telegrams and letters sent by individual citizens (addressee is a specific politician or political institute, official communication channel)

- Political scandal that may pertain both to private and institutional domains (the source may be both official and unofficial, formal channel of communication)

- Press conference ("politician-citizen" communication level through mass media as a mediator);

- Public political discussions ("politician-politician" level communication);

- Public presentations, speeches by political leaders ("politician-whole society or large social groups" communication level);

- Laws, decrees, and other political documents ("state-whole society" level of communication)

- International negotiations, official meetings of leaders ("state-state" level of communication) [32, p. 313-314].

The next criterion attributed to Y. Sheigal is the correlation between the subject and the addressee. The scholar follows the classification developed by Dieckman, which encompasses social-institutional communication, including genres such as

governmental decrees, edicts, laws, calls, slogans, statements by political activists, as well as communication between an institute and citizens involving genres like petitions, addresses, leaflets, elector's mandates, presentations at meetings. Additionally, it includes communication among members of an institute, encompassing genres such as official correspondence, backroom discussions, closed meetings, negotiations, meetings of political activists, parliamentary debates, round tables, the President's address to Congress, the Prime Minister's speech at the State Duma meeting, reports, and party programs [32, p. 316].

Y. Sheigal considered the genres of political discourse as a form of speech that is part of a communicative event, thus categorizing the events into cyclic (ritual), calendar (current), and spontaneous events, with different communicative events potentially presented in the same genre. Based on Bakhtin's classification of primary and secondary genres, Sheigal distinguishes between genres of institutional communication that constitute primary discourse as the foundation of political activity (speeches, statements, debates, negotiations, decrees, constitutions, party programs, slogans) and secondary genres, "talks about politics" (interviews, anecdotes, analytical articles, memoirs, letters from readers, graffiti, caricatures, etc.) [32, p. 328].

Given the intended purpose of the political discourse, she identifies ritual/epideictic genres that include Inaugural Address, Jubilee Address, traditional radio address), orientational genres that are represented by party programs, constitution, Message of the President, report, decree, agreement), agonal genres such as slogan, promo speeches, elections, parliamentary debates [32, p. 390].

Carolyn Miller, who examined genre through a social lens, observes that there isn't a definitive set of categories for identifying political discourse genres. Rather, she proposes categorizing genres according to the functions and social interactions of the communicators, highlighting that it "refers to a conventional category of discourse based in large-scale typification of rhetorical action; as action, it acquires meaning from situation and from the social context in which that situation arose" [80, p. 163].

Martin Reisigl has studied the political speeches delivered by Austrian politicians and suggested distinguishing at least eight different political fields (Figure 1.). He stated that "among political fields are the lawmaking procedure; the formation of public attitudes, opinions and will; the party-internal formation of attitudes, opinions and will; the interparty formation of attitudes, opinions and will; the organization of international and (especially) interstate relations; political advertising; the political executive and administration; and the various forms of political control [81, p. 883].

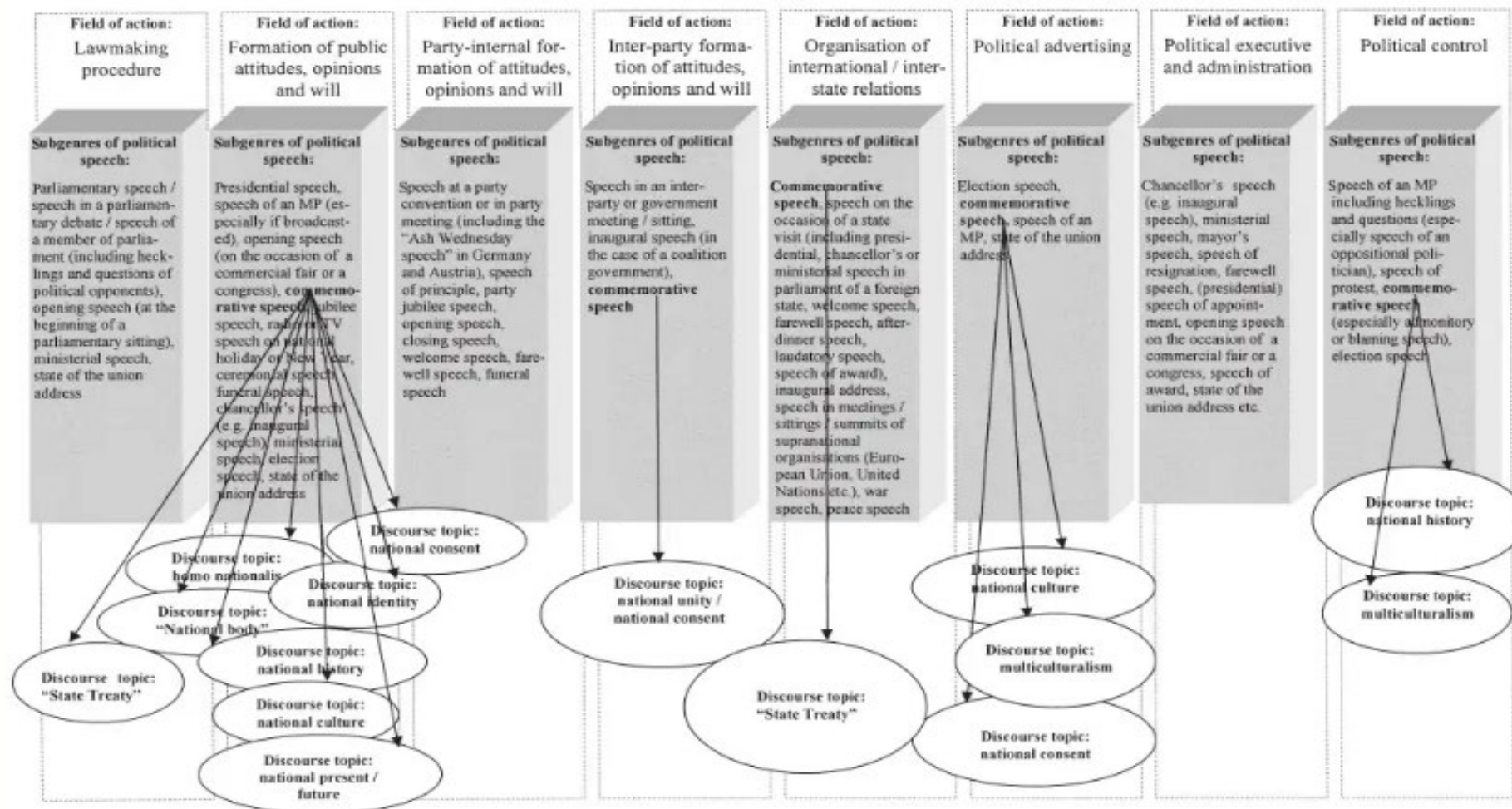


Figure 1 – M. Reisigl's classification of fields of political action

Note – Source [82, p. 248]

First, he systematized the fields of political action, subgenres of political speeches, and discourse topics in Austrian political culture. Despite the fact that his comprehensive classification is mainly focused on the genre of commemorative speech, he included the genre of Inaugural Address in four fields of political action as: “a) formation of public attitudes, opinions and will, b) inter-party formation of attitudes, opinions and will, c) organization of international and inter-state relations, d) political executive and administration” [81, p. 883].

M. Reisigl’s structured classification is based on several criteria that allow for a systematic analysis of political discourse across various contexts and forms. Reisigl’s classification includes heuristic criteria such as speaker, occasion, location, timing, audience, medium, function, form, content, and rhetorical genre. The author identifies each criterion by posing a set of questions that pinpoint the specifics of the speech, such as who is delivering it, on what occasion, where it is being delivered, when it is being delivered, to whom it is addressed, through what medium it is transmitted, for what purpose, in what form it is delivered, what the central theme of the speech is, and to which rhetorical genre it belongs, as shown in Table 7 [82, p. 249–251].

Overall, Martin Reisigl’s categorization of genre diversity in political discourse demonstrates high efficiency in understanding the classification of political speeches. It proposes a framework for scholars to comprehend how the elements of political communication influence the perception and effectiveness of speeches, not only from a linguistic perspective but also through political analysis, highlighting their defining characteristics.

In his work, he notes that “amongst the many subgenres of political speeches, five deserve special attention, viz. (1) the debate speech, (2) the Inaugural Address, (3) the election speech, (4) the TV address and (5) the commemorative speech” [82, p. 251].

Elenora Suleimenova highlights the growing importance of examining language as it interacts dynamically with the changing real world and new technologies. The study also looks into how individuals and society can enhance their ability to receive, store, and share information, along with the creation of new text types and the rejuvenation of established genres and styles. [83, p. 64].

Thus, the genre range of political discourse is diverse and rich. Each distinct genre serves a specific purpose, highlighting the multifaceted nature of political communication. Furthermore, each feature associated with the genre of political discourse is tailored to the unique characteristics of various materials, whether they be formal speeches, informal conversations, or written articles. This diversity not only reflects the complexity of political communication but also indicates how different contexts and audiences necessitate varied approaches and styles within the genre of political discourse.

Table 7 – M. Reisigl’s classification of political speeches

Question		Criterion for speech name	Examples of speech names
1		2	3
1	who?	the speaker or the political function of the speaker as a political representative	presidential speech, chancellor’s speech, ministerial speech, speech of MPs, mayor’s speech; King’s/Queen’s speech at the opening of parliament
2	on what occasion?	the occasion	“occasional speech”
		performative/illocutionary quality	Inaugural Address, speech of resignation, speech of appointment, speech of award, welcoming speech, farewell address
		cyclical recurrence of the occasion	anniversary speech, jubilee speech, commemorative speech, birthday speech, speech on national holiday or New Year, ceremonial address, memorial speech, Aschermittwochsrede <sup>5</sup> (“Ash Wednesday speech”)
		relative time of speech	after-dinner speech, postprandial speech, opening speech, closing speech/address
		intertextual or inter-discursive embedding in a greater communicative event	speech at a party convention, speech in an election campaign, debate speech, counter speech, funeral oration/eulogy, King’s/Queen’s speech at the opening of parliament
		organization of inter-state relations / relations to political opponents/enemies	speech on the occasion of a state visit, victory speech, war speech, peace speech
3	where?	one-off occasions	funeral eulogy, speech of consolation, speech of award, victory speech
		the place (or place name)	speech in parliament, King’s/Queen’s speech at the opening of parliament (German: “Thronrede”, i.e. speech from the throne), “soap-box speech”, “Humboldt speech” (referring to the speech given by the former German foreign minister Joschka Fischer at the Humboldt University on May 12, 2000; see Weiss 2002)
4	when?	the time	
		relative time of speech	after-dinner speech, Inaugural Address
		cyclical recurrence of the occasion	anniversary speech, jubilee speech, commemorative speech, birthday speech, speech on national holiday or New Year, “Aschermittwochsrede” (“Ash Wednesday speech”)



Continuation of Table 7

	1	2	3
5	to who m?	the addressees/ hearers	
		explicit	“address to the nation”
		implicit	laudatory speech, admonitory speech, blaming speech/ vituperation speech, counter speech
6	via what media?	(mass) media of transmission	TV speech, radio speech, orally delivered speech, written speech, live speech, recorded speech
7	for what purpose?	communicative main function, often naming the performative / illocution- ary quality of the speech (closely related to the first group of 2)	speech of thanks, pleading speech, welcoming speech, farewell speech <sup>[SEP]</sup> or address, valediction, laudatory speech/eulogy, admonitory speech, blaming speech/vituperation speech, speech of consolation, speech of appointment, speech of award, speech of protest
8	in what form?	form of speech, form of preparation, form of presentation	free speech, read out speech, long speech, short speech, abridged speech, unabridged speech, fighting speech (i.e. an aggressive, loud and often offensive speech), polemical speech
9	about what?	content, topic	speeches of principle, victory speech, war speech, state of the union address, “Europarede” (“speech on Europe”)
10	Belon ging to whic h rhetor ical genre	Rhetorical genre membership	Deliberative speech, epideictic speech
Note – Source [82, p. 249–251]			

#### 1.4 Genre peculiarities of Inaugural Address

The term “*inauguro*” originates from the Latin word, combined of “*in-*” and “*auguri*”, meaning “to increase”. The roots of this ceremony can be traced back to the medieval period and the tradition of enthroning monarchs. In Kazakh culture, we can find instances of khan enthronements [84].

Grigory Spassky, for instance, mentioned the enthronement ceremony that took place in 1820 in Siberian Herald (cited from: Zh. Tuimebayev. “Gosudarstvennyy protokol Respubliki Kazakhstan): “In 1771, the election of Abylai as khan took place in the presence of sultans and elders summoned from various volosts and with a great gathering of common people. Carpets and felt mats were laid out, upon which all those present sat in three or four rows. When Abylai himself took his place in the center of this gathering, seated on a white felt mat, he was showered with praise for his bravery and agility, and his past victories were recounted. Upon announcing Abylai’s selection as khan, four of the eldest elders rose from their seats, lifted him above their heads, and then gently placed him back down. All those present followed this example. Finally, his rich outer garment was removed, torn into small pieces, and distributed among the people...” [85, p. 29–30] (translated by the author).

The ceremony of inauguration in the United States, as we know it now has a history of more than two hundred years, but its’ roots date back even further. Dutch sociologist Andreas I. Wierdsema, who investigated the ceremonial ritual of Inauguration stated that it roots from the “traditional English coronation ritual” [86, p. 32], whereas American scholar John F. Miller described and compared the Inauguration rites in Ancient Rome and modern U.S., concluding that “in Ancient Rome, too, custom mandated that an incoming consul swear a prescribed oath at the start of his term” [87], O. Zakharova noted that the inauguration ceremony “became a political tradition primarily in the United States and emerged as a counterweight to the European monarchical coronation ceremonials” [88, p. 116].

However, in comparison with the genre of Inaugural Address in the U.S., in Kazakhstani political culture, the “usage of the genre of Inaugural Address is a new phenomenon, directly connected to acquiring political status of the country on the global arena” [89, p. 133].

As mentioned in the previous chapter, we adopt the theory of contextual and situational classification of the genres of political discourse. Consequently, we believe that the con-situational context of delivering the Inaugural Address is extremely important and directly connected to the inauguration ceremony. All the constituents of the Inauguration ceremony, such as location, date, oath, and national symbols of the country, and the participants of the solemn ceremony play a crucial role in commemorating the president's empowerment.

Undoubtedly, the ceremony of Inauguration is a ritual that represents “the intimate connections between power and the sacred” [90, p. 391]. However, considering the ritual ceremonies a significant part of the cultural heritage of the country limits the “vocabulary associated with such ceremonies constitutes sacred linguo-cultural codes that illuminate the spiritual and cultural essence of the people” [91, p. 6]. Thus,

“important social contrasts and change have manifested themselves in inauguration festives” [86, p. 32].

The context of the Inaugural Address proposed by M. Gavrilova is represented by three large segments as a general definition of the Inauguration ceremony, participants of the ceremony, and the mental representation of the participants, each segment having its own sub-segments [92, p. 11].

Her understanding of the context of the Inaugural Address is significant. It can be further illustrated in Figure 2 below. This figure provides a visual representation of the key elements discussed in the Inaugural Address.

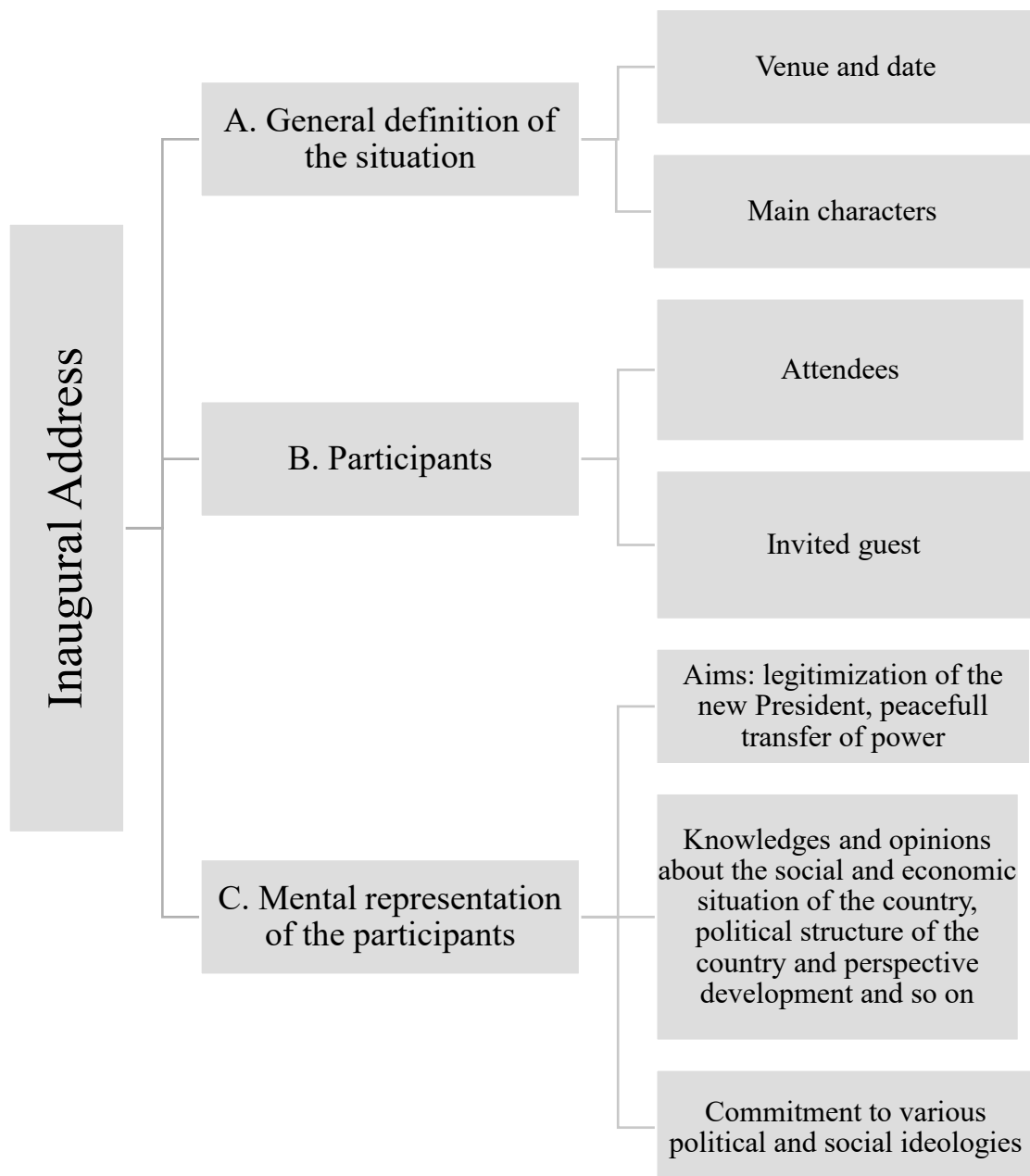


Figure 2 – M. Gavrilova’s understanding of the context of the Inaugural Address

Note – Compiled by the author

Thus, M. Gavrilova's description of the context gives us a clear understanding that the inauguration ceremony functions not only as a state ritual but also as a moment of national reflection and reaffirmation of political order. The inauguration ceremony takes place in a specific institutional setting and involves key political figures; participants include invited guests and organizers, all contributing to the ceremonial structure. Moreover, the inauguration ceremony holds sociopolitical significance by legitimizing the incoming president, symbolizing the peaceful transfer of power, and reflecting the collective consciousness of the participants, shaped by their views on the country's political, economic, and ideological landscape.

In addition to the initial discussion, we will provide a comprehensive analysis of the various segments that comprise the context of the Inaugural Address for both the United States and Kazakhstan. This analysis will be grounded on the insights and understanding of M. Gavrilova, who has explored the significance of these addresses in detail. Through this exploration, we aim to elucidate the political, cultural, and historical factors that shape these significant speeches.

### **A. General definition of the situation**

#### *Venue*

The venue of the inauguration ceremony in both American and Kazakhstani political discourse is highly ritualistic. For instance, organizing the inauguration at the Capitol, which in American political culture represents the people's will, symbolizes the peaceful transfer of power and reinforces the President's service under the Constitution, rather than ruling by personal authority. In contrast, Kazakhstan has established the venue of the inauguration only relatively recently, holding the last inauguration at the Palace of Independence in Astana. However, this does not diminish the significance of the ritualistic nature of the ceremony. Each time, the people of Kazakhstan gather in an important location for the nation, as seen in the first inauguration of President Nazarbayev, which took place at the Palace of the Republic in the city of Almaty. After this, the capital of Kazakhstan moved to Astana, and all subsequent inauguration ceremonies were held in different venues (in 1999 at the Congress Hall, in 2006 at the President's residence, and others in the Palace of Independence).

#### *Date*

The dates for holding the inauguration ceremony are prescribed by the constitution in both the U.S. and Kazakhstan. In the U.S., inauguration ceremonies are currently held on January 20th in accordance with the 20th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution [93].

In Kazakhstan, the date for taking the oath is flexible unlike the U.S.; it occurs on the second Wednesday of January, as specified in Section 3, Article 42, Item 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan [94].

However, the first inaugural ceremony was held on December 10<sup>th</sup>, and because all others were early elections, the dates have changed constantly.

## **B. Participants**

In both Kazakhstani and American cultures, the attending audience plays a vital role, regarded not merely as spectators but as witnesses to the ceremony.

### *Attendees*

In the case of the American political culture there are two main bodies that are involved in the organization of the inaugural ceremonies. The first is united “each year prior to the inauguration, congress authorizes the creation of the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies (Joint Inaugural Committee, or JCCIC) The Joint Inaugural Committee is responsible for the planning and execution of the swearing-in ceremony and for hosting and inaugural luncheon for the President and Vice Presidents at the U.S. Capitol” [95, p. 1].

The second one is Presidential Inaugural Committee, that is “appointed by the President-elect to be in charge of the presidential inaugural ceremony and activities connected with the ceremony” [96].

However, in Kazakhstani political culture, there is no special body or committee that observes the organization of the inaugural ceremonies. Though key state institution that ensures the success of the event is the Executive office of the President [97].

### *Invited guests*

The guests of both ceremonies include high-ranking officials of the government and other domestic and foreign, representatives of political parties, the business community, political and social activists, and so on.

## **C. Mental representation of the participants**

### *Aims*

In both contexts, the primary aim of the inauguration ceremony is to legitimize the new president and confirm the peaceful transfer of power. However, in Kazakhstan, this transfer of power is relatively new.

### *Knowledges and opinions*

Attendees of the inauguration ceremony often bring informed opinions about the nation’s political structure, economic challenges, and ideological divides, reflecting a pluralistic and participatory political culture.

### *Commitment to various political and social ideologies*

In both countries, the commitment to political and social ideologies during the ceremony – whether diverse or unified – reinforces the symbolic and practical legitimacy of the new leadership.

In reference to the previously mentioned sections of the context surrounding the inauguration, as identified by M. Gavrilova, we can understand these elements and gain a richer perspective on their overall significance and impact of the inauguration. However, in addition to the above, we would like to include the following segments regarding the context of the inauguration ceremony.

## **D. Constitutional-symbolic elements**

### *Oath*

The oath of office of the American president-elect consists of 35 words and is traditionally administered by the Chief Justice of the United States.

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States” [93].

The oath, first taken by G. Washington, has become significant and “has been the centerpiece of presidential inaugurations ever since, symbolizing the continuity of democratic rule and the peaceful transition of power” [98].

As mentioned earlier, the oath is a constitutional attribute of the ceremony. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the President's oath consists of 28 words and states:

“Qazaqstan xalqyna adal qyzmet etuge, Qazaqstan Respublikasynyn Konstitutsiyasy men zañdaryn qatañ saқтауға, azamattardyn quqyqtary men bostandyqtaryna kepildik beruge, Qazaqstan Respublikasy Prezidentinin özime жүктелген мәртебели mindetin adal atqaruga saltanatty түрде ant etemin” [94].

(I solemnly swear to faithfully serve the people of Kazakhstan, strictly observe the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan, guarantee the rights and freedoms of citizens, and conscientiously fulfill the honorable duties entrusted to me as the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan.)

U.S. presidents traditionally place their right hands on a Bible while taking the presidential oath of office, whereas the presidents of Kazakhstan take the oath by placing their right hand on the Constitution. In American political culture, the oath is administered by the Chief Justice, while in Kazakhstan, it is not overseen by any official government branch. This difference highlights the unique cultural practices surrounding the inauguration of leaders in both countries.

### National symbols

The ceremonies of both countries use national symbols to highlight the ritualistic power of the ceremony, including the national anthem, reinforcing identity and unity, and the national flag and emblem signifying national power.

Though both involve the presidential oath, the surrounding traditions vary due to different historical, cultural, and political contexts. Despite these differences, these ceremonies reflect national traditions, symbolizing statehood, sovereignty, and democratic values, characterized by structured protocols and symbolic practices. American inaugural traditions, with a history spanning more than two hundred years, have already established a clear protocol. In contrast, Kazakhstan, with a sovereignty history of just over thirty years, is still developing its inauguration protocol and rules. The first inauguration of the President of Kazakhstan in 1991 adhered to the standards accepted at the time, while the inauguration of President Nazarbayev in 1999 was noted

for its openness and connection to the people and their traditions, including its ceremonial protocols [85, p. 31].

The elements outlined above greatly influence and enhance the overall impact of both the inauguration ceremony and the Inaugural Address. Each plays a crucial role in framing the speech, reflecting the political climate, and resonating with the audience, ultimately helping to convey the message effectively and persuasively. All together one might now say that “inauguration ceremony and the Inaugural Address are intrinsically linked” [99, p. 39]. Together, they convey a unified and coherent political message and “the nation listens for a moment as one people to the words of the man they have chosen for the highest office in the land” [100, p. 4].

The oaths of both nations reveal that the Inaugural Address serves as an expanded version of it, as it covers important themes, including dedication to the nation, faithfully fulfilling presidential duties, and acting in the best interest of the country.

According to Vijay Bhatia, the genre is a complex notion, that can be explained as “a recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purpose(s) identified and mutually understood by the members of the professional or academic community in which it regularly occurs. Most often it is highly structured and conventionalized with constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their intent, positioning, form and functional value. These constraints, however, are often exploited by the expert members of the discourse community to achieve private intentions within the framework of socially recognized purpose(s) [71, p. 13].

T. Todorov agrees with V. Bhatia, and emphasizes that there are specific patterns in discourse that tend to become standardized over time, and both the creation and interpretation of individual texts are influenced by these established norms; adding that: “a genre, whether literary or not, is nothing other than the codification of discursive properties” [101, p. 17].

Later on, in his seminal work “Shaping Written Knowledge” C. Bazerman addressed the issue of the evolution of scientific writing, analyzing the social and rhetorical context that influence the forms and genres of scientific papers. In this extensive work, he understands the genre as “a multidimensional, fluid category that only gains meaning through its use as an interpretive, constructive tool” that an author uses “to formulate responses in specific circumstances and provide readers with a method to identify the type of message being conveyed” [102].

The presidential Inaugural Address is “one of the most important genres in the structure of the political discourse, not only from a political, but from linguistic point of view as well” [103, p. 20]. Scholars like N. Bozhenkova and Wang Ran, who studied the Inaugural Addresses of Russian and Chinese leaders, note that the main criteria for distinguishing the genre are the elements of statics and processuality. They classify the inauguration ceremony as a static phenomenon and the Inaugural Address as an indivisible part of the ceremony. Processuality, on the other hand, characterizes the inaugural discourse as an event unfolding in various directions. They further identify the goal of the inaugural discourse as representing the image of a patriotic leader, conveying appreciation to the nation, and demonstrating the struggle for and retention

of the highest office's power within the country's political system, relying on public support to fulfill both external and internal priorities. The scholars point out key characteristics of the inaugural discourse, including ritualism and standardization, institutionality and individuality, accessibility, dialogicity, evaluativeness, and timelessness. They emphasize the significance of timelessness as a crucial feature, which evidences its connection to the epideictic genre and highlights the special status of the Inaugural Address among other genres of political discourse [104, p. 61–71].

The character of Inaugural Addresses is “unambiguously marked by a single addressee, strictly regulated by the limitation of a political event, fixed in the time and territory” [105, p. 205].

In the frames of our study R. Joslyn's idea, that Inaugural Addresses is “riskless rhetoric” [106, p. 316] is very interesting. He came to such a conclusion due to the fact that “they contain little that anyone could disagree with, little that reveals evaluative or programmatic choice, and little that is challenging or thought-provoking” [106, p. 316]. A conclusion might be drawn because such an address is “a unique instrument of creating a positive image of the start and the presidents” [107] with the primary aim of the addresser “to affect the citizens' emotions and convincing them that the country is in good hands and they will experience a bright future” [107, p. 252].

French linguist Françoise Desbordes supports R. Joslyn's idea, stating that the epideictic speeches, which include Inaugural Addresses, focus on the persuasive function of such speeches. In her view, persuasion depends on verbal communication and cannot be effectively enforced through physical force or absolute authority. Further on, the scholar presents the features of the epideictic genre, highlighting the characteristic that epideictic speeches do not involve opposition or confrontation. However, the main criteria for its realization are “equality of the speaker and listener (s), freedom to speak, and freedom to give or refuse assent to what is said” [108, p. 11].

Despite their political importance in a country's political history as it presents a new leader, his/her political priorities and plans, and performance in front of the world, M.J. Korzi highlights they might be perceived as routine, overly rehearsed, unnatural speeches and that “they are sometimes dismissed because of their banality or their stilted form” [109].

Such an understanding might occur due to the “absence of new facts, which simultaneously draws the participants' (the president and the audience) attention to the point of delivery. We believe that this is the most important and unique characteristic of an Inaugural Address as a genre – it serves as both an act of speech and a political action” [103, p. 21]. Although Inaugural Addresses are sometimes seen as “routine” or “prepared” speeches, they are a small but essential aspect of presidential rhetoric.

Presidential rhetoric is a multifaceted phenomenon influenced by numerous factors, with Inaugural Addresses offering a particularly insightful example of this interplay. Several significant elements shape the content and tone of these speeches, including the era in which the address is made, the current political environment, the nation's economic conditions at the time, and the urgent social issues requiring the new administration's attention. Ultimately, Inaugural Addresses not only reflect the



incoming president's vision but also embody the societal context that informs that vision, rendering these speeches a valuable area for analyzing and comprehending presidential communication tactics.

Scholars (John McDiarmid, Lee Sigelman, Elizabeth Dudash, D. Ericson, Tammy Vigil) have also conducted a content-based analysis of the Inaugural Addresses, although looking into the Inaugural Addresses from different perspectives. J. McDiarmid, for instance, traces the symbolic language of inaugural addresses and their power to convey political messages, rehearse values, and construct national identity through the presidential rhetoric. The idea of J. McDiarmid was to look at the presence of specific words and phrases that carry significant positive emotional weight and occur with relatively high frequency in the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. from G. Washington to F.D. Roosevelt, thus highlighting (1) symbols of national identity, (2) symbols of historical reference, (3) symbols of reference to fundamental concepts, (4) symbols of fact and expectation. This symbolic language communicates power, unites the nation, and affects the political discourse and public opinion [110, p. 79].

The evolution of the genre of presidential Inaugural Addresses over time was thoroughly studied by L. Sigelman, particularly focusing on the modernization of these speeches, particularly the highlights of adaptation of the speeches of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the changing political landscape and public expectations. He concludes that his idea is “in the recognition not simply that inaugural addresses have varied along certain dimensions, but that the refinements introduced by a procession of very different presidents responding to a wide array of stimuli have had the cumulative effect of solidifying the inaugural address in terms of its performance of its most basic generic functions” but that Inaugural Addresses “has increasingly been appropriated into service as a tool of presidential governance” [111, p. 90].

Herbert Stein analyzed the changing dynamics of the tone of Inaugural Addresses over time. While Stein suggests there may be certain exceptions to these broad groupings, he breaks down the inaugurals into three distinct phases: 1) Washington through Buchanan, the modest, classic public servant; 2) Lincoln through Taft, the prosaic government executive; and 3) Wilson to present, assertive, theatrical, and leader-preacher. Stein contends that the third phase of Inaugural Addresses witnessed a transition from describing government policy to attempting to inspire the public's behavior via rhetoric [112].

Elizabeth Dudash's content-based analysis has examined specific rhetorical elements and language choices in Inaugural Addresses in certain situations. She identifies patterns or recurring themes in the speeches, such as the use of national unity, hope, and resilience. Her study delves into how these rhetorical strategies are used depending on the political context, such as during times of crisis or national division [113].

David Ericson adopts the same approach as E. Dudash and describes eleven similar, recurrent, and prominent themes in Inaugural Addresses. Ericson indicates that while each element does not appear in every Inaugural Address, these elements are

“definitive of the more permanent, cultural features of American Politics”. His work has shown the following eleven inaugural themes: (1) civic virtue; (2) nonpartisanship; (3) national unity; (4) general policy principles; (5) cooperation with Congress; (6) popular support; (7) a providential supreme being; (8) the American mission; (9) political continuity; (10) the president's role as defender of the Constitution and union; and (11) federalism [114].

As demonstrated by Tammy Vigil, these themes fit into K.K. Campbell and K.H. Jamieson’s existing model, and there are ways to meet the required elements of the inaugural genre. However, T. Vigil argues that “just as the study of genres continues to evolve, the genres themselves must likewise be continually tested, expanded, and explored” [115].

For instance, T. Bimes notes the general change of Inaugural Addresses from constitutional rhetoric to a more inspirational style, as “after Wilson, presidents shifted from constitutional rhetoric and embraced a more popular, “inspirational” rhetoric, one that sought to “interpret’ the wishes of the people” and to use these public appeals to influence Congress through mass pressure” [116] .

Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Jamieson [76, p. 336] present a compelling analysis of Inaugural Addresses, recognizing their profound symbolic functions and distinct characteristics they “identified four elements or functions of an Inaugural Address that align with the functions identified by Russian scholar Y. Sheigal” [103, p. 21] , as depicted in Table 8 bellow.

Table 8 – Comparison of functional classification of the Inaugural Addresses represented by K.H. Jamieson and K.K. Campbell and Y. Sheigal

Functions suggested by K.H. Jamieson and K.K. Campbell:	Functions suggested by Y. Sheigal:
1. Unifying the audience by reconstituting its members as the people who can witness and ratify the ceremony;	1. Integrative
2. Rehearsing communal values drawn from the past;	2. Inspirational
3. Setting forth the political principles that will govern the new administration;	3. Declarative
4. Demonstrating through enactment that the president appreciates the requirements and limitations of executive functions respectfully.	4. Performative
Note – Source [103, p. 21–22]	

A careful examination of Table 8 reveals a consensus among scholars regarding the primary functions of the Inaugural Addresses. These functions are recognized and correspond to one another with remarkable precision. This alignment indicates a shared understanding among experts in the field concerning the roles and impacts of these addresses within the political landscape.

Conversely, Halford Ryan argues that their claim is rather “startling,” as, various presidents, representing different partisan viewpoints and confronting unique factional demands influenced by a specific political context, cannot all utilize similar generic rhetoric on Inaugural Day. H. Ryan suggests that genre theory often hinders rather than aids analysis, thus arguing that “all twentieth-century addresses do not contain all generic elements” [117].

Korzi analyzed the idea of how presidents use Inaugural Addresses to build relationships but also explained the importance of Inaugural Addresses, as “presidential inaugural addresses furnish an essential perspective on American political history. They are reflective, to a significant degree, of American political culture across time” [109, p. 21]. Particularly, since the addresses allow the new president to comment on American politics and the president's job in the political system, Inaugural Addresses can help track changing conceptions of the president's role over time [109, p. 21].

To add to this understanding, Korzi groups Inaugural Addresses into three distinct periods, “each containing a different understanding of the relationship between the people and the presidency” [109, p. 22]:

- 1) Constitutional period (before 1830s)
- 2) Party period (1830s-1890s)
- 3) Plebiscitary period (1900s on)

According to Korzi, in the earlier periods, American presidents presented themselves as constitutional officers with minimal relation to the people. The presidents were more connected to the people's will during the party period. The latest American presidents tend to deny their connection to the party or the role of the constitutional officer but, in contrast, represent themselves as the people's representative. He explains the role of Inaugural Addresses in modern political tradition, as holding the highest position in the political hierarchy of the country “in fact, the president fully embodies the American people and interprets their will, showing little deference to the Constitution, Congress, or political parties. The president is our plebiscitary leader” [109, p. 47].

Scholars and linguists have thoroughly researched the structure of Inaugural Addresses. For instance, F. Liu, in the article “Genre Analysis of American Presidential Inaugural Address,” presents a study of thirty-five American Inaugural Addresses from Washington to Obama. She focuses both on the linguistic realization of a text and the communicative functions the text serves. By using the moves as the possible generic structure for this particular genre, the communicative purposes of the genre are revealed [118].

M. Gavrilova, who has investigated the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of

Russian Federation in the ideational and symbolic space, highlights several reasons for the interest in this genre:

1) the text of the Inaugural Addresses is the ideal project of action, hence never to be fulfilled but is used to unite the nation as one people.

2) the programmatic nature of the address allows to predict the upcoming political events and, at the end of the presidential term, may be viewed as a sort of report of the plans proclaimed and what was achieved

3) it is an ideological construct, created on the results of the sociological surveys, delivered right after the election campaign. the President has not done anything to be judged upon, and the primary purpose of the Inaugural Address is to unite the country divided by the electoral struggle [119].

M. Gavrilova, in her article “Inauguratsionnaya rech” in 2013 points out the following compulsory components of the compositional structure of Inaugural Addresses: “1) appealing to the addressee; 2) an upbeat assessment of the previous president’s efforts, appreciation of voters’ support; 3) addressing voters who voted for other candidates; 4) outlining the country’s development goals; 5) confidence in the ability to achieve stated objectives; 6) a commitment of the president to perform his duties with dignity; 7) culminating finale” [119, p. 116].

As it was mentioned before, the Inaugural Address is a type of epideictic speech. The epideictic speeches usually have one of 3 types of structure:

1) A consistent development of thought characterizes the “Chain” structure. Typically, such speeches trace a particular phenomenon or a person’s past, present, and future. Sometimes, the “chain” structure can be presented in consecutive messages: one thought follows the second, the second follows the third, and so on.

2) The radial structure in which the ideas of a speech relate to the help of a central concept; the speaker can express it at the beginning or the end as a summary of all that has been said.

3) The dichotomic structure is one in which two key concepts are opposed several times during the speech. When this structure is used, the speaker’s thoughts zigzag from one concept to another, constantly switching [120].

Scholars and linguists have thoroughly researched the structure of Inaugural Addresses. For instance, F. Liu, in the article “Genre Analysis of American Presidential Inaugural Address,” presents a study of thirty-five American Inaugural Addresses from Washington to Obama. She focuses on both the linguistic realization of a text and the communicative functions the text serves, as the result she has identified eight moves that are present in the Inaugural Addresses of the American Presidents:

- Move 1: Salutation;
- Move 2: Announcing entering upon office;
- Move 3: Articulating sentiments on the occasions;
- Move 4: Making pledges;
- Move 5: Arousing patriotism in citizens;
- Move 6: Announcing political principles.
- Move 7: Appealing to the audience;

- Move 8: Resorting to the religious power [118, p. 2409-2411].

O. Alexiyevets notes that the political speeches typically are structured of introduction “in which the speaker grabs the attention of the audience, introduces himself and defines the subject and the purpose of his speech” [121, p. 8], body “which contains the outline of major ideas and the information that supports and clarifies the ideas” [121, p. 8] and a conclusion “which contains a summary or a conclusion of the information presented and helps the speaker end his speech gracefully” [121, p. 9], and further identifies the purposes of each element presented in the Table 9:

Table 9 – O. Alexiyevets’s clarification of political speech structure

Elements	Purposes
INTRODUCTION	A. To obtain the attention of the listener. B. To create a favorable first impression. C. To arouse interest in the subject. D. To orient the audience to the parts of speech.
BODY	A. To present the material in a logical way. B. To maintain contact with the audience. C. To implement the goals and objectives.
CONCLUSION	A. To promote the proper mood. B. To clarify the content of the speech. C. To provide a sense of closure.
Note – Source [121, p. 9]	

The analysis of the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of the United States and the Republic of Kazakhstan reveals that they adhere to the structure represented by O. Alexiyevets; however, the purposes of each element differ concerning the solemn event of inauguration and employ a special thesis. For instance, the introduction serves as an opening statement that typically includes a greeting to the audience, an acknowledgment of previous leaders, and reflects the significance of the occasion.

Thus, the analysis of the genre of Inaugural Addresses highlights their importance as a distinct genre within political discourse, characterized by ritualism, standardization, and symbolic representation. The interaction between traditional epideictic discourse and modern adaptations reflects changing societal expectations and political contexts. While some scholars, such as Campbell and Jamieson, advocate for a stable generic structure, others, like Ryan and Korzi, propose that Inaugural Addresses have evolved alongside shifting notions of presidential authority and public engagement. The genre’s transformation from constitutional rhetoric to inspirational leadership mirrors broader political trends, illustrating how presidents utilize language to define their role, establish legitimacy, and align themselves with national values. Ultimately, Inaugural Addresses function not only as speeches but also as strategic acts of governance, uniting the nation while reinforcing the presidency’s symbolic and functional power.

## **Conclusion Section 1**

The analysis of various approaches to the study of political discourse has led to the following generalizations:

1. Political discourse plays a fundamental role in democracy, governance, and societal development. It is a tool used by politicians to communicate their ideologies, justify administrative decisions, and mobilize support of the nation. In addition, it provides a platform for the public to engage in discussions, debate, and, if needed, resist manipulation. With the rise of digital media, political discourse has become increasingly accessible and open, giving rise to new forms of political communication.

2. Several essential components, including the sphere of functioning and specific characteristics, define the primary purpose of political discourse: to influence the recipient's worldview, shape value orientations, and persuade the target audience of the necessity of certain actions. Considering these features and the key characteristics examined, a more comprehensive understanding of political discourse in the context of the studied issues emerges.

3. Political discourse is a dynamic and evolving domain that reflects the nation's social, political, and historical shifts. The genre boundaries of political discourse are flexible and adaptable to new socio-political and technological conditions that force them to evolve today.

4. The genre system of political discourse encompasses a wide range of communicative purposes, institutional roles, and rhetorical traditions, reflecting the complexity and adaptability of political communication. Scholars have developed various frameworks to categorize these genres, each rooted in a specific analytical orientation. One approach categorizes genres based on their function and domain-specific roles, such as manifestos, debates, and campaign speeches, while others emphasize formal and performative aspects, distinguishing between informative, persuasive, imperative, and epideictic forms. Hierarchical models further differentiate core genres, such as public speeches, from peripheral ones, including political memoirs. Contextual and situational models consider speaker roles, audience types, communicative settings, media channels, and socio-political contexts, providing distinctions between institutional and interpersonal discourse, as well as ritualistic, agonal, and orientational genres. Additional classifications consider modality (oral vs. written, monological vs. dialogical) and scale (e.g., slogans vs. policy reports). Together, these classification models provide a comprehensive and adaptable framework for analyzing, interpreting, and engaging with political texts in both traditional and emerging formats.

5. The diverse characteristics of political discourse indicate its multidimensional nature. All of these are linked to political competition, which highlights the complex organization of the phenomenon being studied. The primary thematic determinant of political discourse is the "struggle for power", which ensures its dynamism and the variety of its discursive practices.

## 2 STRUCTURAL PECULIARITIES OF THE INAUGURAL ADDRESSES OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE U.S.

### 2.1 Structure of Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States of America

The Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States feature a well-defined and ceremonial structure that balances tradition with vision. This structure comprises three main bodies, each with a traditional design. The introduction typically begins with a respectful salutation, followed by formal recognition of the transfer of power, which includes expressions of personal sentiment and appreciation for the predecessor, reinforcing the continuity of democratic governance. The main body often reflects on the nation's history and current challenges. Presidents present their plans and promises, linking them to core American values such as freedom, equality, and democracy. In the conclusion, presidents invoke a call to collective action and end with words of blessing for the nation. The full texts of the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. are provided in Appendix A of this dissertation. The overall structure of the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents under the study is represented in Table 10.

Table 10 – Structural peculiarities of the Inaugural Addresses of the U.S.

Introduction	
Salutation	Greeting the audience and attending distinguished guests.
Denoting the transfer of power:	Naming the ceremony
	Personal feelings
	Appreciation to the predecessor
Main body	
Reference to the past and current situation	American history
	Current state and challenges of the American society
Calling for change:	Plans and aims of the President
	Personal promises
Reminding of the values and ideals of the American Society:	American History
	American values and ideals
Uniting the nation	America in the world
	Government and “the People”
Conclusion	
Conclusion	Call for action/unification
	Blessing
Note – Compiled by the author	

Table 10 illustrates the structure of the President of the U.S.’s inaugural address,

which reflects the enduring ideals of American political culture while also accommodating the individual President's tone and agenda.

## **2.2.Salutation**

The first thematic topic or thesis of the introductory part of the Inauguration Address is the Salutation of the audience and attending distinguished guests. Table 11 shows the salutations in the Inauguration Addresses of the Presidents of the United States.

We can observe that all U.S. presidents use the term "fellow" when greeting their audience. By referring to the listeners as "fellows," the president of the United States positions himself as one of the people, one among the ordinary citizenry. It is typical for presidents to deliver their speeches and acknowledge the most important attendees of the ceremony, such as former presidents and members of the United States Congress (Bush, Obama, Trump).

Thus, the salutation part of the Inaugural Address is a formal greeting to the audience; however, it conveys a unifying message and legitimizes the presidency by naming the former and acting representatives of the government.

## **2.3 Denoting the transfer of power**

In this part, the presidents emphasize the peaceful and orderly transfer of power from one administration to another. Usually, presidents refer to the inauguration ceremony as a symbol of democratic change and succession.

One such example can be retrieved from the first Inaugural Address of Bill Clinton, where the concept of renewal as "a recovery of principles from which the nation had drifted" [122, p. 94]:

"My fellow citizens, today we celebrate the mystery of American renewal. This ceremony is held in the depth of winter, but by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring, a spring reborn in the world's oldest democracy that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America" (quoted from B.Clinton's Inaugural Address, 1993).

President Clinton remarked that his second Inaugural Address, delivered at the dawn of the new century, opened new possibilities for the American people by mentioning the notion of "*Land of New Promises*":

"My fellow citizens, at this last Presidential Inauguration of the 20th century, let us lift our eyes toward the challenges that await us in the next century. It is our great good fortune that time and chance have put us not only at the edge of a new century, in a new millennium, but on the edge of a bright new prospect in human affairs, a moment that will define our course and our character for decades to come.



Table 11 – Examples of Salutations in the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S.

B. Clinton		G. Bush		B. Obama		D. Trump	J. Biden	D. Trump
1993	1997	2001	2005	2009	2013	2017	2021	2025
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
“My fellow citizens” (quoted from B.Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).	“My fellow citizens” (quoted from B.Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).	“Thank you all. Chief Justice Rehnquist, President Carter, President Bush, President Clinton, distinguished guests, and my fellow citizens” (quoted from G. Buhs’s Inaugural Address, 2001).	“Vice President Cheney, Mr. Chief Justice, President Carter, President Bush, President Clinton, members of the United States Congress, reverend clergy, distinguished guests, fellow citizens” (quoted from G. Buhs’s Inaugural Address, 2005).	“My fellow citizens” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).	“Vice President Biden, Mr. Chief Justice, Members of the United States Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow citizens” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).	“Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans and people of the world, thank you” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).	“Chief Justice Roberts, Vice-President Harris, Speaker Pelosi, Leader Schumer, Leader McConnell, Vice-President Pence. My distinguished guests, my fellow Americans” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).	“Thank you. Thank you very much, everybody. Wow. Thank you very, very much. Vice President Vance, Speaker Johnson, Senator Thune, Chief Justice Roberts, Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, President Biden, Vice President Harris, and my

Continuation of Table 11

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
								fellow citizens: The golden age of America begins right now” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2025).
Note – Compiled by the author								

We must keep our old democracy forever young. Guided by the ancient vision of a promised land, let us set our sights upon a land of new promise” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).

President Bush, in his first Inaugural Address, emphasized the “*peaceful transfer of authority*” throughout American history and the enduring sacred meaning of the oath of allegiance to the old and willingness for the new:

“The peaceful transfer of authority is rare in history yet shared in our country. With a simple oath, we affirm old traditions and make new beginnings” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).

In his Inaugural Address in 2005, President Bush emphasized the special legal status of the oath:

“On this day, prescribed by law and marked by ceremony, we celebrate the durable wisdom of our Constitution and recall the deep commitments that unite our country” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).

President Obama eloquently described the presidential oath as a profound symbol representing the enduring traditions and serves not only as a ceremonial declaration but also as a solemn pledge to uphold the core values and principles that are fundamental to American society:

“Forty-four Americans have now taken the Presidential oath. The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet the oath is taken every so often amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office but because we, the people, have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to our founding documents” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

President Trump highlighted the continuance of the ceremonial procedure by mentioning the time and location of the inaugural ceremony.

“Every 4 years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).

The topic of the continuity throughout American history is central and by doing so, presidents affirm their commitment to the Constitution and the ideals and values

the previous presidents were true to. In some cases, the presidents share their personal feelings about the ceremony, as President Bush did in 2005 and 2009, and President Obama did 2009 in their Inaugural Addresses.

“I am honored and humbled to stand here where many of America's leaders have come before me, and so many will follow” (quoted from G. Bush Inaugural Address, 2001).

“I am grateful for the honor of this hour, mindful of the consequential times in which we live, and determined to fulfill the oath that I have sworn and you have witnessed” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).

“I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

It is worth mentioning that, traditionally in the introduction of the first Inaugural Addresses the Presidents tend to express their gratitude towards their predecessors and recognize the government’s role. For instance, President Clinton mentioned his predecessor's name and thanked the people of America.

“On behalf of our Nation, I salute my predecessor, President Bush, for his half-century of service to America. And I thank the millions of men and women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over depression, fascism, and communism” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).

In addition to this, there have been notable instances where presidents have expressed their sincere gratitude towards their political rivals, acknowledging their contributions to the democratic process:

“As I begin, I thank President Clinton for his service to our nation, and I thank Vice President Gore for a contest conducted with spirit and ended with grace” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).

During their Inaugural Addresses, Presidents Obama and Trump both acknowledged and thanked their predecessors for their support and cooperation:

“My fellow citizens, I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. I thank President Bush for his service to our Nation and the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition” (quoted from B. Obama’ Inaugural Address, 2009).

In addition, President Trump stands out among the five presidents whose inaugural addresses we are analyzing, as he mentioned the First Lady during his speech:

“Every 4 years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent. Thank you” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).

Thus, the transfer of power through political ceremonies plays a critical role in legitimizing new leadership while preserving continuity in governance. This process is typically marked by three key strategies: naming the ceremony, expressing personal emotions, and recognizing the predecessor. Naming the event as an inauguration or swearing-in gives it institutional weight and reinforces its importance within democratic traditions. It formally marks the peaceful transition of authority, underscoring the value of orderly governance.

Inaugural Addresses often include expressions of personal emotions such as humility and gratitude. These sentiments allow the new leader to connect with the public, emphasizing a personal commitment to public service and shared values. Such expressions humanize the leader and help build trust and unity across the nation. By expressing appreciation for their predecessor’s service, the incoming leader affirms democratic continuity and stability. This gesture highlights the collaborative nature of democracy and shows respect for prior contributions.

Together, these strategies strengthen the symbolic and practical dimensions of democratic transitions. They create an atmosphere of unity and forward-looking optimism, reinforcing democracy as a shared and enduring institution grounded in tradition, gratitude, and public trust.

## **2.4 Reference to the past and current situation**

This part is dedicated to the reflections of the American presidents about American history, the country's past, and current challenges. They consider America's historical background and present their understanding of the country’s mission as being loyal to American ideals.

For example, President Obama, in his Inaugural Address in 2013, called American history “*a never-ending journey*”, thus highlighting that for more than two centuries, the people of America have preserved the values and ideals and will continue to do so onward:

“Today we continue a never-ending journey to bridge the meaning of those words with the realities of our time. For history tells us that while these truths may be self-evident, they have never been self-executing; that while

freedom is a gift from God, it must be secured by His people here on Earth. The patriots of 1776 did not fight to replace the tyranny of a king with the privileges of a few or the rule of a mob. They gave to us a Republic, a government of, and by, and for the people: entrusting each generation to keep safe our founding creed” (quoted from B.Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).

In his Inaugural Address in 1997, President Clinton discussed each century of American history, honoring the achievements of the American people from various epochs.

“The promise of America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal. It was extended and preserved in the 19th century, when our nation spread across the continent, saved the union, and abolished the awful scourge of slavery.

Then, in turmoil and triumph, that promise exploded onto the world stage to make this the American Century. And what a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power, saved the world from tyranny in two World Wars and a long cold war, and time and again reached out across the globe to millions who, like us, longed for the blessings of liberty.

Along the way, Americans produced a great middle class and security in old age, built unrivaled centers of learning and opened public schools to all, split the atom and explored the heavens, invented the computer and the microchip, and deepened the wellspring of justice by making a revolution in civil rights for African-Americans and all minorities and extending the circle of citizenship, opportunity, and dignity to women” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).

President Bush fostered a sense of unity among the diverse population of the United States by outlining the fundamental principles of government that have guided the nation through various challenges and triumphs. His narrative evolved around America’s continuing story of transformation and ideals. These foundational beliefs have served as a beacon for citizens, providing a framework for governance and community solidarity, learning from the past to navigate the present, and inspire future generations:

“We have a place, all of us, in a long story—a story we continue, but whose end we will not see. It is the story of a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old, a story of a slave-holding society that became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer.

It is the American story—a story of flawed and fallible people, united across the generations by grand and enduring ideals” (quoted from G.

Bush's Inaugural Address, 2001).

In his Inaugural Address in 2005, President Bush remarked on the values that lay the foundation of America: human rights and dignity. He emphasizes the importance of self-government and independence. He highlights the ongoing mission of the nation to uphold these ideals as a matter of security and a moral obligation:

“America’s vital interests and our deepest beliefs are now one. From the day of our Founding, we have proclaimed that every man and woman on this earth has rights, and dignity, and matchless value, because they bear the image of the Maker of Heaven and earth. Across the generations we have proclaimed the imperative of self-government, because no one is fit to be a master, and no one deserves to be a slave. Advancing these ideals is the mission that created our Nation. It is the honorable achievement of our fathers. Now it is the urgent requirement of our nation’s security, and the calling of our time” (Quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).

Of course, this section of the speech varies from president to president, and each president discusses different social and economic challenges, domestic and foreign political controversies, and inherent problems that the country is facing at a specific time.

For instance, Bill Clinton in his first Inaugural Address:

“This new world has already enriched the lives of millions of Americans who are able to compete and win in it. But when most people are working harder for less; when others cannot work at all; when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt many of our enterprises, great and small; when fear of crime robs law-abiding citizens of their freedom; and when millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead—we have not made change our friend.

We know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps. But we have not done so. Instead, we have drifted, and that drifting has eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).

President Clinton noted that America’s achievements and advances make it “the world’s indispensable nation” (Clinton, 1997):

“In these four years, we have been touched by tragedy, exhilarated by challenge, strengthened by achievement. America stands alone as the world’s indispensable nation. Once again, our economy is the strongest on Earth. Once again, we are building stronger families, thriving communities, better educational opportunities, a cleaner environment. Problems that once

seemed destined to deepen now bend to our efforts: our streets are safer and record numbers of our fellow citizens have moved from welfare to work” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).

When he came to the presidency, President Obama listed Americans' domestic problems, including social, economic, and ecological issues.

“That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war, against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost; jobs shed; businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly; our schools fail too many; and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

In his Inaugural Address in 2013, President Obama described the qualities of modern American society and mentioned the role of the American middle class:

“This generation of Americans has been tested by crises that steeled our resolve and proved our resilience. A decade of war is now ending. An economic recovery has begun. America’s possibilities are limitless, for we possess all the qualities that this world without boundaries demands: youth and drive; diversity and openness; an endless capacity for risk and a gift for reinvention. My fellow Americans, we are made for this moment, and we will seize it—so long as we seize it together.

For we, the people, understand that our country cannot succeed when a shrinking few do very well and a growing many barely make it. We believe that America’s prosperity must rest upon the broad shoulders of a rising middle class. We know that America thrives when every person can find independence and pride in their work, when the wages of honest labor liberate families from the brink of hardship. We are true to our creed when a little girl born into the bleakest poverty knows that she has the same chance to succeed as anybody else, because she is an American, she is free, and she is equal, not just in the eyes of God but also in our own” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).

President Bush outlined the social challenges that the citizens of the country were facing, primarily the social distinction and inequality: while some Americans thrive, others face significant barriers, leading to a sense of division undermining the sense of national unity:



“While many of our citizens prosper, others doubt the promise, even the justice, of our own country. The ambitions of some Americans are limited by failing schools and hidden prejudice and the circumstances of their birth. And sometimes our differences run so deep, it seems we share a continent, but not a country” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).

President Trump emphasized the interests of the American people and touched upon the social problems they faced:

“Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families and good jobs for themselves. These are just and reasonable demands of righteous people and a righteous public. But for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities, rusted out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation, an education system flushed with cash but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge—and the crime, and the gangs, and the drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential. This American carnage stops right here and stops right now” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).

Presidents also like to mention events of global importance. For instance, President Bush’s most important event was the Terrorist Attack of 2001, which he referred to as “*a day of fire*” (G. Bush, 2005):

“At this second gathering, our duties are defined not by the words I use, but by the history we have seen together. For a half a century, America defended our own freedom by standing watch on distant borders. After the shipwreck of communism came years of relative quiet, years of repose, years of sabbatical—and then there came a day of fire” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).

For President Clinton in 1993, such an important event that was worth to emphasize on the day of his Inauguration was the end of the Cold War:

“Today, a generation raised in the shadows of the Cold War assumes new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom but threatened still by ancient hatreds and new plagues” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).

This part of the speech includes references to the achievements of the American people, historical milestones of the country, and the contributions the American people made to the development of the world. For example, Bill Clinton, in his Inaugural

Address, noted the advances the American society made and the highlights of the American history of the last three centuries:

“Now, for the third time, a new century is upon us, and another time to choose. We began the 19th century with a choice, to spread our nation from coast to coast. We began the 20th century with a choice, to harness the Industrial Revolution to our values of free enterprise, conservation, and human decency. Those choices made all the difference. At the dawn of the 21st century a free people must now choose to shape the forces of the Information Age and the global society, to unleash the limitless potential of all our people, and, yes, to form a more perfect union” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).

In his first Inaugural Address, President Clinton first mentioned problems of the American society and then emphasized the country’s technological advancement achieved over time:

“Raised in unrivaled prosperity, we inherit an economy that is still the world's strongest, but is weakened by business failures, stagnant wages, increasing inequality, and deep divisions among our people.

When George Washington first took the oath I have just sworn to uphold, news traveled slowly across the land by horseback and across the ocean by boat. Now, the sights and sounds of this ceremony are broadcast instantaneously to billions around the world.

Communications and commerce are global; investment is mobile; technology is almost magical; and ambition for a better life is now universal. We earn our livelihood in peaceful competition with people all across the earth” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).

President Obama in 2009 emphasized the importance of promoting competition and ensuring fair play in every aspect of the country’s life, and the nation's responsibility to care for its vulnerable citizens and protect them from adversities:

“Together, we determined that a modern economy requires railroads and highways to speed travel and commerce, schools and colleges to train our workers.

Together, we discovered that a free market only thrives when there are rules to ensure competition and fair play. Together, we resolved that a great nation must care for the vulnerable, and protect its people from life’s worst hazards and misfortune” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

Thus, this part of the Inaugural Address powerfully reflects American history and

the current societal landscape, offering a meaningful context for understanding the nation's identity. By referencing key historical events and figures, the speech reinforces the foundational values that have shaped American democracy. These historical touchpoints not only honor past achievements but also bridge the legacy of former administrations with the responsibilities of the present, underscoring the importance of continuity and learning from history.

At the same time, the address confronts the nation's current challenges – economic hardship, social divisions, and environmental concerns – highlighting the urgent issues that require immediate attention. By acknowledging these realities, the new leadership demonstrates awareness and responsiveness to the concerns of the public. This recognition builds trust and emphasizes the administration's commitment to progress and accountability.

Ultimately, the speech creates a compelling narrative that connects the past with the present, inviting citizens to work together in pursuit of a better future. It calls for unity, shared responsibility, and a renewed commitment to the ideals that define the American spirit. Through this blend of historical reverence and contemporary relevance, the address seeks to inspire collective action rooted in both tradition and the demands of modern society.

## **2.5 Calling for change**

In this part of the Inaugural Address, the president focuses on his plans and political principles. Presidents tend to reiterate the promises they made during the election campaign. This part concerns the country's near future; once the newly elected president has acknowledged the challenges and current problems of the country, he should position himself as the one who will change everything.

In his first term Inaugural Address, President Clinton highlighted that a significant change is necessary for the renewal and preservation of democracy in America:

“Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundations of our nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow citizens, this is our time. Let us embrace it.

Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America. And so today, we pledge an end to the era of deadlock and drift — a new season of American renewal has begun” (quoted from B. Clinton's Inaugural Address, 1993).

The core idea of the second Inaugural Address of President Clinton is also a change. He highlights that the government must evolve into a smaller, more efficient entity that solves the problems of citizens while also standing up for national values:

“As times change, so government must change. We need a new government for a new century—humble enough not to try to solve all our

problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves; a government that is smaller, lives within its means, and does more with less. Yet where it can stand up for our values and interests in the world, and where it can give Americans the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, government should do more, not less. The preeminent mission of our new government is to give all Americans an opportunity—not a guarantee, but a real opportunity—to build better lives” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).

George Bush in his 2005 Inaugural Address assumed personal obligations, which may be considered a form of calling for change since he promised to change the current state of the country.

“My most solemn duty is to protect this nation and its people from further attacks and emerging threats. Some have unwisely chosen to test America’s resolve, and have found it firm” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).

For Barak Obama, this change is a recovery from the crises, so he said:

“Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

During his first Inaugural Address in 2017, President Trump emphasizes putting America's interests first, highlighting a transition to an “America first” policy that aims to impact both domestic and global matters:

“We, assembled here today, are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital and in every hall of power. From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. From this day forward, it’s going to be only America first. America first!” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).

In the same part of their speech presidents share their political principles, personal plans and outline administrative reforms that they intend to implement. This thematic block is marked by the usage of future forms and modal auxiliary verbs. Auxiliary verbs, such as “must” (indicates necessity or obligation, highlighting the importance of certain actions or conditions that are required to be fulfilled) and “will” (expresses future intention, suggesting what is expected to occur).

For example, President Bill Clinton discussed the changes as a renewal of America and outlined his plans for what should be done to revitalize the nation:

“We must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, in their future, and at the same time cut our massive debt. And we must do so in a world in which we must compete for every opportunity.

It will not be easy; it will require sacrifice. But it can be done, and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake, but for our own sake. We must provide for our nation the way a family provides for its children” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).

President Bush in his 2001 Inaugural Address expressed his commitment to reform and strengthen key areas in American society, including education, social security, taxation, and national defense:

“Together, we will reclaim America’s schools, before ignorance and apathy claim more young lives.

We will reform Social Security and Medicare, sparing our children from struggles we have the power to prevent. And we will reduce taxes, to recover the momentum of our economy and reward the effort and enterprise of working Americans.

We will build our defenses beyond challenge, lest weakness invite challenge.

We will confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century is spared new horrors” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).

In his second Inaugural Address, President Bush declared his primary objective to end the tyranny around the world:

“The great objective of ending tyranny is the concentrated work of generations. The difficulty of the task is no excuse for avoiding it. America’s influence is not unlimited, but fortunately for the oppressed, America’s influence is considerable, and we will use it confidently in freedom’s cause.

We will persistently clarify the choice before every ruler and every nation: The moral choice between oppression, which is always wrong, and freedom, which is eternally right. America will not pretend that jailed dissidents prefer their chains, or that women welcome humiliation and servitude, or that any human being aspires to live at the mercy of bullies” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).

Obama stated the actions that he is planning to take as “*bold and swift*” for the sake of progress and transformation in education and industry, sustainable future and improve the quality of life for all citizens:

“For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of our

economy calls for action, bold and swift, and we will act—not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. We will restore science to its rightful place, and wield technology’s wonders to raise health care’s quality and lower its cost. We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories. And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age. All this we can do. All this we will do” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

In 2013, Obama emphasized the collective responsibility of Americans to address climate change. He advocated for America to lead in technological advancements that will foster economic growth. Ultimately, he called for the people to care for the environment, linking it to the values established by previous generations:

“We, the people, still believe that our obligations as Americans are not just to ourselves, but to all posterity. We will respond to the threat of climate change, knowing that the failure to do so would betray our children and future generations. Some may still deny the overwhelming judgment of science, but none can avoid the devastating impact of raging fires, and crippling drought, and more powerful storms. The path towards sustainable energy sources will be long and sometimes difficult. But America cannot resist this transition; we must lead it. We cannot cede to other nations the technology that will power new jobs and new industries—we must claim its promise. That’s how we will maintain our economic vitality and our national treasure—our forests and waterways; our croplands and snow-capped peaks. That is how we will preserve our planet, commanded to our care by God. That’s what will lend meaning to the creed our fathers once declared” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).

The first Inaugural Address of Trump was full of optimism and a promise of renewed success for America that would be made by the administration “*to benefit American workers and American families*” (D. Trump, 2017), emphasizing a future where achievements surpass previous ones:

“We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth, and we will bring back our dreams. We will build new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels and railways all across our wonderful nation. We will get our people off of welfare and back to work, rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor. We will follow two simple rules: buy American and hire American.

We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world; but, we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their

own interests first. We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone but rather to let it shine as an example. We will shine for everyone to follow.

We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones, and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the earth” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).

Thus, the section of the Inaugural Address serves as a vital moment for the president to outline their vision and priorities for the nation’s future. It highlights the areas in need of reform and presents a roadmap for progress across key policy domains. In doing so, the president not only sets the tone for the new administration but also demonstrates a deep commitment to addressing the pressing concerns of the public. This portion of the speech often includes personal promises, signaling the president’s dedication to serving the people with integrity and purpose. These pledges foster a sense of accountability and help build public trust, reinforcing the idea that leadership is rooted in service. Through this combination of strategic goals and heartfelt promises, the president seeks to inspire national unity and encourage civic participation. This approach underscores the values of transparency, responsibility, and collaboration essential to effective democratic leadership. Ultimately, the call for change in the Inaugural Address becomes a rallying point for collective action and shared progress.

## **2.6 Reminding of the values and ideals of the American Society**

Scholars who studied presidential Inaugural Addresses of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries noticed that they most frequently invoke such values as liberty, belief in God, patriotism, justice, personal responsibility, and peace [123].

Obama emphasized the commitment of American people to protect its ideals of freedom and justice, promoting the importance of the rule of law and human rights, and solidarity with nations and individuals striving for peace and dignity:

“As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. Our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the blood of generations. Those ideals still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience’s sake. And so to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born: know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman, and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and we are ready to lead once more” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

The passage from Obama’s second Inaugural Address reflects a call to action for the current generation. It emphasizes that staying true to the founding principles as *Life, and Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness* does not necessitate uniformity in beliefs or

interpretations of liberty and happiness:

“That is our generation’s task—to make these words, these rights, these values—of Life, and Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness—real for every American. Being true to our founding documents does not require us to agree on every contour of life; it does not mean we all define liberty in exactly the same way, or follow the same precise path to happiness. Progress does not compel us to settle centuries-long debates about the role of government for all time—but it does require us to act in our time” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).

Bush emphasized the significance of individual character and the civic responsibilities of every citizen in shaping freedom. It suggests that fundamental values like fairness, family bonds, and acts of kindness have a profound impact on societal freedom and well-being:

“Our public interest depends on private character, on civic duty and family bonds and basic fairness, on uncounted, unhonored acts of decency, which give direction to our freedom” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2001).

Thus, this section emphasizes the role of presidential addresses in reaffirming the core values and ideals that define American identity, primarily freedom, equality, democracy, and the rule of law. An integral part of this section is the reference to American history, where presidents mention foundational documents, historical events, and figures, thus connecting current challenges to the enduring principles on which the nation was built. This strategy strengthens patriotic sentiment and serves to legitimize policy goals, inspire civic responsibility, and remind citizens of their role in the nation's prosperity.

## **2.7 Uniting the nation**

The Inaugural Addresses convey a call for political reform in the U.S. capital, highlighting the contrast between the powerful elite and the everyday citizens whose work supports the government.

For instance, Clinton urged a political system that prioritizes the voices of the people over privilege, and advocates for progressive governance inspired by Franklin Roosevelt's ideas of “*bold, persistent experimentation*” (Clinton, 1993):

“This beautiful Capital, like every capital since the dawn of civilization, is often a place of intrigue and calculation. Powerful people maneuver for position and worry endlessly about who is in and who is out, who is up and who is down, forgetting those people whose toil and sweat sends us here and pays our way. Americans deserve better. And in this city today there are



people who want to do better. And so I say to all of you here: Let us resolve to reform our politics so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people. Let us put aside personal advantage so that we can feel the pain and see the promise of America. Let us resolve to make our Government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called bold, persistent experimentation, a Government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays. Let us give this Capital back to the people to whom it belongs” (quoted from B. Clinton’s inaugural Address, 1993).

Bush called for citizens to actively engage in serving their communities and advocating for necessary reforms:

“What you do is as important as anything Government does. I ask you to seek a common good beyond your comfort, to defend needed reforms against easy attacks, to serve your Nation, beginning with your neighbor. I ask you to be citizens: Citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building communities of service and a nation of character” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).

In 2009, Obama highlighted the contrast between the government and the people. He emphasizes that the focus should be on whether government programs effectively help families in need:

“What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them, that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply. The question we ask today is not whether our Government is too big or too small, but whether it works; whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end. And those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day, because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

In his first Inaugural Address, Trump conveyed that true power lies with the citizens rather than the political parties. Furthermore, he identifies the date of the Inauguration as a symbol of the historic day when the public regained control over the government:

“What truly matters is not which party controls our Government, but whether our Government is controlled by the people. January 20, 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this Nation again.

The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer. Everyone is listening to you now” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017)

Clinton in his 1993 Inaugural Address highlighted the importance of young Americans and called the upcoming four years of his administration “*a season of service*” (Clinton, 1993):

“My fellow Americans, you, too, must play your part in our renewal. I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season of service: to act on your idealism by helping troubled children, keeping company with those in need, reconnecting our torn communities. There is so much to be done; enough, indeed, for millions of others who are still young in spirit to give of themselves in service, too. In serving, we recognize a simple but powerful truth: We need each other, and we must care for one another” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).

In 1997 Inaugural Address, Clinton emphasized each citizen’s personal responsibility for themselves, their families, close ones, and the broader community, advocating for a collective approach and a spirit of unity within the country as a whole:

“Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume personal responsibility—not only for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our nation. Our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century. For any one of us to succeed, we must succeed as one America” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).

Thus, this section of the Inaugural Address focuses on the president’s crucial role in promoting national unity and strengthening the relationship between the government and its citizens, marked by diversity and, at times, division, and highlights the idea of a shared American identity. By doing so, it encourages a sense of collective purpose, portraying governance not merely as the enforcement of law but as an expression of the people’s common values, hopes, and ambitions.

Additionally, this part of the address places the United States within the global context, emphasizing the country’s leadership role and international responsibilities. The presidents use this moment to remind citizens of their nation’s influence on the world stage and the importance of active engagement in global affairs. This message fosters both patriotism and a broader awareness of America’s role in promoting peace, cooperation, and shared progress. Through this dual focus, presidents aim to inspire civic pride and encourage public participation, urging Americans to work together in shaping a future that reflects their shared ideals and strengthens the country’s standing in the world.

## **2.8 Conclusion of the Inaugural Addresses**

The Inaugural Addresses of American presidents traditionally conclude with a compelling call to action for the nation. Each president, through his unique perspective and circumstances, emphasizes the importance of unity, hope, and the shared responsibility of all Americans to contribute to the collective progress of the country.

For Bill Clinton in 1993 Inaugural Address, it was a call to action for unity and service:

“And so, my fellow Americans, as we stand at the edge of the 21st century, let us begin anew with energy and hope, with faith and discipline. And let us work until our work is done. The Scripture says, "And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not." From this joyful mountaintop of celebration we hear a call to service in the valley. We have heard the trumpets. We have changed the guard. And now, each in our own way and with God's help, we must answer the call” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).

In 1997 again President Clinton calls for the unity of American people, in creating a hopeful future for all and building a metaphorical bridge that allows everyone to reach new opportunities and a brighter future:

“Fellow citizens, we must not waste the precious gift of this time. For all of us are on that same journey of our lives, and our journey, too, will come to an end. But the journey of our America must go on.

And so, my fellow Americans, we must be strong, for there is much to dare. The demands of our time are great, and they are different. Let us meet them with faith and courage, with patience and a grateful, happy heart. Let us shape the hope of this day into the noblest chapter in our history. Yes, let us build our bridge, a bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American to cross over to a blessed land of new promise” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).

President Bush highlighted the collective purpose of the American people through their duty towards each other, continuously striving for a more just and generous society, affirming the dignity of all lives:

“We are not this story's author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose. Yet, his purpose is achieved in our duty. And our duty is fulfilled in service to one another. Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose today, to make our country more just and generous, to affirm the dignity of our lives and every life. This work continues, the story goes on, and an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).

President Bush concluded his 2005 Inaugural Address with the symbolism of the Liberty Bell, which continues to represent the enduring value of liberty in America and emphasizes its' commitment to proclaiming freedom around the world, despite past challenges:

“When the Declaration of Independence was first read in public and the Liberty Bell was sounded in celebration, a witness said, “It rang as if it meant something”. In our time, it means something still. America, in this young century, proclaims liberty throughout all the world and to all the inhabitants thereof. Renewed in our strength, tested but not weary, we are ready for the greatest achievements in the history of freedom” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).

For President Barak Obama, this call was made for the resilience and unity of the American people, to strive for freedom:

“America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents and endure what storms may come. Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested, we refused to let this journey end; that we did not turn back, nor did we falter. And with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

In 2014 Obama calls to action for collective responsibility towards preserving and promoting freedom as a fundamental right:

“Let us, each of us, now embrace with solemn duty and awesome joy what is our lasting birthright. With common effort and common purpose, with passion and dedication, let us answer the call of history and carry into an uncertain future that precious light of freedom” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2014).

Trump in 2017 Inaugural Address, called for action centered around restoring and enhancing America in every aspect:

“Together, we will make America strong again. We will make America wealthy again. We will make America proud again. We will make America safe again” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).

In the tradition of American presidential inaugurations, it is customary for

presidents to conclude their Inaugural Addresses with an appeal to God, which is indicated in Table 12.

Thus, the conclusion presented in the Inaugural Addresses highlights the traditional method of concluding speeches and emphasizes the importance of religious values in American society. Thus, this practice of correlating religion and politics in American political culture is referred to as “American civil religion” by R.N. Bellah [124], who notes that there are “certain common elements of religious orientations that the great majority of American share” [124, p. 171] that can be “expressed in a set of beliefs, symbols and rituals” [124, p. 171]. serves as a solemn gesture, seeking divine guidance and protection for the American people as they embark on a new chapter in governance. It reflects the deep-rooted belief in a higher power and the desire for spiritual support in leadership, highlighting the importance of faith in the democratic process and the well-being of the nation.

## **Conclusion Section 2**

The analysis of the structure of the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. has drawn the following conclusions:

1. The Inaugural Addresses of U.S. Presidents adhere to a traditional three-part structure – introduction, main body, and conclusion. This structure underscores the ceremonial nature of the event. Each body consists of permanent sections: Introduction – salutation, denoting the transfer of power; Main body – reference to the past and current situation, calling for change, reminding of the values and ideals of American society, uniting the nation; and a Conclusion, each playing a specific rhetorical role.

2. The use of “My fellow citizens” in the salutation section is a defining feature of U.S. inaugural rhetoric, which reflects the president as one of the people rather than a superior representative of the government.

3. Denoting the peaceful transfer of power is an important part of the Inaugural Addresses of the U.S., in which presidents highlight a ceremony that carries not only political significance but also historical importance. U.S. presidents convey their personal feelings, often expressing humility, gratitude, and respect. Additionally, in their first-term Inaugural Address, presidents show appreciation for their predecessors. The ceremonial transition, marked by public acknowledgment of the oath and its sacred meaning, underscores the nation’s durability.

4. References to American history are strategically used to link the presidency with core values and historical struggles. U.S. Presidents often cite events such as the Revolution, civil rights movements, or significant historical occurrences to provide context for current societal challenges. This approach not only enhances credibility but also situates modern leadership within an extended narrative of progress and resilience, strengthening a collective national identity grounded in liberty, justice, and democracy.

5. Inaugural addresses systematically acknowledge societal challenges – economic crises, inequality, or international threats – prior to introducing a presidential agenda. This acknowledgment demonstrates the leader’s awareness of public concerns and serves to build credibility. By framing problems in the context of historical

Table 12 – Examples of conclusions in the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S.

Clinton		Bush		Obama		Trump	Biden	Trump
1993	1997	2001	2005	2009	2013	2017	2021	2025
“Thank you, and God bless you all” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).	“May God strengthen our hands for the good work ahead, and always, always bless our America” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).	“God bless you all, and God bless America” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).	“May God bless you, and may He watch over the United States of America” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).	“Thank you. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).	“Thank you. God bless you, and may He forever bless these United States of America” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).	“Thank you. God bless you, and God bless America. Thank you. God bless America” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).	“May God bless America and God protect our troops” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).	“Thank you. God bless America. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you very much. Thank you” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2025).
Note – Compiled by the author								

resilience, presidents position themselves as both inheritors of past responsibility and agents of future change, ready to confront adversity with decisive leadership.

6. Presidents articulate policy goals using assertive modal verbs to convey urgency and commitment. This portion functions as both a promise and a plan, projecting a forward-looking vision that addresses national shortcomings and reaffirms democratic values. It represents a rhetorical contract between the president and the people.

7. The final part of the U.S. Inaugural Address typically includes a moral appeal to national unity and public service. It serves as both a closure and a motivational appeal, invoking divine blessing and collective responsibility. Presidents use this moment to transcend partisan lines, appealing to shared values and urging citizens to participate in the democratic process. This conclusion reinforces the presidency not just as an office of power, but also as one of moral stewardship and civic inspiration.

### 3 STRUCTURAL PECULIARITIES OF THE INAUGURAL ADDRESSES OF THE PRESIDENT OF KAZAKHSTAN

#### 3.1 Structure of Inaugural Address of the Republic of Kazakhstan

The Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of Kazakhstan follow a consistent rhetorical and structural framework aimed at establishing legitimacy, unity, and a vision for the future. These speeches typically consist of three main parts. The introductory section includes a formal salutation and a denotation of the transfer of power, emphasizing the solemnity and continuity of leadership. The main body reflects on Kazakhstan's historical journey, current socio-political landscape, and the goals and objectives for national development. The conclusion reinforces these themes with expressions of gratitude and a call for collective action, aiming to inspire national solidarity and support. The full texts of the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of Kazakhstan are provided in Appendix B of this dissertation. The overall structure of the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents of Kazakhstan, that are being analyzed is represented in Table 13.

Table 13 – Structural peculiarities of Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of Kazakhstan

Introduction	
Salutation	Greeting the audience and attending distinguished guests.
Denoting the transfer of power:	Naming the ceremony
Main body	
Reference to the past and current situation	History of Kazakhstan
	Current state and challenges of Kazakhstan
Assuming personal obligations:	Plans and aims of the President
	Personal promises
Stating goals and objectives	Stating plans for the future
Reminding of the values and ideals of Kazakhstani society	Uniting the multinational population
Conclusion	
Conclusion	Gratitude
	Call for action/unification
Note – Compiled by the author	

Thus, Table 13 represents the president's traditional political oratory, consolidates



his authority, and charts a forward-looking path for the country.

### 3.2 Salutation

The salutation includes an appeal and the thesis regarding the naming of the event, the inauguration. Etiquette words like “distinguished” and “dear” are common addressing words.

In Table 14, we concentrate on the Salutation of the audience in Kazakhstani Inaugural Addresses.

Table 14 – Salutation in Kazakhstani Inaugural Addresses

N. Nazarbayev					K. Tokayev	
1991	1999	2006	2011	2015	2019	2022
“Dear compatriots! Dear people's deputy! Dear guests!” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 1991)	“Dear compatriots! Dear guests!” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 1999)	“Distinguished guests! Dear compatriots!” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 2006)	“Dear compatriots! Distinguished guests! Ladies and gentlemen!” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 2011)	“Dear compatriots!” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 2015)	“Your Excellency, the President! Dear compatriots!” (quoted from K. Tokayev's Inaugural Address, 2019)	“Dear compatriots! Ladies and gentlemen! Distinguished guests!” (quoted from K. Tokayev's Inaugural Address, 1991)
Note – Compiled by the author						

Table 14 shows the evolution of greeting formulas in Kazakhstan's presidential Addresses, reflecting a dynamic shift from a post-Soviet nation-building to Independence. This is evidenced by N. Nazarbayev's usage of phrases as “*Dear compatriots! Dear people's deputy!*” (N. Nazarbayev, 1991); and as his Presidency progressed, he gradually omitted institutional references in favor of broader ceremonial greetings and generalized appeals, signaling both ritualization of the inauguration ceremony and the firm consolidation of Nazarbayev's authority.

In contrast, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev's greeting in the 2019 Inaugural Address as “*Your Excellency, the President! Dear compatriots!*” (K. Tokayev, 2019) reintroduced hierarchical deference, acknowledging N. Nazarbayev and signaling a deliberate gesture of continuity. This is also seen in the American Inaugural Address, as the President serving his first term acknowledges his predecessor. His greeting of the audience in 2022 reflects a more inclusive and balanced rhetorical approach, combining national unity with international diplomacy. These shifts demonstrate how greeting formulas function as micro-level indicators of broader socio-political transformations of Kazakhstan's leadership and statecraft.

Thus, the opening formal greeting plays a vital role in setting the tone for the entire event. It warmly welcomes distinguished guests, officials, and the general public, highlighting the inclusive and respectful nature of the occasion. By beginning with such recognition, the speaker not only honors the presence of those gathered but also underscores the importance of the moment. This initial address conveys gratitude and

acknowledges the collective significance of the event, creating an atmosphere of unity and mutual respect. Ultimately, the greeting establishes a thoughtful and dignified foundation for the proceedings that follow.

### **3.3 Denoting the transfer of power**

The Inaugural Addresses delivered by the presidents of the United States and Kazakhstan exhibit notable structural differences, particularly in how they frame the significance of the inauguration ceremony in their introductions. For the presidents of the United States, the inauguration is a historical moment that emphasizes the solemnity of the power transfer.

In contrast, in Kazakhstan, the Inaugural Addresses of the presidents frame the election event as an act of unification among the diverse factions and communities within the country, as well as a transfer of power. These differing narratives not only reflect the cultural and political contexts of the two nations but also highlight the varying roles that ceremonial speeches play in shaping national identity and public sentiment during transitions of leadership [103, p. 33].

However, President Nazarbayev's first Inaugural Address is distinct. He acknowledged the changed status of Kazakhstan following the collapse of the USSR and how Kazakhstan emerged as an independent entity in the international arena:

“Ne kazhdomu pokoleniju vypadaet na dolju byt' svideteljami i uchastnikami stol' grandioznyh istoricheskikh peremen, kakie perezhivaem my s vami. Bez preuvelichenija mozžno skazat', chto u nas na glazah na karte mira pojavljajutsja novye gosudarstva, menjajutsja obshhestvenno-politicheskie i jekonomicheskie formacii, formy gosudarstvennogo upravlenija” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 1991).

“It is not for every generation that it falls to be a witness and participant in such grandiose historical changes as we are experiencing. Without exaggeration, we can say that before our eyes on the world map, new states are appearing, socio-political and economic formations are changing, and forms of government are changing”.

During his second Inaugural Address, Nazarbayev highlighted a significant turning point in Kazakhstan's history, marking the transition from the turbulent events of the 20th century to the optimism associated with the 21st century. He uses the phrase “dol'she veka dlitsja den'” (a day lasts longer than a century), which references B. Pasternak's poem “Edinstvennye dni” from 1959. However, it became popular after the publication of Ch. Aitmatov's novel “I dol'she veka dlitsja den'...” (And the day lasts longer than a century) in the 1980s. This phrase signifies memorable, key events in a person's life that shape their personality and destiny:

“V politike bol'shaja redkost' periody, kogda dol'she veka dlitsja den'. Takim dnem dlja nashej strany i dlja menja stalo 10 janvarja 1999 goda. V

Kazahstane jeta data stala vodorazdelom, pograničnoj linije mezhdu krovavym i dramatičnym vekom XX i polnym nadezhd i ozhidaniy vekom XXI” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1999).

“In politics, there is a period of great rarity, when a day lasts longer than a century. January 10, 1999 became that day for our country and for me. In Kazakhstan, this date has become a watershed, a boundary line between the bloody and dramatic XX century and the XXI century full of hopes and expectations”.

In his third Inaugural Address, the president underlined the importance of the inauguration ceremony, not only for his persona but for thenation in general:

“Segodnja — ochen' vazhnyj istoricheskij den' ne tol'ko dlja menja, prinižajushhego prisjagu, no i dlja vsej nashej strany” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2006).

“Today is a very important historic day, not only for me taking the oath, but for our entire country”.

Following this, President Nazarbayev mentioned open and transparent elections, leading to the election of a new Head of State for Kazakhstan:

“Bolee mesjaca nazad narod Kazahstana demokratičeskim putem na otkrytyh, spravedlivyh i prozrachnyh vyborah osushhestvil svoe voleiz’javlenie i izbral Glavu gosudarstva” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2006).

“More than a month ago, the people of Kazakhstan expressed their will through open, fair and transparent elections and elected the Head of the State”.

In his 2011 Inaugural Address, President Nazarbayev shared a deep sense of responsibility and pride on the solemn day of Inauguration, reflecting the trust placed in him by the nation:

“Bügin eldiñ aqjoltai senimın, abyroily amanatyn arqalağan men üşin erekşe tebireniske toly airyqşa aişyqty kün” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2011).

“Today is a special day, full of special emotions, for me, who carries the country's trust and honorable pride”.

This is followed by the President’s appreciation for the decision made by the people of Kazakhstan in the presidential election, along with deep gratitude to the citizens for their trust and support:

“Qazaqstan halqy Prezident sailauy arqyly бүгінin baiyptaityn, bolaşağyn bekemdeitin tarihi tañdau jasady. Sondyqtan, mağan tağdyryn tabystap, el tızgynın senip ūstatqan, mynau aq kiizge qaitadan kötergen, senim artqan ardaqty halqyma aqjarma alğysymdy aitamyn” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2011).

“The people of Kazakhstan have made a historic choice through the presidential election that will enrich their present and strengthen their future. Therefore, I express my sincere gratitude to my honorable people who entrusted me with their destiny, entrusted me with the leadership of the country, and once again raised me to this white mantle and placed their trust in me”.

In his 2015 Inaugural Address, President Nazarbayev started by denoting the importance of the election, which reflects the nation's unity and hope for a prosperous future, he highlighted that it was a democratic choice made by the citizens:

“26 säuir elimiz ūşın tağy bır tarihi, tağdyrly kün boldy. Prezident sailauy Qazaqstan halqynyñ kemeñgerligin bükıl älemge paş etti. El birligine beriktıgı men kemel keleşekke senimin tanytty. Mäñgılık Eldiñ myzğymas ūstyndaryna adaldyğyn körsetti. Bül tañdau – jarqyn bolaşaqqa qadam basqan Qazaqstannyñ tañdauy! Birligin berekege ūlastyryp, ūly ıster jolynda ūıysqan barşa halyqtyñ joly! Öziniñ, ūrpağynyñ bolaşağyn qasietti Otanymyz – Qazaqstanmen birge köretin ärbir azamattyñ erik-jigeri!” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2015).

“April 26 was another historic and fateful day for our country. The presidential election demonstrated the wisdom of the people of Kazakhstan to the whole world. It demonstrated their steadfastness in the unity of the country and their faith in a bright future. It demonstrated their loyalty to the unshakable principles of the Eternal Nation. This choice is the choice of Kazakhstan, which has stepped into a bright future! The path of all the people, who have united for prosperity and united for great deeds! The will of every citizen who sees the future of himself and his descendants together with our sacred Motherland - Kazakhstan!”.

President Nazarbayev then elaborated that Inauguration Day serves as a profound reflection of the people's trust in their leadership, with a range of primary national ideas such as economic growth, social justice, and environmental sustainability, which are essential for the progress and unity of the nation:

“Bügingi mereili sätte mağan berilgen senim mandatı – memlekettigimizdi nyğaitu jolyndağy qyruar ısterimizdiñ bağasy! Qazaqstandy eñ quatty elderdiñ qataryna qosudy közdeitin ūly maqsatqa berilgen halqymnyñ aq batasy! “Mäñgılık El” ūlttyq ideiasy men

“Qazaqstan 2050” strategiasyna, “Nūrly jol” baǵdarlamasy men «Bes halyqtyq reformaǵa» elimniń bıldırgen qoldauy” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2015).

“The mandate of trust given to me on this solemn moment is a reward for our great work on strengthening our statehood! The blessing of my people, dedicated to the great goal of including Kazakhstan among the most powerful countries! The support of my country for the national idea of “Mangilik El” and the strategy “Kazakhstan 2050”, the “Nurly Zhol” program and the “Five People's Reforms”.

In his first Inaugural Address President Tokayev expressed gratitude to the people of Kazakhstan for their support and highlighted the democratic nature of the recent elections, open competition among various political forces and programs:

“Eñ aldymen, maǵan zor senim artyp, qoldau körsetken barǵa Qazaqstan halqyna alǵys aitamyn! Bül sailau, şyn mäninde, demokratia talaptaryna sai ötti. Sailau alańynda, naǵyz aşyq bāsekege tüsu mümkindiǵı boldy. Barlyq saiasi küş ökilderi qatysty. Saiasi baǵdarlamalar saıysqa tüsken ädil doda boldy” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2019).

“First of all, I would like to thank all the people of Kazakhstan for their great trust and support in me! These elections were held following the requirements of democracy. There was an opportunity for a truly open competition on the electoral platform. Representatives of all political forces participated. It was a fair competition in which political programs competed”.

In his last Inaugural Address, President Tokayev focused more on the historic moment of the inauguration of the second president in Kazakhstan's history than on the day of the event itself. He highlighted the significance of a transformative year for Kazakhstan, emphasizing important constitutional reforms and modernization efforts in key sectors that have boosted the people's hope and confidence in the future:

“Biyl halqymyz üşin airyqşa mańyzdy jyl boldy. Qazaqstan damudyń jańa дәuiri qadam basty. Bız tübegeili betbürısqa jol aşqan auqymdy özgerister jasadyq. Konstitusialyq reformany jüzege asyrdyq. Memleketimizdiń eñ basty salalaryn jan-jaqty jańǵyrttyq. Sonyń arqasynda halyqtyń bolaşaqqa degen ümiti artyp, senimi nyǵaıa tüsti” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022).

“This year has been a particularly important year for our people. Kazakhstan has entered a new era of development. We have made large-scale changes that have paved the way for a fundamental turning point. We have implemented constitutional reform. We have comprehensively modernized

the most important sectors of our state. Thanks to this, the people's hope for the future has increased and their confidence has been strengthened”.

Thus, this section represents a crucial and symbolic moment in the democratic process, highlighting the peaceful and lawful transfer of presidential authority. Such a transition is not only a formal change in leadership but also a reaffirmation of democratic values and constitutional principles, which reinforces the legitimacy of the new administration while promoting continuity and stability in governance.

The peaceful handover of power also strengthens public trust in democratic institutions. It demonstrates that leadership change can occur without conflict, guided by the rule of law and the will of the people. This adherence to democratic norms serves as a powerful example of responsible governance and commitment to public service. Moreover, it helps cultivate a political culture rooted in transparency, accountability, and civic participation. Ultimately, this process ensures that democracy remains resilient and responsive to the evolving needs of its people.

### **3.4 Reference to the past and present situation**

When referring to the communal challenges of the society, president “refers to the socio-economic problems that need to be addressed, and the challenges facing the country and the world” [125, p. 9].

In his initial Inaugural Address, President Nazarbayev discussed the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the challenges faced by Kazakhstan, and the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States:

“Ves'ma neozhidannym bylo zayavlenie rukovoditelej Rossii, Ukrainy i Belarusi, podpisanie imi soglasheniya o sozdanii Sodruzhestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv. Resheniya, prinjatyje liderami treh respublik slishkom ser'ezny, chtoby po svezhim sledam davat' im kategorichnuju ocenku” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1991).

“It was quite unexpected for the leaders of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus to sign the agreement on the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The decisions taken by the leaders of the three republics are too serious to give them a categorical assessment on fresh tracks”.

The President of Kazakhstan has outlined several significant challenges, which include economic instability, social inequities, environmental concerns, and the need for political reforms. Addressing these relevant issues is crucial for ensuring the sustainable development and stability of Kazakhstan in the coming years:

“My razvivaem obrazovanie kak glavnyj faktor konkurentosposobnosti kazahstancev. U nas sozdajotsja set' shkol principial'no novogo tipa - Intellektual'nye shkoly. My otkryli v Astane Mezhdunarodnyj universitet - unikal'nyj centr nauki, v kotorom rabotajut professora iz vedushhih nauchno-

obrazovatel'nyh centrov vsego mira. My sovershenstvuem sistemu zdavoohranenija, adaptiruja ee k mezhdunarodnym standartam XXI veka” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2011).

“We are developing education as the main factor in the competitiveness of Kazakhstanis. We are creating a network of schools of a fundamentally new type - Intellectual Schools. We have opened an International University in Astana - a unique science center, where professors from leading scientific and educational centers around the world work. We are improving the healthcare system, adapting it to international standards of the 21st century”.

In the Inaugural Address of 2015, President Nazarbayev spoke not only of the pressing problems in the country but also pointed to the difficulties and realities of the modern world.

“Strategija - 2050 postavila pered naciej novuju ambicioznuju zadachu: vojti v chislo 30-ti samyh razvityh gosudarstv mira. V nachale vtorogo desjatiletija situacija v mire sposobstvovala nashemu uskorennomu razvitiju. No segodnja global'nyj mir stal razvivat'sja ne po samomu blagoprijatnomu scenariju. Na nashih glazah krizisy i konflikty sotrjasajut vse chasti sveta. Uvelichivaetsja kolichestvo nesostojavshihsja gosudarstv, grazhdane kotoryh prozjabajut v nishhete ili gibnut v voennyh konfliktah. Nestabil'nost' vplotnuju podoshla k granicam Central'noj Azii” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2015).

“Strategy - 2050 set the nation a new ambitious task: to become one of the 30 most developed countries in the world. At the beginning of the second decade, the world situation contributed to our accelerated development. But today the global world began to develop not according to the most favorable scenario. Crises and conflicts are shaking all parts of the world before our eyes. The number of failed states, whose citizens are languishing in poverty or dying in military conflicts, is increasing. Instability has come very close to the borders of Central Asia”.

Thus, this section offers a reflective overview of Kazakhstan’s historical journey, tracing the nation's path from its early struggles for sovereignty to its emergence as a stable, independent state. It highlights the significant milestones, including economic modernization, infrastructural development, and the establishment of national identity. The narrative acknowledges not only the triumphs but also the complexities of this journey, recognizing the social, political, and economic reforms that have shaped the contemporary landscape. Presidents also address ongoing issues such as inequality, corruption, and the need for greater civic engagement and institutional transparency. This dual focus not only honors the progress made but also sets a realistic and forward-looking context for the present, emphasizing the importance of continued reform and national cohesion in shaping Kazakhstan’s future.

### 3.5 Assuming Personal Obligations

The assumption of personal obligations and responsibilities is directly “connected to the oath of the newly elected President of Kazakhstan since only after taking the oath, he officially becomes the president of the country and the guarantee of the Constitution”. [125, p. 7].

In the following examples, we see how the president makes a direct reference to the oath, thereby accepting the duties of the president as prescribed by the Constitution:

“Tol'ko chto soglasno Konstitucii strany ja dal prisjagu moemu narodu! Ejo slova ja segodnja vpervye proiznjos nakanune samogo dobrogo i svetlogo prazdnika — Dnja edinstva naroda” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2015).

“Just now, in accordance with the country's Constitution, I took the oath to my people! Today, for the first time, I pronounced its words on the eve of the kindest and brightest holiday – the Day of People's Unity”.

In the following excerpt from the Inaugural Address in 2015, President Nazarbayev expressed his commitment to serve the people, protect the country, and uphold the welfare of citizens:

“I teper' ja hochu skazat' so vsej otvetstvennost'ju, chto, kak i v predydushhie gody, ja budu verno sluzhit' narodu, zashhishhat' stranu i blagosostojanie vseh nashih grazhdan, budu otstaivat' nashi vysshie nacional'nye interesy” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2015).

“And now I want to say with all responsibility that, as in previous years I will faithfully serve the people, protect the country and the welfare of all our citizens, I will defend our supreme national interests”.

The personal pronoun "I" also serves as an indicator of this thesis, as it signifies the moment when the president personally assumes the responsibilities of the country's highest office. The usage of the singular personal pronoun is closely related to the oath of office, recited by the president on the day of Inauguration.

For instance, the oath in the Inaugural Address of President Nazarbayev is pictured as a commitment to uphold the Constitution, laws, and national values, while highlighting a strong connection to the nation's history:

“Ja tol'ko chto prinjal prisjagu Prezidenta Respubliki Kazahstan. Ja pokljajsja sobljudat' nashu Konstituciju, nashi zakony, nashu nacional'nuju chest' i dostoinstvo. I ja nikogda ne narushu jetu kljatvu. Cherpaja silu v nashem slavnom proshlom, my tverdo shagnem v novoe stoletie” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1999)



“I just took the oath of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. I swore to observe our Constitution, our laws, our national honor and dignity. And I will never break this oath. Drawing strength in our glorious past, we will take a firm step towards a new century”.

Similarly, in the 2011 Inaugural Address, President Nazarbayev linked his obligation to the Oath and expressed a deep commitment to loyalty and responsibility, highlighting the importance of trust between the leader and people:

“Meniñ ainymas antym – amanatqa adaldyqtyñ, senimge serttiñ belgisi! Aqjürek jürtymnyñ qaltqysyz senimi qaşanda mağan orasan zor jauapkerşilik jüginmindetteidi. Men üşin el ümitin aqtağannan, jürt senimin saqtağannan asqan baqyt joq” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2011).

“My unwavering oath is a sign of loyalty to the trust, a pledge of trust! The unwavering trust of my people always imposes on me a huge responsibility. For me, there is no greater happiness than to justify the hopes of the country and to maintain the trust of the people”.

In his first Inaugural Address, President Tokayev emphasized his commitment to protect the interests of citizens and promote unity across different political views as a new leader of the country:

“Sondyqtan, Prezident retinde halqymyzğa mynany aitqym keledi: Elimizdiñ är azamatynyñ müddesin qorğau – meniñ basty maqsatym. Olardy saiasi közqarastary men üstanymdaryna qarai böluge jol bermeimin!” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2019)

“Therefore, as President, I would like to say to our people: Protecting the interests of every citizen of our country is my main goal. I will not allow them to be divided based on their political views and positions!”.

At the same time, this block includes examples of positive qualities required of the head of state to successfully fulfill his obligations. For example,

“Vremja, kotoroe mne dano narodom, budet ispol'zovano dlja dostizhenija jetih celej. Jetot kart-blansh dolzhen byt' opravdan tverdoj politicheskoy volej i chetkim ponimaniem prioritetov” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2006).

“The time that is given to me by the people will be used to achieve these goals. This carte blanche must be justified by a firm political will and a clear understanding of the priorities”.

The given block is closely connected to the thesis of gratitude. The president often

expresses his gratitude to the people who chose him as their leader after having assumed his duties as the president.

For example, in the Inaugural Address of 1999, President Nazarbayev mentioned a long list of those to whom he was grateful:

“Ja gorzhus' tem, chto absoljutnoe bol'shinstvo moih sootchestvennikov progolosovali za menja. Jeto osobenno cenno, potomu chto ja ne obeshhal 'raj na zemle', a bol'she govoril o trudnostjah predstojashhih let, vyzvannyh mirovym jekonomicheskim krizisom. No ja takzhe blagodaren tem kazahstancam, kotorye golosovali za drugih kandidatov. Ne tol'ko potomu, chto blagodarja im sostojalis' dejstvitel'no konkurentnye vybory, no i potomu, chto jeto zhestkij i chestnyj signal glave gosudarstva o trudnostjah i bedah soten tysjach nashih sootchestvennikov” (quoted from N.Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1999).

“I am proud that the absolute majority of my compatriots voted for me. This is especially valuable because I did not promise “a paradise on earth” but spoke more about the difficulties of the coming years caused by the world economic crisis. But I am grateful to those Kazakhstanis who voted for other candidates. Not only because, thanks to them, really competitive elections took place, but also because it is a tough and honest signal to the head of state about the difficulties and sorrows of hundreds of thousands of our compatriots”.

In 1991 Inaugural Address President Nazarbayev adeptly united the themes of commitment and gratitude. By integrating these theses, President Nazarbayev not only underscores their individual significance but also highlights how their intersection can enhance the overall impact of his address. For example, in his first Inaugural Address, he said:

“Ja polnost'ju osoznaju vysokoe doverie i velikuju chest', kotorye vy okazali mne na pervyh vsenarodnyh vyborah Prezidenta Kazahstana. Ot vsego serdca hochu poblagodarit' izbiratelej, predstavljajushhih raznye nacional'nosti i social'nye sloi, obshhestvennye dvizhenija i partii, religioznye obshhiny – vseh, kto podderzhal menja i predlozhennuju mnoj programmu. Mandat narodnogo doverija – jeto ne tol'ko pravo dejstvovat', no i ogromnaja otvetstvennost' pered vsem narodom. Ja nadejus' na vashu podderzhku i obeshhaju sdelat' vse vozmozhnoe, chtoby opravdat' vashi stremlenija i nadezhdy” (quoted from N.Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1991).

“I fully realize the high confidence and great honor that you rendered to me in the first national elections of the President of Kazakhstan. From the bottom of my heart I want to thank the voters representing different nationalities and social strata, social movements and parties, religious

communities - all those who supported me and the program put forward by me. The mandate of the people's trust is not only the right to act, but also a great responsibility to the entire people. And I hope for your support and I promise to do everything possible to justify your aspirations and hopes”.

Thus, this essential section highlights a clear articulation of personal commitments and responsibilities, emphasizing a deep sense of duty and readiness to serve the nation and its people with integrity. It presents a roadmap of plans and promises designed to ensure transparency and accountability in leadership. By openly sharing these goals, the intention is to strengthen public trust and demonstrate a firm commitment to people-centered governance.

Presidents make pledges to sincere commitments, serving as a foundation for meaningful collaboration between leadership and the public. This fosters an atmosphere of mutual respect, where citizens feel valued and actively involved in shaping their future. Each promise stands as a testament to the leader's dedication to addressing public concerns and delivering tangible results.

Ultimately, this section seeks to inspire trust, encourage civic engagement, and highlight the importance of leadership that listens, responds, and remains accountable. It sets the tone for a forward-looking, inclusive administration that prioritizes the well-being of all and upholds the ideals of service and responsibility at every step.

### **3.6 Stating Goals and Objectives**

In this section of his address presidents tend to define their plans for the future of the country, both domestically and internationally, as defining goals and objectives “is an integral part of the Inaugural Address, since the entire platform of the presidential campaign is based on them” [125, p. 6].

In the first Inaugural Address of the President N. Nazarbayev as a leader of a country that is just gaining its independence, pinpoints the main goals in front of the government and the country to become a unique, economically, politically, and culturally important in region:

“Suverennyj Kazahstan predstoit na dele prevratit' v samostojatel'nyj sub'ekt mezhdunarodnyh otnoshenij, aktivnoe dejstvujushhee lico mirovogo jekonomicheskogo prostranstva. Geograficheskoe polozhenie i social'nyj potencial respubliki sposobstvujut orientacii Kazahstana kak na Aziatsko-Tihookeanskij, tak i na Evroatlantskij region. Nam neobhodimo formirovat' rynek otkrytogo tipa, sdelat' inostrannye investicii vazhnym faktorom kardinal'nyh strukturnyh izmenenij narodnogo hozjajstva, vseмерно narashhivat' zolotoj zapas i valjutnyj fond” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 1991).

“Sovereign Kazakhstan must be transformed into an independent subject of international relations, an active participant in the global economic space. The geographical location and social potential of the republic

contribute to Kazakhstan's orientation both to the Asia-Pacific and the Euro-Atlantic region. We need to form an open market, make foreign investment an important factor in fundamental structural changes in the national economy, and increase the gold reserve and currency fund in every possible way”.

In his Inaugural Address in 1999, President Nazarbayev was very brief in explaining his goals and plans, basically stating only two aims that he want to achieve:

“Peredo mnoj stojat dve vneshne prostye zadachi. No istorija učit, čto oni samye slozhnye. U nashih drevnih predkov naivysšej pohvaloj pravitelju byli slova: «On horosho kormil svoj narod». Pojetomu pervaja zadacha — jeto dostatok naroda. Est' vremja razbrasyvat' kamni, i est' vremja sobirat' kamni. Est' vremja provodit' reformy, i est' vremja pozhinat' plody reform. Za budushhie 7 let narod dolzhen uvidet' plody reform na svoem stole i v svoem karmane. Vtoraja zadacha — jeto razvitie demokratii v strane. My provedem v jetom godu vybory v Parlament po novomu izbiratel'nomu zakonu. Vse partii i nacional'nye gruppy smogut uchastvovat' v jetoj bor'be. Za 49 nedel' do novogo tysjacheletija al'ternativy svobode net” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1999).

“I have two seemingly simple tasks before me. But history teaches that they are the most difficult. Our ancient ancestors' highest praise for a ruler was: "He fed his people well." Therefore, the first task is the people's prosperity. There is a time to throw away stones, and there is a time to gather stones. There is a time to carry out reforms, and there is a time to reap the fruits of reforms. Over the next 7 years, the people must see the fruits of reforms on their tables and in their pockets. The second task is the development of democracy in the country. We will hold elections to the Parliament this year under a new electoral law. All parties and national groups will be able to participate in this struggle. 49 weeks before the new millennium, there is no alternative to freedom”.

However, his later inaugural addresses were more detailed, President Nazarbayev elaborated extensively on his goals and objectives: engaging in constructive diplomacy, envisioning a prosperous nation, enhancing economic development, and strengthening the rule of law throughout the country:

“Nasha vnutrennjaja bezopasnost' budet stroit'sja na treh platformah. Jeto sohranenie mezhnacional'nogo i religioznogo soglasija, jeto političeskaja stabil'nost' na fone ser'eznoj demokratizacii političeskoj sistemy, jeto zhestkaja profilaktika sistemnyh ugroz nacional'noj bezopasnosti.

Nasha vneshnjaja bezopasnost' stroitsja na zdravom ponimanii svoih

mezhdunarodnyh objazatel'stv v sfere jenergeticheskoy bezopasnosti, bor'by s mezhdunarodnym terrorizmom, sozdaniy pojasa dobrososedstva i stabil'nosti po vsemu perimetru kazahstanskikh granic" (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 2006).

"Our internal security will be built on three platforms. This is the preservation of interethnic and religious accord, this is political stability amid a serious democratization of the political system, this is a severe prevention of systemic threats to national security.

Our external security is built on a sound understanding of its international obligations in the field of energy security, combating international terrorism, creating a zone of good-neighborliness and stability along the entire perimeter of Kazakhstan's borders".

In 2011 and 2015, President Nazarbayev provided an insightful and detailed exposition of the ambitious tasks he had set for himself during his tenure. These objectives are not merely political statements; they represent a comprehensive approach to governance that is designed to impact every facet of the country's life. These goals are intricately linked to various strategic frameworks aimed at guiding the nation towards sustainable growth and prosperity such "Kazakhstan-2030", "The Plan of the Nation", "Strategic Plan for the Development of the Country-2020" programs:

"K nachalu tret'ego desjatiletija my sozdam vse uslovija dlja perehoda Kazahstana v chislo industrial'no razvityh stran mira.

Jetim my triumfal'no zavershim istoricheskiju Strategiju "Kazakhstan do 2030". I pristupim k razrabotke eshho bolee ambicioznyh planov na sledujushhie desjatiletija, kotorye budut ispolnjat' nashi deti i vnuki, i budut vspominat' to, chto my sozdali dlja nih takuju moshhnuju bazu do 2030 goda. Integracija i otkrytost' vsemu miru – nash osoznannyj vybor" (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 2011).

"By the beginning of the third decade, we created all the conditions for the transition of Kazakhstan to the number of industrially developed countries of the world.

This is the triumphant completion of the historical Strategy "Kazakhstan to 2030". And we will begin to develop even more ambitious plans for the next decade, which will be fulfilled by our children and grandchildren, and will remember that we have created such a powerful base for them by 2030. Integration and openness to the world is our conscious choice."

The section outlining President Nazarbayev's goals and objectives in his 2015 Inaugural Address is quite extensive, as he provided a detailed overview of "The Plan of the Nation." Before presenting the plan, however, he identified four main aims or challenges for Kazakhstan's statehood in the 21st century: increasing the middle class,

ensuring balanced regional growth, combating corruption, creating new job opportunities, and strengthening national unity. Together, these priorities represent significant challenges for statehood in the 21st century:

“Vo-pervyh, nam nado uvelichit' dolju srednego klassa, kak opory nashej stabil'nosti, razvit' biznes i pomoch' strane stat' gosudarstvom s preobladaushhim kolichestvom zhitelej srednego dostatka. Vo-vtoryh, my ogromnaja strana. Pojetomu nam nado razvivat' Edinyj vnutrennij rynok i sbalansirovannoe razvitie vseh regionov. V-tret'ih, bor'ba s korrupciej javljaetsja odnim iz glavnyh prioritetrov nashej raboty. V-chetvertyh, sozdanie novyh rabochih mest, dlja jetogo osushhestvljaetsja industrial'naja programma, razvivaetsja biznes. V-pjatyh, ukreplenie edinstva narii na novom vitke istorii. Vsjo jeto vyzovy nashej gosudarstvennosti v XXI veke.” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2015).

“Firstly, we need to increase the share of the middle class as the support of our stability, develop business and help the country become a state with a predominantly middle-income population. Secondly, we are a huge country. Therefore, we need to develop a Single Internal Market and balanced development of all regions. Thirdly, the fight against corruption is one of the main priorities of our work. Fourthly, the creation of new jobs, for this purpose an industrial program is being implemented, business is developing. Fifthly, strengthening the unity of the nation at a new turn of history. All these are challenges to our statehood in the 21st century”

In his first Inaugural Address, President Tokayev demonstrated his support for the strategic plans of his predecessor and outlined similar, or even identical, points shared in the extract above:

“Prezhde vsego, ja budu rabotat' nad realizaciej Tret'ej modernizacii Kazakhstana, pretvoreniiem v zhizn' Pjati institucional'nyh reform i drugih vazhnejshih strategicheskikh dokumentov nashego gosudarstva. Drugimi slovami, ja budu rabotat' nad realizaciej Strategii Elbasy.

Chtoby strana smogla vyjti na novyj uroven' ustojchivogo razvitija, nuzhny novye podhody i novye reshenija” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2019).

“First of all, I will work on the implementation of the Third Modernization of Kazakhstan, the implementation of the Five Institutional Reforms and other key strategic documents of our state. In other words, I will work on the implementation of the Elbasy Strategy.

For the country to reach a new level of sustainable development, new approaches and new solutions are needed”.

In his 2022 Inaugural Address, President K. Tokayev not only outlined his plans for

the inner well-being of the country but also emphasized international relations by articulating the role and plans of Kazakhstan as an independent member of the global political sphere:

“V svoem razvitii nasha strana budet v osnovnom rasschityvat' na sobstvennye sily, no v to zhe vremja aktivno razvivat' mezhdunarodnoe sotrudnichestvo v razlichnyh oblastjah, vkljuchaja privilechenie prjamyh inostrannyh investicij.

Kazakhstan prodolzhit osushhestvlenie sbalansirovannoj, konstruktivnoj vneshnej politiki, napravlennoj na zashhitu nacional'nyh interesov” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2019).

“In its development, our country will mainly rely on its own strength, but at the same time actively develop international cooperation in various areas, including attracting foreign direct investment. Kazakhstan will continue to implement a balanced, constructive foreign policy aimed at protecting national interests”.

Thus, in this section, the focus transitions to establishing clear national goals and developmental priorities that will guide Kazakhstan toward a prosperous future. This segment serves not merely as a roadmap; it is designed to inspire both the public and state institutions alike by articulating a comprehensive vision for Kazakhstan’s advancement and fostering a shared purpose among all citizens. Furthermore, this initiative marks the beginning of a proactive presidential term, one that actively engages with the community and encourages collaborative efforts to achieve these goals. The emphasis is on sustainable development, economic growth, social cohesion, and the empowerment of every individual, paving the way for a brighter, more equitable future for all citizens of Kazakhstan.

### **3.7 Reminding of the values and ideals of the Kazakhstani society**

Defining and mentioning the values “is one of the most important segments of the Inaugural Address of the President of Kazakhstan, as this part reveals the positive qualities of the people, emphasizes the unity of the multinational population, extols the rich historical past of the country, and highlights the achievements of independent Kazakhstan” [125, p. 8].

In his first Inaugural Address, President Nazarbayev urged the citizens to draw upon their rich cultural traditions as an advantage in facing the challenges ahead on the international stage:

“Nuzhno osoznat', chto na nashu dolju vypal istoricheskij shans, kotoryj my ne dolzhny upustit'. Ja imeju v vidu to, chto kazahskaja nacija vobravshaja v sebja tradicii i mudrost' predydushhih pokolenij, skoncentrirovshaja nerastrachennuju jenergiju sozidanija, nakopivshaja ogromnyj opyt internacionalizma, nacional'nogo i grazhdanskogo soglasija,

mozhet i dolzhna vzjat' na sebja velikuju missiju – vystupit' garantom stabil'nosti i spokojstvija v svoem regione, dostojno vojti v mirovoe soobshhestvo” (quoted from N.Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1991).

“We must realize that we have been given a historic chance that we must not miss. I mean that the Kazakh nation, having absorbed the traditions and wisdom of previous generations, having concentrated the unspent energy of creation, having accumulated a huge experience of internationalism, national and civil accord, can and must take on a great mission - to act as a guarantor of stability and peace in its region, to worthily enter the world community”.

Nursultan Nazarbayev consistently emphasized the Kazakh people's diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, underscoring their unity and solidarity:

“Edinstvo naroda Kazahstana, nezavisimo ot nacional'nosti, religii, cveta kozhi, iz politicheskogo lozunga stalo politicheskim faktom. K schast'ju, vse rassuzhdenija o raskole kazahov i russkih, tjurkov i slavjan, musul'man i hristian na protivopolozhnye gruppy vo vremja vyborov ostalis' lish' rassuzhdenijami. Dlja menja jeto znak budushhego, znak mirnoj i spokojnoj zhizni nashih narodov v sledujushhem veke” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1999).

“Unity of the people of Kazakhstan, regardless of nationality, religion, color of the skin from the political slogan became a political fact. Fortunately, all the arguments about the split of the Kazakhs and Russians, Turks and Slavs, Muslims and Christians to the opposite groups during the elections, remained arguments. For me, this is a sign of the future, a sign of the peaceful and peaceful life of our peoples in the next century”.

In his first Inaugural Address, President Nazarbayev made clear statement about the ability of the Kazakhstanian people to live independently, separate from the Soviet regime:

“Dlja jetogo u nas est' neobhodimyj jekonomicheskij potencial, bogatejshie prirodnye resursy, a samoe glavnoe – u nas est' kvalificirovannyj otrjad rabochih i krest'jan, talantlivye uchenye i inzhenery. U nas est' zamechatel'naja tvorcheskaja intelligencija i molodezh', gotovaja sluzhit' delu procvetanija nashej rodnoj respubliki” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1991).

“For this we have the necessary economic potential, the richest natural resources, and most importantly - we have a qualified detachment of workers and peasants, talented scientists and engineers. We have a remarkable creative intelligentsia and young people ready to serve the cause of prosperity of our native republic”.



President's ultimate aim was to create a strong sense of community and collective responsibility among the populace, encouraging individuals to contribute actively and positively towards the shared objective. This approach reflects a deep commitment to civic engagement and the importance of working hand-in-hand for the benefit of all:

“Nasha sila v edinstve – edinstve cennostej i stremlenij k progressu i procvetaniju nashej Rodiny” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural, 2006).

“Our strength is in unity - the unity of values and aspirations for the progress and prosperity of our Motherland”.

President Nazarbayev acknowledges the sacrifices of ancestors in achieving independence and stresses the importance of the current generation to uphold this legacy by fostering the development and stability of Kazakhstan for future generations. He often describes the current generation as the successors of their ancestors, who inherited bravery and heroism of past generations, by referring to the prominent figures of the nation:

“My dolzhny byt' dostojny nashih muzhestvennyh predkov, v zhestokih bitvah vekami zashchishhavshih shirokie prostory nashej Rodiny. Oni mechtali o nezavisimosti, o edinom i sil'nom gosudarstve. Na dolju nashego pokolenija vypalo velikoe schast'e osushhestvit' jetu mechtu. Nasha istoricheskaja zadacha – vyvesti stranu v rjad razvityh gosudarstv mira i peredat' budushhim pokolenijam sil'nyj i procvetajushhij Kazahstan” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 2006).

“We should be worthy of our brave ancestors, in the fierce battles for centuries defending the vast expanses of our Motherland. They dreamed of independence, of a single and strong state. It was a great happiness for our generation to realize this dream. Our historical task is to bring the country to a number of developed countries of the world and to pass on to future generations a strong and prosperous Kazakhstan”.

Whereas President Tokayev in his Inaugural Addresses, expressed that peace, harmony, and unity are fundamental, and it is the shared responsibility of the nation, as one people, to safeguard these values:

“Öitkeni, halqymyzdyñ tatulyğy, yntymağy, birlığı – bızdıñ eñ basty qūndylyğymyz. Osy qūndylyқты közdіñ qaraşyğyndaı saқтаu – barşamyzğa ortaқ paryz” (quoted from K. Tokayev's Inaugural Address, 2019).

“After all, our people's peace, harmony, and unity are our most important values. Preserving these values is a common duty for all of us”.

In his 2022 Inaugural Address, he connected the present generation with their ancestors by sharing common values and emphasizing the strength derived from this unity – particularly the unity of the people – and how it has shaped the country's identity as a modern society:

“Babalarymyz qai zamanda da birlıgın bärinen biik qoiğan. Bız ata jolyn saqtai bilgen, zamanauı jäne örkenietti el ekenımızdı bükıl dünüe jüzine paş ettik. Birlıgımızdıñ bekemdıgın tağy da дәleldei aldyq” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Addresss, 2022).

“Our ancestors have always valued unity above all else. We have shown the world that we are a modern and civilized country that has preserved our ancestral ways. We have once again proven the strength of our unity”.

This segment emphasizes the foundational values of unity, inclusiveness, and a shared national identity as central pillars of Kazakhstan’s statehood and societal development. In addressing the country’s rich and diverse multinational composition, the president underscores the importance of fostering harmony. The presidents invoke national ideals such as patriotism, mutual respect, and civic responsibility, positioning them as essential components for nurturing a well-established society. Through this inclusive rhetoric, the leadership seeks to cultivate a sense of belonging and shared destiny among all citizens, regardless of their background. This approach aims to fortify national pride and solidarity, particularly in the face of global uncertainties and internal challenges, by encouraging every citizen to see themselves as an integral part of Kazakhstan’s collective future.

### **3.8 Conclusion of the Inaugural Addresses**

The conclusion of the Inaugural Address serves as a significant culmination of the themes and ideas presented throughout the speech. In this crucial section, various theses highlighted in the main part of the address are revisited and synthesized. It reinforces the key messages and emphasizes the significance of the goals and the nation's aspirations. To gain a deeper understanding of the implications behind these addresses, it is especially beneficial to analyze each Inaugural Address within this broader context.

In his first Inaugural Address, President Nazarbayev highlighted the themes of praise for the people and their unity:

“Ja verju, chto my sumeem sozdat' na territorii Kazahstana vysokorazvituju politjetnicheskuju civilizaciju, v kotoroj vozrodivsja kazahskaja nacija, v kotoroj budut svobodno chuvstvovat' sebja vse vkhodjashhie v nee narii i narodnosti” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1991).

“I believe that we will be able to create a highly developed polyethnic civilization in Kazakhstan, in which the Kazakh nation will revive, in which

all the nations and nationalities entering it will feel free”.

In his 1999 Inaugural Address, President Nazarbayev used the thesis of assuming personal obligations and commitment to uphold the Constitution. It reflects a dedication to national honor and dignity, emphasizing a connection to the country's proud history while looking forward to future progress:

“Ja tol'ko chto prines prisjagu Prezidenta Respubliki Kazahstan. Ja pokljalsja bljusti nashu Konstituciju, nashi zakony, nashu nacional'nuju chest' i dostoinstvo. I ja nikogda ne narushu jetoj kljatvy. Cherpaja sily v nashem slavnom proshlom, my tverdoj postup'ju pojdem navstrechu novomu veku” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1999).

“I just took the oath of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. I swore to observe our Constitution, our laws, our national honor and dignity. And I will never break this oath. Drawing strength in our glorious past, we will take a firm step towards a new century”.

In his 2006 Inaugural Address, President Nazarbayev emphasized the importance of staying together as a community while honoring ancestral covenants and recognizing the responsibility we hold towards the prosperity of future generations:

“Tak budem zhe vseгда vmeste i vseгда vpered! Imenno k jetomu nas prizyvajut zavety nashih predkov i otvetstvennost' pered grjadushhimi pokolenijami” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2006).

“Let us always be together and always ahead!” It is to this that we are called upon by the covenants of our ancestors and by the responsibility to future generations”.

In the 2011 Inaugural Address, President Nazarbayev expressed gratitude to the people of Kazakhstan for their trust and pledged them to work diligently, emphasizing peace and friendship within the diverse nation:

“Vsem kazahstancam hochu skazat' ogromnoe chelovecheskoe spasibo za takoe doverie, kotoroe bylo okazano, kotoroe vdohnovljaet. Estestvenno, ja budu rabotat' ne pokladaja sil. A vam ja zhelaju krepkogo zdorov'ja, vseh blag, spokojstvija, blagopoluchija v sem'e, spokojstvija, družby, mira i stabil'nosti v nashej mnogonacional'noj strane” (quoted from the N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2011).

“I would like to say a huge thank you to all Kazakhstanis for such trust that has been rendered, which inspires. Naturally, I will work tirelessly. I wish everyone good health, all the best, peace, prosperity in the family, peace, friendship, peace and stability in our multinational country. All the best, dear compatriots!”.

President Nazarbayev concluded his last Inaugural Address with a heartfelt wish for the prosperity, peace, and honor of Kazakhstan and its people, emphasizing national pride and security:

“Qazaqstannyñ jūldyzy joǵary, joly nūrly bolsyn! Eldıktıñ tuy bıkte jelbırep, abyroiymyz asqaqtai bersın! Elimız aman, jūrtymyz tynys bolsyn!” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2015).

“May the star of Kazakhstan rise high, may its path be bright! May the flag of the country fly high, and may our honor be exalted! May our country be safe, and our people be at peace!”.

The acting President of Kazakhstan K. Tokayev concluded his first Inaugural Address by emphasizing the unity and commitment to the future prosperity of Kazakhstan. The excerpt conveys a strong sense of duty to the people and expresses a dedication to overcoming challenges together, ultimately seeking the success of the nation:

“Būl – bızdın küş-quatymyzdyñ dıñgegi. Bız aldymyzdaǵy barlyq qiyndyqtardy birge eñseremiz. Bız quatty äri güldengen Qazaqstannyñ örkendeui üşin Birge eñbek etemiz.

Antqa adal bolu, sertke berik bolu – meniñ halyq aldyndaǵy paryzym. Qazaqstannyñ jarqyn bolaşaǵy üşin, halyq üşin aianbai eñbek etuge sert beremin.

Barşañyzǵa amandyq, qūt-bereke tileimin. Qasietti Otanymyz – Qazaqstan Respublikasy jasai bersın!” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2019).

“This is the pillar of our strength. Together we will overcome all the difficulties ahead. Together we will work for the prosperity of a strong and prosperous Kazakhstan.

To be faithful to the oath, to be faithful to the covenant is my duty to the people. I swear to work tirelessly for the bright future of Kazakhstan, for the people.

I wish you all well-being and prosperity. May our sacred homeland - the Republic of Kazakhstan - prosper!”.

The conclusion of President Tokayev's latest Inaugural Address in 2022 differs from both his earlier address and N. Nazarbayev’s. President Tokayev refers to the Holy Mecca and the Kaaba, two of the most sacred sites in the Muslim world. President Tokayev highlights the tradition within Kazakh culture of offering prayers for the souls of departed ancestors. This practice reflects deep-rooted values of respect and

remembrance for those who have passed away, acknowledges the spiritual beliefs that resonate with citizens, and reinforces the cultural connection to the past of the nation

Furthermore, he showcased his deep commitment to the unity of Kazakhstan, which is his sacred duty, as the President of Kazakhstan:

“Qazaq – yrymşyl halyq. Men biyl qasietti Mekkege barğan kezde Qağba törinde ata-baba ruhyna qūran bağyştap, Alladan bır-aq nārse sūradym. Ol – eldiñ amandyğy. Şyn mäninde, elimız aman bolsa, jerimiz bütin, birligimiz bekem, memlekettigimiz mänğibolady. Osy qūndylyqtardy myzğymastai etip bekıtu – qazaqtyñ perzentı, Qazaqstannyñ Prezidenti retindegi meniñ qasietti paryzym” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022).

“Kazakhs are a superstitious people. When I visited the holy Mecca this year, I prayed to the spirits of my ancestors at the Kaaba and asked Allah for only one thing. It is the safety of the country. In fact, if our country is safe, our land is whole, our unity is strong, and our statehood is eternal. To firmly establish these values is my sacred duty as a son of the Kazakh people, the President of Kazakhstan. Frankly speaking, service is temporary, and the people are eternal.)

Thus, the conclusion offers sincere gratitude to the nation and its supporters, expressing deep appreciation for their trust and dedication. It culminates in a powerful call for unity and a shared sense of purpose, urging all citizens to come together in pursuit of the country’s collective aspirations. The speaker reaffirms an unwavering commitment to serving the people and emphasizes the importance of solidarity, cooperation, and civic responsibility in building a stronger future. With a hopeful and forward-looking tone, the address envisions a prosperous, peaceful, and united Kazakhstan, where every individual contributes to and benefits from the nation's continued growth and success.

### **Conclusion Section 3**

The analysis of the structure of the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the Republic of Kazakhstan has drawn the following conclusions:

1. Kazakhstani Inaugural Addresses also follow a stable three-part structure – salutation, main body, and conclusion – reflecting formal political rhetoric. Each part consists of the following segments: Introduction – salutation, denoting the transfer of power; Main body –reference to the past and current situation, assuming personal obligations, stating goals and objectives, and reminding of the values and ideals of Kazakhstani society; and Conclusion. While structurally similar to the American format, these speeches place heavier emphasis on themes of national unity, sovereignty, and institutional legitimacy.

2. The salutations in Kazakhstani Inaugural Addresses reflect the country’s development, as the early addresses by President Nazarbayev included references to

specific institutions and officials, signaling a transition from Soviet governance. Over time, greetings became broader and more ceremonial, emphasizing unity over hierarchy. President Tokayev's salutations reintroduced respectful acknowledgments of predecessors, signaling political continuity and institutional respect, while simultaneously reflecting a shift toward a more inclusive and diplomatic rhetorical style.

3. Kazakhstani Inaugural Addresses emphasize the significance of presidential elections and their role in legitimizing leadership. The ceremony is presented not only as a formal transfer of power but also as a unifying national event. These speeches frequently reference transparent electoral processes and constitutional mandates, reinforcing democratic aspirations and the president's personal accountability to the people.

4. Presidents of Kazakhstan frequently draw upon historical events to frame their vision for the future, particularly the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the birth of national sovereignty. This historical reflection establishes a continuity of purpose from independence to modernization. While acknowledging past challenges, the narrative positions Kazakhstan as a resilient, strategically placed nation with global aspirations. The emphasis on national development and identity situates leadership within the broader story of progress and transformation.

5. Kazakhstani Presidents articulate strategic goals and objectives that align with long-term national development plans, covering economic modernization, infrastructure, education, and governance reforms. The objectives are framed as collective endeavors, meant to ensure Kazakhstan's place among the world's most developed nations. Such visionary rhetoric fosters national ambition and positions the presidency as a driver of institutional and economic transformation.

6. The expressions of gratitude in the final section of Inaugural Addresses, directed towards voters and political supporters, go beyond politeness; they act as culturally rooted affirmations of legitimacy. By acknowledging citizens from diverse ethnic, social, and political backgrounds, presidents aim to convey an image of inclusive leadership, reinforcing the narrative of a mandate earned through public trust, which aligns leadership with national unity and reciprocity.

## 4 GENERIC ANALYSIS OF THE INAUGURAL ADDRESSES OF AMERICAN AND KAZAKHSTANI PRESIDENTS

### 4.1 Functional Characteristics of Inaugural Address

#### 4.1.1 Functional Characteristics of the Inaugural Address of the Presidents of the United States

Inaugural Address serves the specific function of unifying the nation, inspiring them from the new beginning, declaring the policy and plans of the new administration, and assuming the office of the Presidency. In this regard, Y. Sheigal identifies four major functions of Inaugural Addresses as integrative, inspirational, declarative, performative functions [105, p. 207-211].

The integrative function of the Inaugural Address can be deeply understood through its use of inclusive language, as illustrated by phrases such as “*my fellow citizens*”, “*fellow Americans*”, “*our Nation*”, “*people united across the generations*”, and “*America*”, and more informal “*folks*” frequently used by President Biden in his Inaugural Address in 2021. Each of these expressions serves as not only formalities but rather, expresses a sense of unity and collective identity among the diverse population of the United States. Presidents strive to evoke a spirit of togetherness that transcends individual differences and reflects a shared commitment to the values and goals of the nation.

Furthermore, those terms emphasize the idea that the nation belongs to all its citizens, fostering a sense of collective purpose of overcoming the challenges, highlighting the continuity of American identity, that binds them not only in the present but also rooted in the past and extend into the future.

Clinton in 1993 Inaugural Address called for a renewed commitment to America's core values of unity and diversity, reflecting on its history and embracing the American ideals to forge a unified future:

“Today we do more than celebrate America. We rededicate ourselves to the very idea of America, an idea born in revolution and renewed through two centuries of challenge; an idea tempered by the knowledge that, but for fate, we, the fortunate, and the unfortunate might have been each other; an idea ennobled by the faith that our Nation can summon from its myriad diversity the deepest measure of unity; an idea infused with the conviction that America's long, heroic journey must go forever upward” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).

In his 1997 Inaugural Address, Clinton highlighted the significant importance and intrinsic worth of America's diverse racial, religious, and political backgrounds, which uniquely define the nation and frame its strength in overcoming challenges. His message urges all citizens to appreciate and honor the complex nature of their fellow Americans:

“Our rich texture of racial, religious, and political diversity will be a godsend in the 21st century. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, forge new ties that bind together” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).

In President George W. Bush's Inaugural Address delivered in 2001, rather than suggesting that the strength of the nation arises solely from the shared heritage, backgrounds, or geographic connections among its people, he articulates that America's true power is rooted in a collective dedication to ideals and values that bind its citizens together. This sense of unity, according to President Bush, is vital as it transcends personal backgrounds, cultural diversity, and unique identities, promoting a sense of unity vital for the nation's advancement. He encourages citizens to acknowledge that their collective dedication to fundamental values like freedom, justice, and equality is what ultimately empowers the strength and resilience of the American nation, ensuring it stays a symbol of hope and democracy globally:

“America has never been united by blood or birth or soil. We are bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests, and teach us what it means to be citizens” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).

In his second Inaugural Address, President Bush sent a profound message about the foundational role of character in society, enriched by the diversity of the American nation:

In his second Inaugural Address, President Bush underscored that the strength and resilience of the nation are deeply rooted in the principles of integrity, honor, and moral responsibility. In reflecting on these values, President Bush called upon all citizens to embrace their responsibilities to one another and to the society as a whole, fostering a greater sense of community and shared purpose among the varied peoples of America. Through his words, he inspired a vision of unity, urging the American people to build a future grounded in shared values and mutual respect for one another’s differences:

“That edifice of character is built in families, supported by communities with standards, and sustained in our national life by the truths of Sinai, the Sermon on the Mount, the words of the Koran, and the varied faiths of our people. Americans move forward in every generation by reaffirming all that is good and true that came before, ideals of justice and conduct that are the same yesterday, today, and forever” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).

In 2009 Inaugural Address Obama delved into the unity and strength of America in its’ diverse heritage, its blend of different religions, cultures, and languages,



mentioning the struggles of the country in the past, and America's role in winning the divisions and leading in the peaceful era:

“For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus and nonbelievers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth. And because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass, that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself, and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace” (quoted from B. Obama's Inaugural Address, 2009).

President Obama in his second Inaugural Address, used the Founding Fathers of the American state to unite the people as the keepers of democracy:

“The patriots of 1776 did not fight to replace the tyranny of a king with the privileges of a few or the rule of a mob. They gave to us a republic, a government of and by and for the people, entrusting each generation to keep safe our founding creed” (quoted from B. Obama's Inaugural Address, 2013).

In his Inaugural Address in 2017, President Trump pointed out the inevitable connection between the people by mentioning the hardships of the most vulnerable people of the nation and stating that no matter the social differences, the issues are common:

“We are one Nation, and their pain is our pain, their dreams are our dreams, and their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny” (quoted from D. Trump's Inaugural Address, 2017).

President Biden emphasized the need to resolve the divisive conflicts in society and called for empathy, tolerance, and humility, using his mother as an example:

“We must end this uncivil war that pits red against blue, rural versus urban, conservative versus liberal. We can do this if we open our souls instead of hardening our hearts, if we show a little tolerance and humility, and if we're willing to stand in the other person's shoes, as my mom would say. Just for a moment, stand in their shoes” (quoted from J. Biden's Inaugural Address, 2021).

Similarly, President Trump in his 2017 Inaugural Address notes the multifaceted origin of the American nation, however, united by their devotion to the democracy and freedom of the nation:

“It's time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget: that whether we are Black or Brown or White, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots, we all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same great American flag” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).

In the last Inaugural Address of President Trump we observe a collective effort from various communities to come together, setting aside differences in pursuit of a common vision:

“National unity is now returning to America, and confidence and pride is soaring like never before” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2025).

As noted earlier, the Presidents of the United States reference the Founding Fathers, previous presidents, and the roles of ordinary people as soldiers, politicians, activists, and events in American history. They use those to fulfill the inspirational function to “emphasizes traditional and national values, as well as the cultural heritage passed down from ancestors” [103, p. 25].

For instance, President Clinton in his Inaugural Address in 1993 compared the day of his inauguration with the first ceremony of the inauguration of George Washington:

“When George Washington first took the oath I have just sworn to uphold, news traveled slowly across the land by horseback and across the ocean by boat” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugral Address, 1993).

In his 2005 Inaugural Address, President George W. Bush referred to the tragic events of September 11, 2001, as "the day of fire." This phrase captures the intense chaos and devastation that took place on that fateful day, marking a pivotal moment in American history:

“For a half a century, America defended our own freedom by standing watch on distant borders. After the shipwreck of communism came years of relative quiet, years of repose, years of sabbatical, and then there came a day of fire” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).

In 2009 President Obama emphasized the importance of maturity and progress as a nation and called for a reaffirmation of core values such as equality, freedom, and the

pursuit of opportunity for all citizens. Moreover, in the example, the president uses the phrase “the time has come to set aside childish things” (B.Obama, 2009), which is a religious imagery in use:

“We remain a young nation, but in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things. The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit, to choose our better history, to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2005).

Barak Obama, for instance, used the events of 1776, when American soldiers fought for the independence of the United States from the British Empire, and the Declaration of Independence was adopted:

“The patriots of 1776 did not fight to replace the tyranny of a king with the privileges of a few or the rule of a mob” (quoted from B.Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).

In the inaugural discourse of American presidents, we observe the presence of the nation's traits and what makes America a unique country. This notion is closely related to the history of the United States.

For instance, President Clinton, in 1993, noted the steadfastness of the American character, which helped the nation overcome hardships and meet the challenges of its times.

“And I thank the millions of men and women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over depression, fascism, and communism” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).

President Obama in 2013 highlighted the national traits of the American people that will help them build a prosperous future of the country:

“America's possibilities are limitless, for we possess all the qualities that this world without boundaries demands: youth and drive; diversity and openness; an endless capacity for risk and a gift for reinvention” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).

President Biden has made a passionate call for unity among Americans to address and overcome significant challenges such as extremism, and various social issues. He expressed deep commitment to this cause by saying that his “entire soul is invested in this” and encourages every American to join this call:

“My entire soul is invested in this. Bringing America together, uniting our people and our nation. I urge every American to join me in this cause. Uniting to combat the adversities we face: anger, resentment, and hatred; as well as extremism, lawlessness, violence, disease, joblessness, and hopelessness” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).

President Trump in his last Inaugural Address emphasized a vision of creating a unique nation characterized by strong values such as compassion and courage:

“We will be a nation like no other, full of compassion, courage, and exceptionalism” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2025).

The declarative function of an Inaugural Address plays a crucial role in setting the stage for a new administration. Typically, this function encompasses several key elements, including a comprehensive outline of the administration's objectives, which helps to define the vision and priorities moving forward. Furthermore, the address often acknowledges the pressing issues that the nation currently faces, conveying a sense of urgency and the necessity for action. It is also essential for the address to present a clear and strategic plan outlining the specific steps.

In doing so, the use of certain terms and clichés becomes commonplace, as these linguistic tools contribute to establishing an authoritative tone. Such language not only resonates with the audience but also reinforces the president’s commitment and determination to lead effectively.

President Clinton in 1993 emphasized America's responsibility to engage with global challenges while rebuilding domestically, to shape international change:

“While America rebuilds at home, we will not shrink from the challenges nor fail to seize the opportunities of this new world. Together with our friends and allies, we will work to shape change, lest it engulf us. When our vital interests are challenged or the will and conscience of the international community is defied, we will act, with peaceful diplomacy whenever possible, with force when necessary. The brave Americans serving our Nation today in the Persian Gulf, in Somalia, and wherever else they stand are testament to our resolve. But our greatest strength is the power of our ideas, which are still new in many lands. Across the world we see them embraced, and we rejoice. Our hopes, our hearts, our hands are with those on every continent who are building democracy and freedom. Their cause is America's cause” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).

In his 1997 Inaugural Address President Clinton expressed an optimistic vision for the future, outlining a commitment to high standards in schools, accessible higher education for all, and a supportive environment where families can invest time in

learning and bonding:

“The promise we sought in a new land, we will find again in a land of new promise. In this new land, education will be every citizen's most prized possession. Our schools will have the highest standards in the world, igniting the spark of possibility in the eyes of every girl and every boy. And the doors of higher education will be open to all. The knowledge and power of the information age will be within reach not just of the few but of every classroom, every library, every child. Parents and children will have time not only to work but to read and play together. And the plans they make at their kitchen table will be those of a better home, a better job, the certain chance to go to college” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).

President Bush in his 2001 Inaugural Address shows his support for the allies, however, meet the aggression with determination:

“We will defend our allies and our interests. We will show purpose without arrogance. We will meet aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength. And to all nations, we will speak for the values that gave our Nation birth” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).

In a notable approach to diplomatic communication, President Obama chose to address each counterpart directly by utilizing the phrase “to those”. This method not only personalized his messages but also fostered a sense of direct engagement and inclusivity in his addresses:

“To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward based on mutual interest and mutual respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict or blame their society's ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy. To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

In his 2017 Inaugural Address, President Trump emphasizes that the new administration will join forces with the allies to eliminate terrorism while guarding friendly relations around the world and contributing to peace all over the world:

“We will seek friendship and good will with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first. We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example—we will shine—for everyone to

follow. We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).

President Biden in his 2021 Inaugural Address, conveyed a commitment to revitalizing international relationships and addressing current and future challenges through influential leadership that emphasizes the strength of collaboration and values:

“We will repair our alliances, and engage with the world once again. Not to meet yesterday's challenges but today's and tomorrow's challenges. And we'll lead not merely by the example of our power but the power of our example” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).

In 1997 Clinton highlights the importance of acting together for the sake of the nation, thus urging the people of America for the rewards that will come afterwards:

“Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, forge new ties that bind together” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).

Bush in his Inaugural Address in 2001 pointed out the actions to be taken in homeland security, to preserve the peace and to provide safety for the citizens of the United States:

“Together we will reclaim America's schools before ignorance and apathy claim more young lives. We will reform Social Security and Medicare, sparing our children from struggles we have the power to prevent” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).

For Obama, in his 2009 Inaugural Address, the actions to be taken to ensure economic growth and secure social welfare are “bold and swift” (B.Obama, 2009), thus meaning that they will be firm and fast:

“The state of the economy calls for action, bold and swift, and we will act not only to create new jobs but to lay a new foundation for growth. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. We will restore science to its rightful place and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost. We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories. And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age. All this we can do. All this we will do” (quoted from B.Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

In 2013, Obama addressed the continuity of actions and their relevance to today, as well as their impact on the well-being of future generations:

“We must act, knowing that our work will be imperfect. We must act, we must act knowing that today's victories will be only partial and that it will be up to those who stand here in 4 years and 40 years and 400 years hence to advance the timeless spirit once conferred to us in a spare Philadelphia hall” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).

In 2017, Trump called for action instead of addressing the pressing issues facing society:

“We will no longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action, constantly complaining, but never doing anything about it. The time for empty talk is over. Now arrives the hour of action” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).

The Inaugural Address serves a critical performative function, highlighting the significance of recognizing the multitude of duties and responsibilities that accompany the office of the presidency. This pivotal segment of the speech allows the newly elected president to articulate his vision for the nation and to demonstrate his potential as an effective leader. In delivering this address, he underscores his readiness to embrace the responsibilities that the presidency entails. By doing so, he reassures the public of his commitment to fostering a government that is accountable, transparent, and dedicated to serving the interests of the people.

The performative aspect of the Inaugural Addresses is, primarily highlighted in the oath recited just before the Inaugural Address [103, p. 29].

President Obama in 2009 represented the importance of the oath through his personal experience and connected it with the social inequality of African American citizenry:

“This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed; why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent Mall, and why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

In his Inaugural Address in 2013, Obama highlighted that his oath is no different than the oath of an ordinary soldier or an immigrant that is acquiring American citizenship:

“But the words I spoke today are not so different from the oath that is

taken each time a soldier signs up for duty or an immigrant realizes her dream. My oath is not so different from the pledge we all make to the flag that waves above and that fills our hearts with pride” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).

President Trump in 2017 noted that his oath is not only for assuming the office of the President but his loyalty to the nation:

“The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).

President Biden emphasizes the importance of unity and collective responsibility among the people of America. It signifies that the sacred oath taken by patriots, starting with George Washington, represents a commitment to the nation and its democratic ideals. He highlights that the American success story is collective efforts of all citizens:

“I’ve just taken a sacred oath each of those patriots have taken. The oath first sworn by George Washington. But the American story depends not on any one of us, not on some of us, but on all of us. On we the people who seek a more perfect union. This is a great nation, we are good people. And over the centuries through storm and strife in peace and in war we’ve come so far. But we still have far to go” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).

The Inaugural Address aims to acknowledge the people’s role by accepting the president's responsibilities and limitations. This is primarily achieved through the repeated use of the personal pronoun “I” in his speech. The president addresses his supporters directly with “you”, reinforcing the covenant between them.

When addressing the people in 1993, President Bush called on Americans to return power to the citizens:

“Americans deserve better. And in this city today there are people who want to do better. And so I say to all of you here: Let us resolve to reform our politics so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people. Let us put aside personal advantage so that we can feel the pain and see the promise of America. Let us resolve to make our Government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called bold, persistent experimentation, a Government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays. Let us give this Capital back to the people to whom it belongs” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).

In his 1997 Inaugural Address, Clinton called for unity, stressing that people have elected the president to work together, to fix the nation's divisions and fulfill the



America's mission:

“To that effort I pledge all my strength and every power of my office. I ask the Members of Congress here to join in that pledge. The American people returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and extreme partisanship they plainly deplore. No, they call on us instead to be repairers of the breach and to move on with America's mission” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).

In his 2001 Inaugural Address, Bush emphasized the significance of the common good over personal comfort and the need for engaged, responsible citizens with strong moral values who contribute to their communities:

“I ask you to seek a common good beyond your comfort, to defend needed reforms against easy attacks, to serve your Nation, beginning with your neighbor. I ask you to be citizens: Citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building communities of service and a nation of character” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).

In his second Inaugural Address, he calls for national unity and perseverance of the nation amid challenges by acknowledging the sacrifices made by citizens and emphasizing the role and values of America as a nation to protect and liberate others:

“Today I also speak anew to my fellow citizens. From all of you I have asked patience in the hard task of securing America, which you have granted in good measure. Our country has accepted obligations that are difficult to fulfill and would be dishonorable to abandon. Yet because we have acted in the great liberating tradition of this Nation, tens of millions have achieved their freedom” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).

Obama in his first Inaugural Address in 2009 acknowledged the significant challenges while emphasizing his determination to find solutions despite the difficulties and time required:

“Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real. They are serious, and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this, America: They will be met” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

In his second Inaugural Address, Obama highlights the importance of an oath, a pledge made to both God and the nation:

“My fellow Americans, the oath I have sworn before you today, like the

one recited by others who serve in this Capitol, was an oath to God and country, not party or faction. And we must faithfully execute that pledge during the duration of our service” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).

In 2017, Trump asserted that action was needed to defend the interests of the people. By doing so, he made a personal commitment to protect national borders from foreign competition, claiming that this protection was vital for maintaining economic prosperity and job growth:

“We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength. I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).

President Biden called for a renewed commitment to listening and understanding one another, rejecting the divisive and aggressive nature of political conflict and urging rejection of the manipulation of facts:

“If we do that, I guarantee we will not failed. We have never, ever, ever, ever failed in America when we've acted together. And so today at this time in this place, let's start afresh, all of us. Let's begin to listen to one another again, hear one another, see one another. Show respect to one another. Politics doesn't have to be a raging fire destroying everything in its path. Every disagreement doesn't have to be a cause for total war and we must reject the culture in which facts themselves are manipulated and even manufactured” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).

President Trump expressed his commitment to support and advocate for everyone, especially both parents and children in achieving their dreams and aspirations:

“So, to every parent who dreams for their child and every child who dreams for their future, I am with you, I will fight for you, and I will win for you. We're going to win like never before” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2025).

Thus, each of the four functions of Inaugural Addresses plays a crucial and multifaceted role in supporting the supreme goals of a President. Firstly, these addresses are instrumental in uniting the nation, especially during times of division and conflict, setting a tone of solidarity and collective purpose. Secondly, they serve as a platform for the President to articulate his political goals, outlining the policies and initiatives he intends to pursue during his term in office. Thirdly, Inaugural Addresses are a means for the President to formally assume the obligations of the highest office

in the land, acknowledging the responsibilities and the weight of leadership that comes with this position. Lastly, these addresses are designed to inspire the people by invoking the communal values that bind the country together, highlighting themes of hope, resilience, and unity in the face of challenges. Together, these functions not only reflect the aspirations of the newly elected President but also resonate with the American public, aiming to foster a sense of shared identity and collective progress.

#### 4.1.2 Functional Characteristics of Inaugural Address of the Republic of Kazakhstan

The integrative function of the Inaugural Address reflects the president's willingness to unite the nation behind a common vision and purpose. Because the President is given a platform to "unify the nation under his authority and show the inextricable connection between the president and the people" [103, p. 22] by emphasizing shared values and national aspirations.

In his 2022 Inaugural Address, President Tokayev uses the term "aǵaiyn" (Tokayev, 2022), which means "brothers." This term also conveys a strong sense of unity, solidarity, and determination to work alongside the citizens and support one another as members of one family:

"Men prezidenttik misiandy halqymmen birge aldaǵy jeti jylda abyroimen atqaryp syǵamyn dep senemin. Bızdın Otanymyz – bir, memleketımız – bir, halqymyz – bir! Sondyqtan árqaşan birge bolaiyq, aǵaiyn!" (quoted from K. Tokayev's Inaugural Address, 2022).

"I believe that I will fulfill my presidential mission with honor together with my people over the next seven years. Our Motherland is one, our state is one, our people are one! So let us always stand together, my brothers!"

For instance, in 1991, President Nazarbayev expressed that the solemn ceremony represents a collective victory rather than an individual achievement, and it is not just about one candidate or a political group, but rather the triumph of a shared idea:

"To, chto my otmechaem segodnja, — ne pobeda odnogo cheloveka. Jeto obshhaja pobeda. Jeto ne torzhestvo odnogo iz pobedivshih kandidatov, a torzhestvo idei. Jeto ne uspeh politicheskoy gruppy, a uspeh politiki" (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 1999).

"What we are celebrating today is not a victory of one person. This is a collective victory. This is not a triumph of one of the winning candidates but a triumph of an idea. This not a success of a political group, but a success of politics".

In 2006 N. Nazarbayeva noted that the elections in Kazakhstan, observed by international observers, demonstrated the country's confidence in its present and future, as well as the unity of its diverse population:

“Vybory, sostoivshiesia na glazakh nabliudatelei iz mnogikh stran mira i mezhdunarodnykh organizatsii, stali iarkim svidetel'stvom uverenosti nezavisimogo Kazakhstana v svoem nastoiashchem i budushchem, svidetel'stvom edinstva nashego naroda, splochnogo obshchei tsel'iu” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 2006).

“The elections, having taken place before the eyes of observers from many countries and international organizations, have become vivid evidence of independent Kazakhstan's certainty in its present and future, proof of the unity of our people united by a common goal”.

President Tokayev prioritized his intention to place the interests of the state above all else and is committed to earning the trust of the people in the future:

“Dlja menja interesy gosudarstva prevyshe vsego. Sdelaju vse, chtoby v predstojashhie sem' let opravdat' vysokoe doverie naroda” (quoted from K. Tokayev's Inaugural Address, 2022).

“For me, the interests of the state come above all. I will do everything to justify the high trust of the people in the coming seven years”.

Tokayev also noted that the recent presidential elections represented a patriotic commitment from citizens, reflecting their deep concern for their country:

“Proshedshie prezidentskie vybory stali podlinnym patrioticheskim aktom. Vybory podtverdili iskrennee neravnodushie grazhdan k sud'be Rodiny. Oni stali olicetvoreniiem torzhestva idei spravedlivosti, triumfa narodnoj voli, nachala vsestoronnego obnovenija nashej strany” (quoted from K. Tokayev's Inaugural Address, 2022).

“The recent presidential elections became a true act of patriotism. They confirmed the genuine concern of citizens for the fate of their Motherland. The elections embodied the triumph of the idea of justice, the victory of the people's will, and the beginning of a comprehensive renewal of our country”.

In his first Inaugural Address, President Nazarbayev emphasized the country's multiethnic composition and noted that it will flourish further, benefiting the Kazakh people and everyone living in it:

“Ja veriu, chto my sumeem sozdat' na territorii Kazakhstana vysokorazvitiuiu poliètnicheskuiu tsivilizatsiiu, v kotoroi vozrodisia kazakhskaia natsiia, v kotoroi budut svobodno chuvstvovat' sebia vse vkhodiashchie v nee natsii i narodnosti” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 1991).

“I believe that we will be able to create a highly developed multiethnic

civilization on Kazakhstan, in which the Kazakh nation will be reborn and all nationalities and ethnicities comprising it will feel free”.

In his inaugural address in 2006, Nursultan Nazarbayev effectively infused his speech with both rhythm and emotion, focusing particularly on two parallel notions: diversity and unity. This strategic repetition not only emphasized the importance of these concepts to his vision for the nation but also resonated with the audience, creating a deeper emotional connection:

“My sil’ny nashim mnogoobraziem – mnogoobraziem natsional’nostei i veroispovedanii. Nasha sila v edinstve – edinstve tsennosti i ustremeni k progressu i protsvetaniu nashei Rodiny” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2006).

“We are strong in our diversity – in our ethnic and religious diversity. Our strength is in our unity – unity of our values and our pursuit of progress and prosperity for our Motherland”.

Tokayev in 2022 Inaugural Address emphasized the importance of preserving cultural unity amidst diversity. He warns against provocations that threaten national cohesion and integrity:

“My dolzhny vsjacheski ukrepljat’ istoricheskij aktiv nashego naroda, vyrazhennyj v formule «edinstvo v mnogoobrazii». Provokacii, sejushhie razdor v obshchestve, podryvajushhie edinstvo natsii i, v konechnom schete, napravlennye protiv nashego gosudarstva, budut zhestko presekat’sja” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022).

“We must do everything to strengthen the historical asset of our people, expressed in the formula 'unity in diversity.' Provocations that sow discord in society, undermine the unity of the nation, and ultimately aim against our state will be harshly suppressed”.

In his inaugural address delivered in 1991, President Nursultan Nazarbayev emphasized the significance of unity among the diverse populace of Kazakhstan. He reflected on the country's rich tapestry of ethnicities, recognizing the multiethnic composition of the electorate as a vital element in the nation’s democratic process. In concluding his address, he reiterated his commitment to representing the interests of every group within the electorate, thereby reinforcing the importance of inclusivity in governance and national development:

“1 dekabria na izbiratel’nykh uchastkakh prokhodilo ne prostoe golosovanie. Ono polozhilo nachalo formirovaniu novogo bratskogo soobshchestva kazakhov, russkikh, ukrainsev, koreitsev, nemtsev, uigurov — vsekh tekhn, kto edinoi Komandoi reshil probivat’ dorogu cherez

dramaticheskoe nastoiashchee v zdorovoe budushchee nasheĭ respublikĭ” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1991).

“What happened on December 1<sup>st</sup> at voting stations was not simply casting votes. This voting has laid a foundation for the formation of a new brotherly community of Kazakhs, Russians, Ukrainians, Koreans, Germans, and Uigurs – all those who, as one team, decided to carve a way through the dramatic present to the healthy future of our Republic”.

Through inspirational narratives, the president communicates to the public the importance of valuing their shared history, thereby reaffirming his commitment to the ideals established by his forebears. For the people of Kazakhstan, independence is the paramount traditional and national value. In his Inaugural Addresses, President Nazarbayev depicted independence as a cherished and longed-for principle, linking it to the concept of a “dream”:

“kazakhskoe natsional’noe edinstvo iz mechty, za kotoruiu umirali nashi predki v krovavykh bitvakh poslednikh trekh stoletĭ, iz mechty, za kotoruiu zaplatili strashnuiu tsenu deiateli partii «Alash» v nachale veka, prevratilos’ v real’nost’” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1999).

“The Kazakh national unity was growing from a dream for which our ancestors died in the bloody battles of the last three centuries, from a dream for which the representatives of the party “Alash” paid a terrible price at the beginning of this century and has eventually become a reality”.

The repetition of the phrase “is mechty” (“from a dream”) in the conclusion of President N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address emphasizes a long-standing dream, a somewhat illusory future that has become a reality after a long period of time and the hardships the nation has faced.

K. Tokayev, in his 2022 Inaugural Address, expressed a vision for a fair and just Kazakhstan and emphasized the need for societal transformation towards developing democratic institutions. He articulated the President's goal of strengthening the nation:

“Teper' nasha obshhaja cel' – postroit' Spravedlivyj Kazahstan, gde carit zakon i sobljudaetsja porjadok, gde projavljaetsja dolzhnoe uvazhenie k pravam grazhdan. Nam predstoit prodelat' bol'shuju rabotu po transformacii obshhestva i prevrashheniju Kazahstana v razvituju stranu s podlinno demokraticeskimi institutami. Tol'ko tak my sformiruem novoe kachestvo nacii i ukrepim nashu svjashhennuju Nezavisimost’” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022).

“Now our common goal is to build a Just Kazakhstan, where the law reigns and order is maintained, where due respect for the rights of citizens is

shown. We have a lot of work ahead of us to transform society and turn Kazakhstan into a developed country with truly democratic institutions. Only in this way will we form a new quality of the nation and strengthen our sacred Independence”.

President Nazarbayev in 2006 actively built connections between the present and past generations, illustrating his commitment to supporting historical and cultural continuity. By emphasizing the importance of these links, he not only honors the legacy of those who came before but also fosters a deeper understanding of how cultural narratives shape our current identity:

“My dolzhny byt’ dostoïny nashikh muzhestvennykh predkov, v zhestokikh bitvakh vekami zashchishchavshikh shirokie prostory nasheï Rodiny. Oni mechtali o nezavisimosti, o edinom i sil’nom gosudarstve. Na doliu nashego pokoleniia vypalo velikoe schast’e osushchestvit’ ètu mechtu” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2006).

“We must be worthy of our virile ancestors who for many centuries fought in cruel battles to protect the vast lands of our Motherland. They dreamt of independence, of a united and strong state. Our generation is blessed with the opportunity to accomplish this dream”.

Tokayev in his 2022 Inaugural Address expressed the importance of unity in a nation's identity. He highlighted the ancestor's valued unity above all else and emphasized that the country has shown its modernity and civility while honoring its traditions:

“Babalarymyz qai zamanda da birlıgın bärinen biik qoiğan. Bız ata jolyn saqtai bilgen, zamanaui jäne örkenietti el ekenımızdı бүкіл дүние жүзіне paş ettik. Birlıgımızdıñ bekemdıgın tağy da дәleldei aldyq” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022).

“Our ancestors have always placed unity above everything else. We have demonstrated to the whole world that we are a modern and civilized country, while preserving the path of our ancestors. We have once again proven the strength of our unity”.

In his first Inaugural Address, President Nazarbayev pays homage to a significant figure in Kazakh history – Khan Abylai, who is known as the first khan and is celebrated for his leadership and strategic aptitude in uniting the Kazakh tribes during tumultuous periods. Drawing a parallel between the challenges faced by the nation:

“Unikal’nost’ i nepovtorimost’ podobnogo polozheniia Kazakhstana ponimal i mudryĭ Abylai, sumevshiĭ vosstanovit’ v seredine XVIII veka raspadaivshiusia kazakhskuiu gosudarstvennost’, naladit’ dobrososedskie

otnosheniia s privileiushchimi gosudarstvami” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1991).

“The uniqueness and singularity of such a condition of Kazakhstan were also understood by the wise Abylai, who was able to restore in the middle of the XVII century the disintegrated Kazakh nationhood and establish good neighborly relations with adjoining states”.

Whereas Tokayev mentioned Al-Farabi and represented his ideas as the core values:

“Velikij uchitel' Vostoka al'-Farabi prizyval ljudej byt' spravedlivymi, ljubit' pravdu i dorozhit' chest'ju, byt' umerennymi v svoih zhelanijah i vsegda stremit'sja k znanijam” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022).

“The great teacher of the East, al-Farabi, urged people to be just, love the truth, cherish honor, be moderate in their desires, and always strive for knowledge”.

President Nazarbayev usually discusses the Kazakh nation's distant past and recent history, as all of the significant events and achievements in the history of modern Kazakhstan have occurred during his presidency and contributed to the nation’s growth and development. Reflecting on these moments he reinforces his commitment to serving the public and putting a steppingstone that brought the country closer to its aspirations:

“My zakryli Semipalatinskiĭ ispytatel'nyĭ poligon, reshitel'no otkazalis' ot iadernogo oruzhiia. Seĭchas my idëm v pervykh riadakh global'nogo antiadernogo dvizheniia. My sozdali vmeste so svoimi sosediami, soiuznikami i partnerami novye mekhanizmy regional'noĭ bezopasnosti i sotrudnichestva – SVMDA, SHOS, ODKB. V proshlom godu uspešno proshli predsedatel'stvo Kazakhstana v OBSE i Sammit OBSE v Astane. V mire net bol'she takoi strany, kotoraiia by za stol' korotkii sro k dostigla takikh uspekhev!” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2011).

“We have closed the Semipalatinsk testing facility and decisively abandoned nuclear weapons. Now, we are at the forefront of global anti-nuclear action. Together with our neighbors, allies, and partners, we have created new mechanisms of regional security and cooperation—CICA, SCO, and CSTO. Last year, Kazakhstan completed its chairmanship duties at the OSCE and held the OSCE Summit ACC in Astana. No other country in the world has achieved such success in such a short period”.

President Nazarbayev articulates the unique characteristics that define the Kazakh nation- qualities that reflect the profound values and cultural heritage passed down



through generations. This lasting national identity is acknowledged and embraced throughout the country. Every citizen inherits these significant traits, which establish the core of Kazakh identity and are essential in uniting the populace, nurturing a sense of collective strength and purpose as they work together to shape their future:

“Kazakhskaja natsija vobravshaia v sebia traditsii i mudrost' predydushchikh pokolenii, skontsentriruvshaia nerastrachennuiu energiju sozidaniia, nakopivshaia ogromnyi opyt internatsionalizma, natsional'nogo i grazhdanskogo soglasii, mozheto dolzhna vziat' na sebia velikuiu missiju – vystupit' garantom stabil'nosti i spokoistviia v svoem regione, dostoino voiti v mirovoe soobshchestvo” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 1991).

“Kazakh nation, which has incorporated the traditions and wisdom of preceding generations, and which has accumulated the unspent creative energy, and which has gained an enormous experience in internationalism, national and civil accord, can and must take on itself the great mission of acting as a guarantor of stability and peace in its region and entering honorably the global community”.

As mentioned in previous sections, the Inaugural Addresses encompass several key elements essential for establishing the new administration's priorities and direction, and typically includes a comprehensive outline of the objectives for his term, provides a framework for accountability and progress, acknowledges the pressing issues, and demonstrates an awareness of the challenges, that is named as declarative function.

Moreover, an effective Inaugural Address usually lays out a clear and actionable plan detailing the steps that the president's office is prepared to undertake to tackle these challenges. By employing familiar language and phrases, the president can evoke a sense of unity and confidence among the audience, thereby solidifying their leadership role as they embark on their new term.

This section was vital in Nazarbayev's first Inaugural Address, as the Kazakhstani people had faced numerous challenges at that time. As the First President taking office, it was essential for him to openly discuss these issues with the audience. For instance, Presidents N. Nazarbayev mentions the collapse of the Soviet Union, which was an astonishing event that has interrupted the life of all the people at that point of time:

“Segodnja, v krizisnoj dlja obshhestva situacii — na rubezhe dvuh jepoh — faktor vremeni imeet ogromnoe znachenie. Narastajushhaja naprjazhennost' v respublikah byvshej federacii, ostrota teh problem s kotorymi my stolknemsja v blizhajshie mesjacy ne ostavljajut vremeni dlja raskachki, zastavljajut dejstvovat' bystro, reshitel'no i chetko” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 1991).

“Today, in a situation of crisis for our society – on the cusp between two epochs – the factor of time is tremendously important. The growing

tensions in the republics of the former federation, the acute problems which we will encounter in the coming months do not leave us time for preparation but force us to act quickly, firmly and precisely”.

The declarative function in President Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Addresses is described by the goals outlined in the state documents and programs, for instance in 2006 President mentions Strategy of Development “Kazakhstan 2030”, in 2011 the “Strategic Plan of Development 2020”, and in 2015 Inaugural Address the goals of the “Plan of the Nation”.

In addition to the references to the state plans and program, the declarative function is fulfilled by addressing or referring to the fiend, allies and neighbors, as well as strategic partners of Kazakhstan, as with the reference to them Presidents outlines the plan of the administration on an international arena.

For instance, in 2006, President Nazarbayev mentions deepening the relationships with Russia, China, and the U.S., as well as looking into more cooperative partnership with EU and Muslim countries, highlighting the importance of maintaining strong relations with Central Asian neighbors:

“My tverdo stoim na pozicijah strategicheskogo partnerstva s Rossiej, Kitaem, Soedinennymi Shtatami Ameriki. Rasshirenie sotrudnichestva s Evropejskim Sojuzom i musul'manskimi stranami javljaetsja odnim iz glavnyh prioritetov nashej vneshnej politiki. My pridajem osoboe znachenie nashim otnoshenijam s blizhajshimi sosedjami v Central'noj Azii” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2006).

“We strongly favor our strategic partnership with Russia, China, and the United States of America. Extending cooperation with the European Union and Muslim countries is one of the main priorities of our policy. We place particular significance on our relations with our closest neighbors in Central Asia”.

In 2011 Inaugural Address noted the active work to enhance economic cooperation and partnerships with various countries and regions, including developing a Customs Union, forming a Eurasian Economic Union, fostering relations with China, and strengthening ties with countries far abroad, and Central Asian neighbors, and Turkic countries:

“Vmeste s Rossiej i Belarus'ju my budem razvivat' Tamozhennyj sojuz, v blizhajshie gody my rabotaem nad formirovanijem Evrazijskogo jekonomicheskogo sojuza. My priverzheny rasshireniju vzaimovыgodnogo sotrudnichestva s Kitajskoj Narodnoj Respublikoj. Kazahstan nacelen na ukreplenie strategicheskogo partnerstva s Soedinennymi Shtatami Ameriki i stranami Evropejskogo Sojuza. My budem bolee tesno vzaimodejstvovat' s nashimi central'no-aziatskimi sosedjami i tjurkskimi stranami” (quoted from

N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 2011).

“Together with Russia and Belarus we will develop a Customs Union and in the next few years we will form a Eurasian economic union. We are committed to broadening mutual cooperation with China. Kazakhstan aims to strengthen its strategic partnership with the United States of America and the countries of the European Union. We will more closely cooperate with our Central Asian neighbors and Turkic countries”.

In 2015, President Nursultan Nazarbayev reiterated the nation's commitment to fostering and nurturing long-standing partnerships with various global powers, as maintaining strong diplomatic and economic ties with Russia, China, and the United States. Moreover, Nazarbayev acknowledged the value of relationships with members of the European Union, Islamic world:

“My prodolzhim sotrudnichestvo s nashimi strategicheskimi partnerami - Rossiej, Kitajskoj Narodnoj Respublikoj, SShA, stranami Evropejskogo Sojuza, islamskogo mira” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 2015).

“We will continue cooperation with our strategic partners – Russia, the People's Republic of China, the USA, the countries of the European Union, and the Islamic world”.

Whereas Tokayev in his 2022 Inaugural Address expressed Kazakhstan's intention to pursue a balanced and constructive foreign policy focused on protecting national interests, according to international law, and the principles of the United Nations, indicating a desire for cooperative relationships that benefit not only Kazakhstan but also the broader international community:

“Kazahstan prodolzhit osushhestvlenie sbalansirovannoj, konstruktivnoj vneshnej politiki, napravlennoj na zashhitu nacional'nyh interesov. V fokuse prioritetnogo vnimanija budut nahodit'sja voprosy vzaimovыgodnogo sotrudnichestva i strategicheskogo partnerstva s sosednimi gosudarstvami –Rossiej, Kitaem i bratskimi stranami Central'noj Azii, s partnerami po integracionnym ob#edinenijam. Budem prilagat' vse usilija s cel'ju razvitija mnogogrannogo sotrudnichestva s SShA, Evropejskim Sojuzom, gosudarstvami Azii, Blizhnego Vostoka i Zakavkaz'ja, a takzhe so vsemi zainteresovannymi stranami. Kazahstan ostaetsja priverzhennym sovremennomu mezhdunarodnomu pravu i Ustavu OON” (quoted from K. Tokayev's Inaugural Address, 2022).

“Kazahstan will continue to pursue a balanced, constructive foreign policy aimed at protecting national interests. The focus of priority attention will be on issues of mutually beneficial cooperation and strategic partnership with neighboring countries – Russia, China, and the brotherly countries of

Central Asia, as well as with partners in integration associations. We will make every effort to develop multifaceted cooperation with the USA, the European Union, countries of Asia, the Middle East, and the South Caucasus, as well as with all interested countries. Kazakhstan remains committed to modern international law and the United Nations Charter”.

The oath, taken on the day of Inauguration is a vital constitutional element woven into the political traditions of the United States and Kazakhstan. It underscores the president's commitment to the nation's core values and duties, marking the first declaration to uphold the laws and serve national interests.

In 1999, President Nazarbayev articulated his pledge to honor the Constitution, uphold the laws, and embody the national pride and dignity of Kazakhstan after being sworn in as president:

“Ja tol'ko chto prines prisjagu Prezidenta Respubliki Kazahstan. Ja pokljalsja bljusti nashu Konstituciju, nashi zakony, nashu nacional'nuju chest' i dostoinstvo. I ja nikogda ne narushu jetoj kljatvy” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1999)

“I have just taken the oath of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. I have sworn to preserve our Constitution, our laws, our national pride and our dignity. And I will never violate this oath”.

In his 2011, President Nazarbayev refers to the historical events, such as enthronement ceremony of khans, which serves to ground his presidency in the deep-rooted traditions of the nation, emphasizing continuity and respect for the past while guiding the country towards a modern future:

“Men zhanga gana Kazakstan Prezidenti retinde ata-babalarymyzdan kalgan ak kiizding ustinde turyp, saltanatty turde ant berdim” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2011).

“I have just given a solemn oath as the President of Kazakhstan, just like our ancestors did while standing on white felt”.

President Tokayev in his 2022 Inaugural Address vowed to uphold the Constitution and views this oath as a fundamental guiding principle for his future actions and service to the nation:

“Elimning arman-mūratyna ömir-baqi adal boluğa sert berdım. Eshqashan adaldyqtan attamauğa zhāne el müddesine qijanat zhasamauğa ant ettim. Ata zañğa qolymdy qojyp, onyñ är sözın mültıksız oryndajmyn. Halqymnyñ aldyndağy osy antym aldağy qyzmetimde Men üshın ajnymas temırqazyq bolady” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022).

“I have sworn to be forever loyal to the dreams and aspirations of my

country. I have pledged never to stray from honesty and never to betray the interests of the nation. By signing the Constitution, I will adhere to every word of it without fail. This oath to my people will serve as an unshakable guiding principle in my future service”.

President Tokayev in 2022 paid his honor to those who have sacrificed for the country's freedom, emphasized loyalty to the nation's dreams and aspirations, underlining a vow to uphold these values continuously:

“Men bugün kök tudy süiip, dana halqymnyñ aldynda bas idım. Azattyq jolynda qurban bolğan babalar ruhyna tağzym ettim. Elimniñ arman-mūratyna ömir-baqı adal boluğa sert berdim. Eşqaşan adaldyqtan attamauğa jäne el müddesine qianat jasamauğa ant ettim” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022).

“Today, I bowed before the blue flag and my wise people. I paid homage to the souls of our ancestors who sacrificed their lives for freedom. I vowed to be faithful to the dreams and aspirations of my country forever. I swore to never deviate from loyalty and never betray the interests of the country”.

The Inaugural Address serves a significant performative purpose by highlighting the president’s recognition of the public's role while acknowledging the responsibilities and constraints tied to his office. A key aspect of this function is the repeated use of the personal pronoun “*ia*” (I) throughout the speech, which reinforces his connection to his position. Moreover, by addressing the people directly with the pronoun “*vy*” (you), the president reaffirms the mutual bond and commitment between himself and the citizens who supported him:

“*Ia v polnoi mere osoznaiu vysokoe doverie i ogromnuiu chest', kotorye vy okazali mne na pervykh vsenarodnykh vyborakh Prezidenta Kazakhstana*” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1991).

“I fully understand the high trust and enormous honor that you have shown me in the first nationwide elections for the president of Kazakhstan”.

The president emphasizes his commitment to the prosperity and well-being of the people, recognizing that his leadership relies on their support and acknowledgment of their vital role in governance.

In 1991 Nursultan Nazarbayev expressed the nationwide trust mandate serves as both a permission and an obligation to act. It emphasizes the dual nature of trust as a formal authorization that requires responsibility when executing decisions or actions derived from that trust:

“Mandat vsenarodnogo doveriia – èto ne tol’ko pravo deïstvovat’, no i

ogromnaia otvetstvennost' pered vsem narodom. I ia nadeius' na vashu podderzhku i obeshchaiu sdelat' vse vozmozhnoe, chtoby opravdat' vashi chaianiia i nadezhdy" (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 1991).

"A mandate of nationwide trust is not only an authorization to act, but an enormous responsibility before all people. And I hope for your support and promise to do everything possible in order to meet your aspirations and hopes".

In 2015, Nazarbayev expressed a profound sense of trust, and commitment to serving the people, protecting the country, and safeguarding the prosperity and interests of all citizens, just as they have done in the past:

"Vashe doverie vsegda vdokhnovlialo menia, davalo uverennost' i silu. I seichas khochu so vseĭ otvetstvennost'iu skazat', chto kak i v predydushchie gody budu verno sluzhit' narodu, oberegat' stranu i blagopoluchie vseh nashikh grazhdan, budu zashchishchat' nashi vysshie obshchenatsional'nye interesy" (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 2015).

"Your trust has always inspired me and given me confidence and strength. And now I want to say with full responsibility, that just as in previous years, that I will faithfully serve the people, guard the country and prosperity of all of our citizens and will protect our highest nationwide interests".

Both Presidents of Kazakhstan in their Inaugural Addresses use notion of "bata" (blessing), that has a great significance and sacred meaning in the Kazakh traditional culture, in fact it "is not just a blessing, but a broad concept that combines best wishes, expression of gratitude, and encouraging words" [103, p. 31].

For instance, President Nazarbayev in 2015 mentioned this concept as:

"Buginġi mereġli satte magan berilgen senim mandaty – memlekettigimizdi nyġaitu zholyndagy kyruar isterimizding bagasy! Kazakstandy eng kuatty elderding kataryna kosudy kozdeġtin uly maksatka berilgen khalkymnyng ak batasy!" (quoted from N. Nazarbayev' Inaugural Address, 2015).

"The given mandate of trust on today's glorious moment is the assessment of the hard work done to strengthen our country! The blessing of my people for a great goal to see Kazakhstan among the most developed countries of the world!"

In 2022 Inaugural Address President Tokayev stated the invaluable trust placed in him by the people through the election results, viewing this trust as a sign of approval for his political approach and a blessing for their future endeavors:

“Osý sailauda jūrtymyz mağan zor senim bildirdi. Şyn mäninde, el senimin eş närsemen ölşeu mümkin emes. Halyqtyñ senimi – eñ qūndy närse. Sailau nätijesin halqymyzdyñ saiası baǵdaryma – baǵasy, aldaǵy josparyma – batasy dep qabyldaimyn” (quoted from K. Tokayev’ Inaugural Address, 2022).

“In this election, our people have placed great trust in me. Indeed, the trust of the nation cannot be measured by anything. The trust of the people is the most valuable thing. I take the election results as the people's approval of my political course and their blessing for my future plans”.

The functional analysis of the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and the Republic of Kazakhstan reveals that, as part of political discourse, these highly ritualized speeches fulfill all four traditional functions. The presidents of both countries seek to fulfill performative, integrative, declarative, and inspirational functions in their addresses. By employing these functions, they reassure the public and strengthen trust in the institutions. However, American presidents often emphasize democracy, individual freedoms, and policy changes, while Kazakhstani presidents tend to focus more on stability, national unity, and long-term development strategies. Additionally, it is noteworthy that while the functions may be the same, the content and emphasis differ based on political priorities, cultural values, and worldviews.

#### **4.2 Lexical Characteristics of the Inaugural Address**

As discussed before, the Inaugural Addresses have the important mission of persuading the audience of the rightness of their choice. In this regard, the words that the newly elected president uses in his speech to the nation are very important.

As Goodin remarked, “an important aspect of appealing to audience prejudices is the orator’s claim to share their perspective... The “language of participation” in general, and the word *we* in particular, figures importantly in this process. Use of the first-person plural implies a unity between the speaker and his audience that is typically a fraud” [126].

Below, we conduct a thorough analysis of the occurrence of various personal pronouns, such as “*we*”, “*our*”, “*I*” and “*my*”, across the Inaugural Addresses delivered by the Presidents of the United States and the Presidents of Kazakhstan. By systematically comparing these two distinct political cultures, we gain valuable insights into the unique rhetorical strategies that each leader employs in their respective Inaugural Addresses. This comparison not only sheds light on the differences in communication styles between the two nations but also enhances our understanding of how cultural context influences political discourse.

Through this analysis, we can infer broader themes related to identity, solidarity, and leadership. The choice of pronouns does not merely tell us about the frequency of their use; it also opens up the leaders’ intentions and the relational dynamics they seek to establish with their constituents. Ultimately, this exploration of personal pronouns

provides a deeper understanding of the interplay between language and politics in the Inaugural Addresses of the United States and Kazakhstan, offering a richer perspective on how these leaders define their roles and responsibilities within their respective governments.

For instance, Figure 3 presented below provides a detailed illustration of the trends in the use of personal pronouns, particularly the words “we” and “our,” as they appear in the Inaugural Addresses delivered by the Presidents of the United States from Bill Clinton to D. Trump. This Figure represents not only the frequency of these pronouns but also offers insights into how their usage may reflect the presidents' rhetorical strategies and the evolving nature of presidential communication over time.

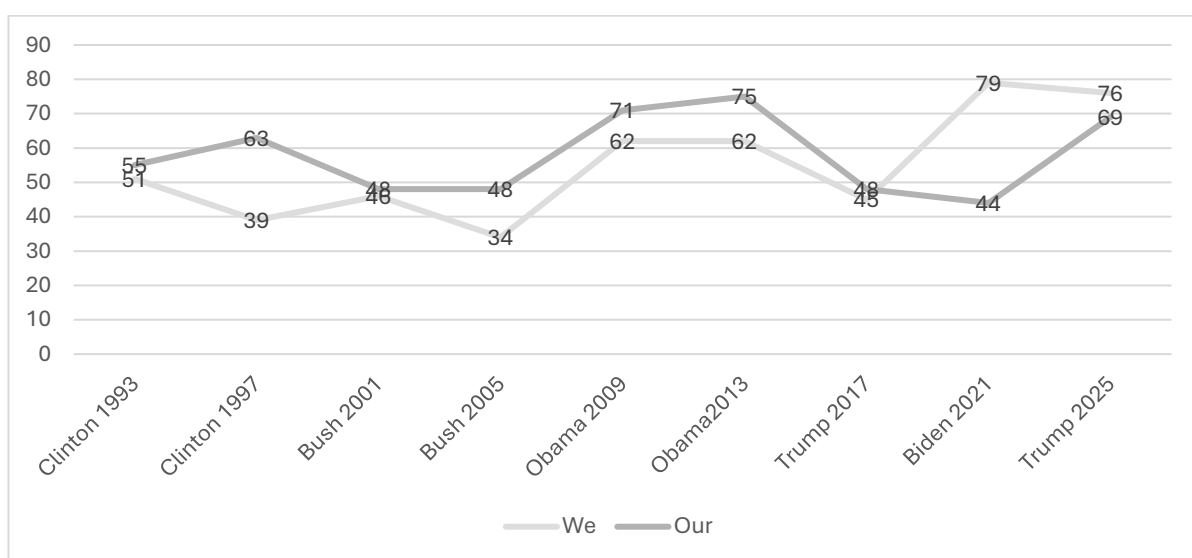


Figure 3 – Usage of personal pronouns “we” and “our” in the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of U.S.

Note – Compiled by the author

As seen from the Figure 3 American presidents tend to use “we” significantly more often, highlighting a strong sense of collective leadership and national unity. The numbers indicate that by using these pronouns, American presidents emphasize unity, shared responsibility, and a collective vision. This is most prominent in both Obama’s Inaugural Addresses, with the highest usage of “we” and “our” as well as in Biden’s and Trump’s Inaugural Addresses, which indicate similar rhetorical efforts to foster inclusivity.

The following Figure 4 presents a comprehensive and detailed illustration that showcases the significant trends in the utilization of personal pronouns, with a particular focus on the terms “we” and “our”

The information represented in Figure 4 centers around the Inaugural Addresses delivered by the presidents of Kazakhstan, demonstrating how these personal pronouns have evolved in their usage over time and reflecting the changing dynamics of



leadership and national identity within Kazakhstan’s political discourse. It presents a comprehensive and detailed illustration that showcases the significant trends in the utilization of personal pronouns, with a particular focus on the terms “we” and “our”.

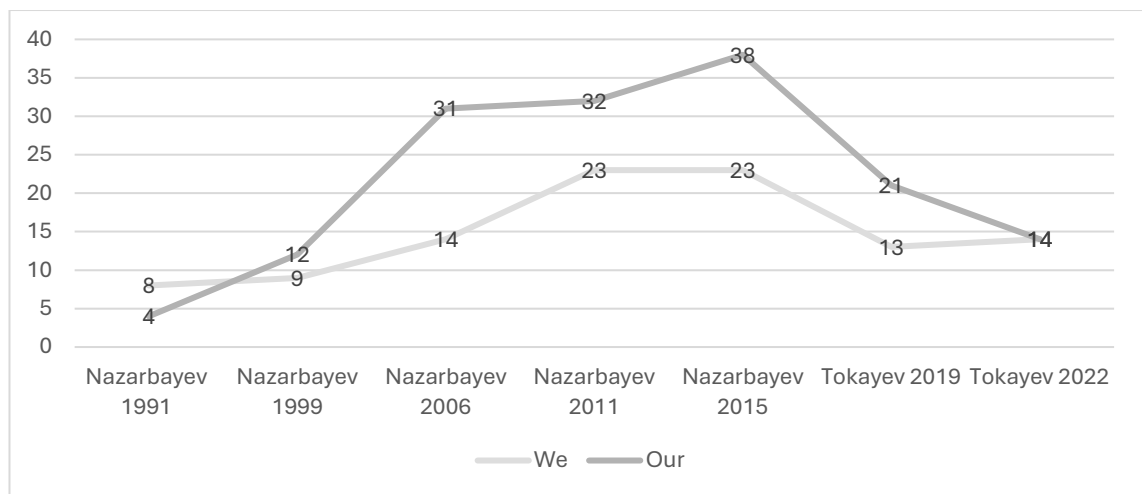


Figure 4 – Usage of personal pronouns “we” and “our” in the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of Kazakhstan

Note – Compiled by the author

The trends depicted in this figure not only underline the importance of collective identity in the political speech delivered by the Presidents of Kazakhstan but also reveal how the language used in these pivotal speeches resonates with the population, shaping public perception and fostering a sense of unity among citizens.

Wales notes that “the politician-speaker often uses *we* with the double inference and presumption that he or she is not only speaking on behalf of the party or government (exclusive) but also on behalf of the audience (inclusive)” [127].

The quantitative analysis of the Inaugural Addresses of the personal pronouns both in American and Kazakhstani Inaugural Addresses supports the abovementioned.

For instance, in the excerpts from Obama’s and Trump’s speeches cited below, both presidents used the first-person pronoun in the plural form inclusively:

“This is the journey we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive. Our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last month or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished” (B. Obama, 2009),

“We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people. Together, we will determine the course of America and the world for many, many years to come. We will face challenges, we will confront

hardships, but we will get the job done” (D. Trump, 2017).

President Obama referred to the “undiminished” strength of the American nation, which will lead the country forward and assist in overcoming the crises, while President Trump focused on the “great national effort” that unifies the citizens.

In the following cases we can see how President Clinton and President Bush used the personal pronoun “we” with an exclusive meaning:

“To renew America, we must be bold. We must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, and in their future, and at the same time cut our massive debt. And we must do so in a world in which we must compete for every opportunity. It will not be easy. It will require sacrifice, but it can be done and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake but for our own sake. We must provide for our Nation the way a family provides for its children” (B. Clinton, 1993),

“We will reform Social Security and Medicare, sparing our children from struggles we have the power to prevent. And we will reduce taxes to recover the momentum of our economy and reward the effort and enterprise of working Americans” (G. Bush, 2001).

Throughout his Inaugural Address, President Nazarbayev frequently used the Russian pronoun “my,” along with the lesser-used Kazakh pronoun, to emphasize a personal connection and ownership in his discourse, suggesting a sense of collective identity and unity among the Kazakh people. This juxtaposition of pronouns illustrates the duality of his approach, balancing personal involvement with a broader, communal perspective and thus engaging his audience on both individual and collective levels.

For instance, here is what he said in his second Inaugural Address.

“Da, dlja kogo-to jeto davno projdennyj jetap. Da, my eshhe daleki ot ideal'noj modeli vybornoj demokratii. Da, my jasno vidim, chto nam nuzhno sdelat' na jetom puti. No my znaem i to, chto nash narod, tol'ko chto osvobodivshijsja ot mnogovekovogo totalitarizma, dolzhen vystradat' demokratiju” (N. Nazarbayev, 1999).

(Yes, for some this is a long-finished phase. Yes, we are still far from the ideal model of electoral democracy. Yes, we clearly see what we still need to do while moving along this path. But we also know that our people that has just been freed from centuries of totalitarianism must work hard to achieve democracy.)

Tokayev emphasized the importance of unity as a fundamental value upheld by

ancestors, celebrating the nation's ability to modernize while honoring its heritage:

“Babalarymyz qai zamanda da birlığın bärinen biik qoiğan. Bız ata jolyn saqtai bilgen, zamanauı jäne örkenietti el ekenımızdı bükıl dünıe jüzine paş ettik. Birlığımızdñ bekemdığın tağy da дәleldei aldyq” (K. Tokayev, 2022).

(Our ancestors have always placed unity above all else. We have shown the whole world that we are a modern and civilized nation while preserving the path of our ancestors. Once again, we have proven the strength of our unity.)

In general, first-person singular pronouns, such as "I" and "me," often signal a sense of personal responsibility and the recognition of one's duties. These pronouns in the Inaugural Addresses are typically used to express individual commitments and obligations that arise from the personal convictions of the president or societal expectations of the nation. When presidents refer to themselves in the first person, they acknowledge their own role in fulfilling the tasks of the presidency and engaging in actions that contribute to the development of the country.

The following Figure 5 illustrates the usage of singular personal pronouns by American Presidents, giving us detailed information on personal leadership styles, executive authority, and relations to the nations.

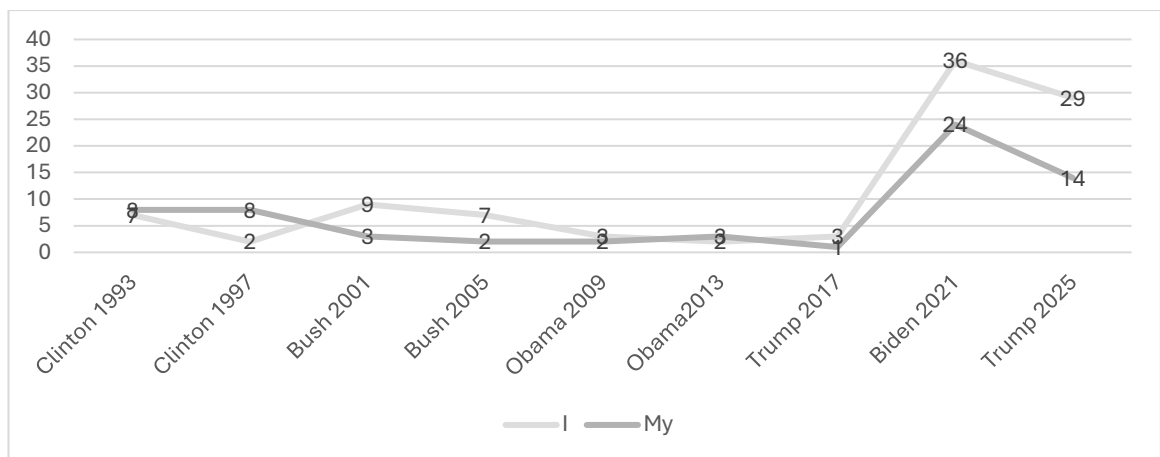


Figure 5 – Usage of personal pronouns “I” and “my” in the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S.

Note – Compiled by the author

The numbers in Figure 5 shows notable variations among American presidents: B. Obama consistently minimizes self-reference, thereby emphasizing collective responsibility over individual leadership. In contrast, the Inaugural Addresses of J. Biden and D. Trump exhibit relatively high usage of personal pronouns “I” and “my”, underscoring their assertive and individual-centric rhetorical approach.

Whereas Figure 6, presented below illustrates the usage of first-person singular pronouns by Kazakhstani Presidents, examining how these linguistic choices reflect leadership style.

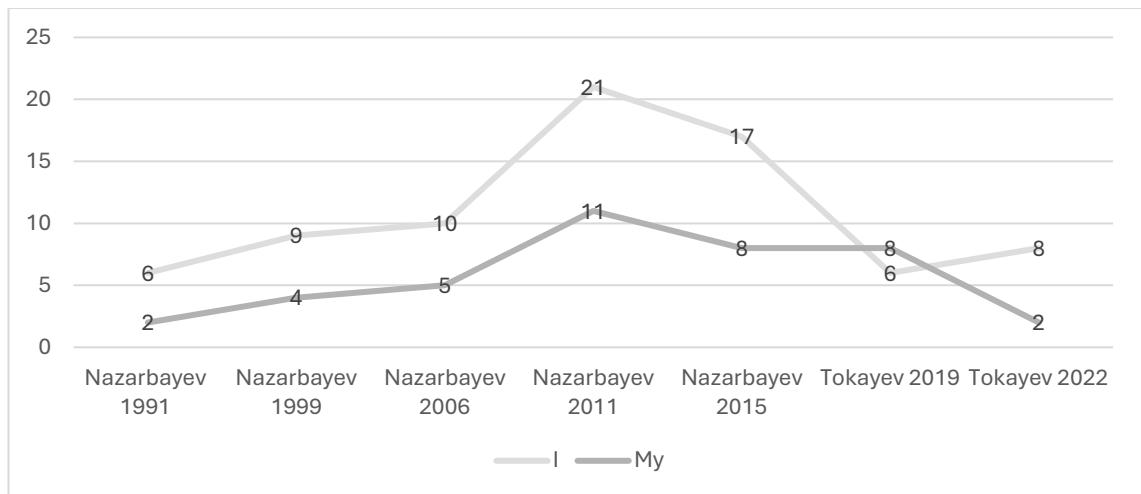


Figure 6 – Usage of personal pronouns “I” and “my” in the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of Kazakhstan

Note – Compiled by the author

The graph shows that, unlike their American counterparts, Kazakhstani presidents employ these pronouns more sparingly and strategically, signaling an institutional tone rather than a personalized leadership image. N. Nazarbayev, for instance, uses the pronouns in a way that balances personal responsibility with national unity, and K. Tokayev’s usage follows a similar pattern, reinforcing the role of the president as a servant of the nation rather than a dominant political figure.

Presidents use the personal pronoun “I” when accepting the duties of the highest office in the country, delivering the oath, and expressing their emotions. As shown in the table above, the use of the first-person singular in Inaugural Addresses has decreased over time, from Bill Clinton’s first Inaugural Address to Donald Trump’s 2017 Inaugural Address. However, in the last two Inaugural Addresses by Biden in 2021 and Trump in 2025, usage of “I” increased significantly, which suggests a more personalized leadership style where the president places greater emphasis on their own role in governance.

For instance, in his first Inaugural Address B. Obama, expressed gratitude and respect for his predecessor and acknowledged the sacrifices of his fellow Americans:

“On behalf of our Nation, I salute my predecessor, President Bush, for his half-century of service to America. And I thank the millions of men and women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over depression, fascism, and communism” (quoted from B.Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2001).

Donald Trump's oath of office in his 2017 Inaugural Address signified a commitment to serve and support all Americans, emphasizing unity and allegiance to the nation as a whole:

“The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).

President Obama expressed a deep sense of humility and gratitude towards a significant task before him as a president in 2009 Inaugural Address, acknowledging the trust placed in them and honoring the sacrifices made by their predecessors:

“I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).

Presidents of Kazakhstan use the personal pronoun “I” both in Kazakh and Russian, when accepting the regalia of the president, thanking the people, and announcing the goals that they set for themselves as the president. They used the personal pronoun in the singular form numerous times in Russian throughout their Inaugural Addresses, progressively increasing its usage.

President Nazarbayev in his first Inaugural Address expressed a desire for support and a commitment to meet the expectations of the whole Nation:

“I ja nadejus' na vashu podderzhku i obeshhaju sdelat' vse vozmozhnoe, chtoby opravdat' vashi chajanija i nadezhdy” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1991).

“And I hope for your support and promise to do everything possible to justify your hopes and aspirations”.

In his second Inaugural Address by using “I” he conveyed gratitude towards those Kazakhstanis who voted for other candidates in the election:

“No ja priznatelen i tem kazahstancam, kotorye otdali golosa za drugih kandidatov” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1999).

“But I am also grateful to those Kazakhstanis who voted for other candidates”.

In 2006, he expressed personal pride as he began his term in office by receiving support from virtuous and civic-minded citizens of Kazakhstan:

“Vstupaja v dolzhnost' ja gord tem, chto menja podderzhali I vpred' budut so mnoj chestnye, patriotichnye, vernye svoemu grazhdanskomu

dolgu, kazahstancy” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2006).

“As I take office, I am proud that I have been supported and will continue to be supported by honest, patriotic, and civic-duty Kazakhs”.

In 2011 President Nazarbayev conveyed his plans to implement measures aimed at maintaining the efficiency of the governmental systems, for instance judicial system:

“Ja nameren predprinjat' novye shagi po obespecheniju dal'nejshej jeffektivnosti sudebnoj sistemy” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2011).

“I intend to take new steps to ensure the continued effectiveness of the judicial system”.

In his last Inaugural Address in 2015, he expressed the honor of holding the significant trust of their people during a pivotal moment in history:

“Myňjyldyq tarihyndağy eň biregei betbürysyzda halqymnyň zor senımy arqalağany – men üşin eň biik mäртеbe” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2015).

“It is the highest honor for me to bear the great trust of my people at this unique turning point in millennial history”.

K. Tokayev's first Inaugural Address emphasized the importance of initiatives from political and public leaders that he has received and intends to implement in his role, highlighting that the voices of experienced individuals are significant to him.

“Türli saiasi jäne qoğam qairatkerlerinen kelip tüsken qūndy üsynystardy, bastamalary men öz jūmysymda mindetti türde eskeremın” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2019).

“I will definitely take into account in my work the valuable suggestions and initiatives received from various political and public figures”.

K. Tokayev in his last Inaugural Address emphasized the importance of maintaining the sacred trust placed in him by people:

“Halqymnyň senımı – mağan amanat. Osy amanatqa adal bolu – men üşin qasiettiptyz” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022).

“The trust of my people is a trust I have. Being faithful to this trust is a sacred duty for me”.

Thus, the results displayed above present a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the frequency with which personal pronouns are utilized in the Inaugural Addresses

of the United States and Kazakhstan. The employment of personal pronouns in political speeches serves as a crucial indicator of the ways in which leaders engage with their audiences and articulate their messages. These pronouns have significant implications; they can reflect the extent to which a speaker establishes a connection with the public or, conversely, maintains a certain distance. Moreover, they can indicate the speaker's overall approach to leadership and governance, highlighting their personal style and political philosophy.

#### 4.2.1 Use of evaluative language and sophisticated vocabulary

Evaluative language is not just an element of rhetoric; it represents a crucial and powerful tool that resides at the very core of the president's rhetorical arsenal. This type of language extends beyond mere words; it carries emotional weight and significance, allowing the speaker to forge connections with the audience on a deeper level. The incorporation of emotionally charged and evaluative language effectively resonates with listeners, elicits emotional responses, and shapes their interpretations of the message being conveyed.

Furthermore, when this emotionally resonant language is combined with a sophisticated, “bookish” style, it creates a blend that significantly influences the public's perception of the issues at hand. This combination of expressiveness and emotional engagement not only captivates the audience’s attention but also ensures that the president’s speeches become ingrained in the public’s memory, rendering them truly unforgettable. Each carefully chosen word and each suggestive phrase work in tandem to elevate the overall impact.

In the realm of political communication, especially in highly ceremonial and symbolic genres such as Inaugural Addresses, the use of elevated lexicon plays a critical rhetorical and performative function. It is not only ornamental but also serves to construct authority, inspire unity, and project ideological vision. Elevated language characterized by classical references, and abstract terminology contributes to the a “sonorous style” of the Inaugural Address.

Inaugural Addresses, in particular, function as rhetorical performances of leadership, where the elevated lexicon helps to recast the political leader not only as a representative of the people but also as a symbolic figurehead of national unity and vision.

Table 15 showcases examples of elevated vocabulary found in the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan.

Table 15 – Examples of evaluative and elevated lexis

Presidents of U.S.	President of Kazakhstan
1	2
B. Clinton	N. Nazarbayev
steadfastness, posterity, intrigue, maneuver, engulf, animosities, testament, rejoice, summon, myriad, infuse, abolish, turmoil, triumph, globe, wellspring, indispensable, destined to, endure, preeminent, contempt, cloaked in, pretense, plague, torment, succumb, lurk, adversaries, igniting, spark, contempt, fanaticism, torment, cripple, overcome, generous, diversity, blueprint, adversaries, commerce, democracy, dictatorship, vision, pursuit, promise, progress, spirit, prophecy, striving, creed, redeem, mission, wisdom, acrimony, division, timeless, bridge, promise, freedom, summit, endeavor, strength, courage, patience, blessed, history, heritage, generation, flame, faith	“pagubno” (in a detrimental way), “otozhdestvljat” (compare to), “zamysel” (plan), “chajanija” (aspirations), “znamenie” (omen), “cherpat” (draw from), “istina”(truth), “voleizjavlenie” (expression of will), “sozidatel'nyj trud” (creative labor), “uklad” (mode of life), “dobrososedstvo” (neighborliness), “zavety” (covenants), “triumfal'no” (triumphally), “vehi” (milestone), “uprochenie” (consolidation), “gosudarstvennost'”, (nationhood), “nezyblemo”, (inviolably), grandioznyh istoricheskikh peremen (great historical changes), bez preuvelichenija (without exaggeration), reshitel'no kolossal'naja slozhnost' (decisive colossal complexity), javno nedostatochno (simply insufficient), radikal'nyj kurs (radical course), total'naja lomka i razrushenie (total collapse and destruction), glubokie jekonomicheskie preobrazovanija (profound economic transformations), al'ternativnye (alternative), dovljel (impressed), vystradat' demokratiju (strive for democracy), torzhestvo idei (triumph of an idea), kolossal'naja rabota (colossal work), nacional'noe edinstvo (national unity), moment istiny (moment of truth), pozhinat' plody (reap the fruits of life), chest' i dostoinstvo (dignity and honor), slavnoe proshloe (glorious past), tverdoj postup'ju (firm posture), sud'bonosnyj (destined), velichie (greatness),
G. Bush	
flawed, fallible, enact, condemn, apathy, momentum, lest, diminish, accumulate, reverend, reign, pretensions, dissidents, servitude, dissent, oppression, prelude, triumph, subsistence, edifice, affirm, traditions, beginnings, honored, humbled, story, liberator, servant, inborn, , civility, courage, compassion, arrogance, aggression, resolve, diminished, responsibilities, mentor, pastor, humanity, honored, wounded, traveler, responsibility, conscience, fullness, commitments, public, private, decency, convictions, serve, history, care, common, comfort, defend, reforms, responsible, communities, generous, strong, decent, beliefs, replace, wrong, stand, angel, whirlwind, storm, themes, eternity, service, yielding, finishing, renew	



Continuation of Table 15

1	2
B. Obama	bezuprechnost' (imperishability), nerushimyj (indestructible), predannost' (loyalty), svjashhennyj (sacred), procvetajushhij (prosperous), tarihi (historical), tağdyrly (fateful), kemeñgerlik (genius), beriktık (strength), kemel (perfection), myzğymas (unshakeable), mereili (bright), quatty (powerful), aq bata (heartfelt blessing), qūrmet (honor), mārtebe (high status), täuekel (risk), batyl (brave), tabysty (successful), ūly (great), asqaq (greatness), abyroi (honor), beibıtılık (peace), tūraqtylyq (stability), Mäñgılık Elqasietti (Eternal nation), qasietti Otan (sacred Homeland), myzğymas ūstyn (unshakeable pillar), jarqyn bolaşaq (brigh future), ūly maqsat (great goal), el senımı (faithof the nation), erik-jiger (willpower), ūly reformalar (great reforms), tarihi betbūrys (historical turning point), dañğyl jol (broad path), birtūtas el (united nation), täu etip, täube etu (to repent), eldıktıñ tuy (national flag), jıldyzy joğary (lucky), joly nūrly (with a bright path)
bestowed, in the midst of, adversaries, grievances, Scripture, obscure, standing pat, swill, dissent, virtue, and falter, privileges, entrusting hazards, misfortune, relinquished, succumbed, muskets, militias, resilience, birthright, humbled, borne, forebears, amidst, gathering clouds, raging storms, crisis, far-reaching, consequence, grievous, profound, inevitable, grievances, false promises, recriminations, dogmas, enduring spirit, noble idea, toil, obscured, rugged path, prosperity, endured, plowed, struggled, sacrificed, ambition, faction, reaffirm, undiminished, remaking, wield, harness, transform, ambition, consumed, expedience, prudent, emanates, tempering, ushering, deceit, dissent, unclench, flourish, nourish, relative plenty, indifference, guardians, inhabit, determination, selflessness, courage, creed, magnificent, sacred oath, huddled, abandoned, enduring, timeless, icy currents, falter, delivered, grace, fixed on the horizon, exceptional, allegiance, articulated, creed, unalienable, self-executing, tyranny, resilience, prosperity, dignity, posterity, fidelity, stewardship, absolutism, enterprise, tempered, manifest	

Continuation of Table 15

1	2
G. Bush	K. Tokayev
bestowed, in the midst of, adversaries, grievances, Scripture, obscure, standing pat, swill, dissent, virtue, and falter, privileges, entrusting hazards, misfortune, relinquished, succumbed, muskets, militias, resilience, birthright, humbled, borne, forebears, amidst, gathering clouds, raging storms, crisis, far-reaching, consequence, grievous, profound, inevitable, grievances, false promises, recriminations, dogmas, enduring spirit, noble idea, toil, obscured, rugged path, prosperity, endured, plowed, struggled, sacrificed, ambition, faction, reaffirm, undiminished, remaking, wield, harness, transform, ambition, consumed, expedience, prudent, emanates, tempering, ushering, deceit, dissent, unclench, flourish, nourish, relative plenty, indifference, guardians, inhabit, determination, selflessness, courage, creed, magnificent, sacred oath, huddled, abandoned, enduring, timeless, icy currents, falter, delivered, grace, fixed on the horizon, exceptional, allegiance, articulated, creed, unalienable, self-executing, tyranny, resilience, prosperity, dignity, posterity, fidelity, stewardship, absolutism, enterprise, tempered, manifest	biik mārtebe (high status), asyl ūğym (noble concept), amanatqa adal bolu (loyalty to the trust), baquatty memleket (a powerful state), qasietti paryz (unwavering adherence), bŭljytpai ūstanu (to obbey), qianat jasamau (non-abuse), mŭltıksız oryndau (strict execution), torjestvo idei (triumph of the idea), narodnoi voli (people's will), vysochaişaia chest (highest honor), ternistyi pŭt (thorny path), verhovenstvo prava (rule of law), institut vlasti (institute of power), tabandy küres (persistent struggle), olqylyqtar (gaps), bılımpazdyq (curiosity), jasampazdyq (creativity), nauqanşyldyq (campaigning), öskeleñ ūrpaq (young generation), sozidatelnyi potential (creative potential), postupatelnyi progres (step by step progress), yrysty yntymağymyz (peaceful unity), qasietti paryz (sacred duty).
D. Trump	
magnificent, national effort, crucial, conviction, righteous people, new, millennium, eradicate, harness, rebuild, reclaim, revitalize, summon, thrive, allegiance, bestow, destiny, flourish, manifest, providence, resolve, solidarity, triumphs, unrivaled,	

Continuation of Table 15

1	2
<p>glorious destiny, mighty creator, red blood of patriots,,  overeignty, envy, exceptional, momentum, sanctuary, glorious,  destiny, triumph, annihilate, mandate, allegiance, prosperity,  resilience, resurgence, renaissance, valiant, indomitable,  fortitude, unwavering, steadfast, formidable, legendary,  visionary, manifest, destiny, conquest, pioneers, exploration,  frontier, expansion, ascendance, ascendancy, perseverance,  audacity, invincible, insurmountable, unconquerable,  sovereignty, and supremacy.</p>	
<p>J. Biden</p>	
<p>resolve, crucible, triumph, heeded, hallowed, indivisible,  resilience, sacred, salute, perfect union, storm, strife, peril,  deferred, survival, extremism, supremacy, confront, defeat,  restore, elusive, unity, emancipation, proclamation,  resentment, lawlessness, perennial, nativism, prevailed,  adversaries, bitterness, fury, chaos, endure, prevail, march,  guardrail, trepidation, distrust, retreat, factions, tolerance,  humility, fate, stronger, prosperous, perseverance, endure,  inequity, cascading, beacon, forbearers, generations,  conviction, devoted, troops.</p>	

#### 4.2.2 Use of professional terminology

Political communication is peculiarly characterized by the use of political terminology. Using professional terminology allows listeners to immerse themselves in the process.

There are two types of terminology that is used in the Inaugural Addresses: 1) political lexis per se that includes political titles, names of state organizations, government authorities, political parties and movements, as well as international policy terminology, legal and economic terminology, and electoral and military terminology; 2) general political lexis that includes philosophical, sociological, cultural studies, religious terms and those widely used in mass media, as well as words related to the work of different associations, unions, public organizations, as well terms related to phenomena, processes, and events in the field of enlightenment, cultural life of the country, etc. [128, p. 216–217].

Thus, for example, the following political titles are present in the Inaugural Addresses of American Presidents: Chief Justice, President, First Lady, Vice President, Members of the United States Congress, reverend clergy, cardinal, statesman.

In the inaugural discourse, presidents tend to mention state organizations and government bodies. Thus, U.S. presidents' speeches include such words as Congress, presidency, government, faction, central authority, republic, whereas the presidents of Kazakhstan may refer to, for instance in 1991 Inaugural Address: "Verhovnyj Sovet Respubliki" (State Supreme Council), "deputatskij korpus" (deputies corps) "Nacional'naja komissija" (National Committee), in 1999: "Parlament" (Parliament), in 2011: "Nacional'nyj fond" (National Fund), "Parlament" (Parliament), "Pravitel'stvo" (government), and "global'noe antijadernoe dvizhenie" (global anti-nuclear movement), in 2015: "Mezhdunarodnyj konsul'tativnyj sovet" (International Consultative Council), "Mezhdunarodnyj arbitrazhnyj centr" (International Arbitration Centre), "Organizacija jekonomicheskogo sotrudnichestva i razvitija" (The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), "gosudarstvennyj apparat" (state apparatus), "Nacional'naja komissija po modernizacii pri Prezidente" (National Committee on Modernization under the President), in 2019: Nacional'nyj Sovet obshhestvennogo doverija (National Council of Public Trust) "Parlament" (Parliament), in 2022: "Parlament" (Parliament), "Senat" (Senate), "Mazhlis" (Mazhlis).

The leaders, specifically the presidents, of both countries skillfully employ a diverse array of terminology that spans various fields including political, economic, legal, and military contexts. This multifaceted vocabulary allows them to articulate their strategies and positions effectively, ensuring that they communicate the intricacies of their policies and decisions in a manner that resonates with both domestic and international audiences. By utilizing such terminology, they demonstrate their understanding of complex issues and their ability to navigate the interconnected domains that affect governance and international relations.

We can add to the first category names of state documents, such as Declaration of Independence, Constitution, the GI Bill of Rights, Homestead Act, Social Security Act,

Tax Code, as well as names of state programs: Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid. The names of such state documents and state programs relevant for Kazakhstan include: “Konstitucija” (Constitution), “Mäñgılık El” ülttyq ideiasy” (“Mangilik Yel” national idea) (2015), “Nūrly jol” (Nurly zhol), “Bes halyqtyq reforma” (Five national reforms), “Plan Nacii “100 shagov” (Nation’s Plan “100 Steps”), “Kazahstan-2030” (Kazakhstan-2030).

The second category includes all other terminology. For example, American presidents’ Inaugural Addresses may include sociological terms such as “middle class” (Clinton 1997, Trump 2017), “under class” (Clinton 1997), “minorities” (Clinton 1997, Bush 2005), “public safety”, (Bush 2001), “public health” (Bush 2001), “racial”, “religious”, and “political diversity” (Clinton 1997), philosophical terms, such as “idealism” (Bush 2001), “patriotism” (Trump 2017), “marginalized” (Obama 2009), and other terms denoting phenomena and events in the country’s life such as the “world environment” (Clinton 1993), “revolution” (Clinton 1997), “industrial revolution” (Clinton 1997).

Similarly, the Presidents of Kazakhstan mentioned “grazhdanskaja identichnost’” (civic identity) (2015), “crednij klasc” (middle class) (2015, 2011), “social'nyj potencial” (social potential) (1991), “mirovoe soobshhestvo” (world community) (1991), snacioanl’noe i grazhdanskoe soglasie (national and civil accord) (1991), svoboda sovesti (liberty of conscience) (2006), uroven' zhizni (living standards) (2005), nacional’naja neterpimost’ (ethnic intolerance] (2005), zashhita okruzhajushhej sredy (environment protection) (2011).

Of all Inaugural Addresses by U.S. presidents considered in this study, only President Clinton used an acronym in his speech: he mentioned the acronym AIDS in his speech in 1993. Thus, Bill Clinton acknowledges a major health crisis of the time and positions it as a national concern worthy of mention in the Inaugural Address.

In addition, the President uses the disease's acronym, firstly because it has become linguistically normalized, and furthermore, it is better known as an acronym than in its full phrase. It is very common to use abbreviations and acronyms of well-known terms and notions in political discourse for more concise presentation of ideas and shortening the speech. For example, the President Nazarbayev used widely-known abbreviations of the names of countries such as “SShA” (U.S.) and organizations as “OBSE” (OSCE), “SVMDA” (CICA), “ShOS” (SCO), “ODKB” (CSTO), “OIK” (OIC), “NATO” (NATO), and other terms such as “IPO”, “SMI” (Mass Media), “JEKCPO” (EXPO); less often he uses abbreviated words: “компроат” (compromising evidence), “госслужба” (civil service).

Nazarbayev’s frequent use of acronyms for international organizations and terms signals a deliberate positioning of Kazakhstan within the global political structure and aims at an elite audience, additionally emphasizing diplomatic activity and legitimizing his leadership.

However, K. Tokayev, in his addresses, used only two acronyms: OON (UN) and SShA (USA). This suggests a different approach to rhetorical choices and may reflect a more inclusive communication style that is oriented towards accessibility and aims

to engage a broader public. President N. Nazarbayev and President K. Tokayev's contrasting use of acronyms reflects distinct rhetorical strategies, ideological positions, and relationships with the audience.

### **4.3 Stylistic Features of the Inaugural Address**

The language of politics is aimed at conveying the necessary information to the audience with the help of alluring and persuasive rhetoric. Thus, the language of politics consists of a “lexicon of conflict and drama, of ridicules, and reproach, pleading and persuasion, color and bite permeated. A language designed to valor men, destroy some, and change the mind of others” [129].

In this matter, presidents use different rhetorical devices, that play a crucial role in framing the message, as politicians “often resort to the exploration of stylistic-rhetorical devices to embellish their intended messages and achieve success in public arguments or political consultations” [130, p. 3386].

In this part, we will analyze the major rhetorical devices used by the Presidents to strengthen their Inaugural Addresses and fulfill their main functions, as well as the functions of political discourse. Examples of these rhetorical devices will be presented in table form, indicating the president, the excerpt from the Inaugural Address, and their explanation from the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective.

The complete list of other rhetorical devices that are infrequently used will be presented in the appendices.

One of the most prevalent rhetorical schemes employed by presidents during their Inaugural Addresses is known as parallelism, which is “particularly useful for keeping long lists understandable or for making long parenthetical comments less cumbersome” [131, p. 106]

Such a strategic approach to language serves to unify thoughts and ideas, making the address more engaging and persuasive. Political leaders enhance the clarity and resonance of their message by using different rhetorical devices. This linguistic elevation adds ceremonial weight and fosters a collective sense of purpose, aligning speaker and audience under shared values. As a result, the address becomes more engaging, persuasive, and memorable, reinforcing both the authority of the speaker and the ideological message conveyed. Therefore, it is important to carefully consider the language and symbols employed during such occasions, as they hold the power to resonate with the audience and convey profound messages that may shape the political landscape for years to come.

In addition to being defined as “similarity of structure in a pair or series of related words, phrases, or clauses” [128, p. 429], it is rhetorical devices “which occur within the sentence, may be asyndetic (no coordinator), monosyndetic (one coordinator), or polysyndetic (several coordinators)” [132, p. 130].

The examples of asyndetic parallelism are represented in Table 16. This table illustrates various instances where asyndetic parallelism enhances the clarity and emotional resonance of the text, providing readers with a deeper understanding of its significance in effective writing:

Table 16 – Examples of asyndetic parallelism in the Inaugural Addresses of the residents of United States and Kazakhstan.

President	Excerpt from the Inaugural Addresses	CDA perspective
1	2	3
B. Clinton	“Communications and commerce are global. Investment is mobile. Technology is almost magical” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993)	The absence of conjunctions creates a fast, empathetic rhythm that reflects the urgency and need for adaptation in the processes of globalization within policy and governance.
	"...built unrivaled centers of learning, opened public schools to all, split the atom, explored the heavens..." (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997)	Omitting conjunctions increases urgency and highlights national accomplishments. In CDA, it idealizes progress while overlooking complexities and contradictions, resulting in a simplified and persuasive depiction of the American pioneering spirit.
G. Bush	“...defend but not possess, to protect but not conquer...” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001)	This enhances the rhetorical pace and sharpens the contrast. It portrays American military power as morally guided and restrained, reinforcing the U.S.'s ethical superiority globally.
	“came years of relative quiet, years of repose, years of sabbatical” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005)	Accelerates the rhythm and highlights the cumulative calm before a crisis. CDA views this as simplifying complex foreign relations to ethical boundaries.
B. Obama	“It has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009)	Creates urgency and a sense of accumulated hardship. In CDA, it dramatizes the crisis and reinforces the necessity for change through rhetorical compression.
D.Trump	“full of compassion, courage, and exceptionalism” (quoted	Enhances the rhythm and intensity. CDA demonstrates

Continuation of Table 16

1	2	3
	from D. Trump's Inaugural address, 2025)	that this evokes emotional momentum and highlights an idealized American character.
J. Biden	“restless, bold, optimistic” (quoted from J. Biden's Inaugural Address, 2021)	Rapid and unconnected listings intensify a positive self-image of national identity.
N. Nazarbayev	«kazahov, russkih, ukraincev, korejcev, nemcev, ujugurov — vseh teh, kto edinoj komandoj...» (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 1991)	Fosters a sense of unity within Kazakhstan's multinational community without division.
	“pensioneram, invalidam, sirotam, mnogodetnym sem'jam, uchashhimsja” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 1991). “Learning from the good, rejecting the bad is a sign of a growing nation”.	Fosters a sense of community among socially vulnerable groups in the population.
Note – Compiled by author		

From Table 16, the instances of asyndetic parallelism in the Inaugural Addresses serve both rhetorical and ideological purposes in political discourse. We may conclude that Presidents use this rhetorical device in their Inaugural Addresses to simplify complexities into a more digestible and emotional form, construct moral narratives to promote unity, and reinforce inclusion and solidarity among ethnic groups. Most importantly, it frames perceptions of national ideologies and the legitimacy of leadership.

The following Table 17 illustrates examples of monosyndetic parallelism from the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan. This table showcases how this rhetorical device is utilized to create a steady and motivational rhythm and impact of the speeches. Each example highlights the strategic choice of words and the rhythm established through repetition, thereby contributing to the overall persuasiveness and emotive power of the addresses.



Table 17 – Examples of monosyndetic parallelism from the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan

President	Excerpt from the Inaugural Addresses	CDA perspective
1	2	3
B. Clinton	“Eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993)	The absence of conjunctions creates a swift, empathetic rhythm that reflects the urgency and necessity for adaptation in globalization processes within policy and governance.
G. Bush	“We are bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests, and teach us what it means to be citizens” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001)	Reinforces the cumulative impact of the crisis and lays the groundwork for justifying future political action or reform. In CDA, by avoiding the clear agent of harm, the speaker unites the audience.
B. Obama	“we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009)	Creates a rhythmic and motivational tone that encourages resilience and forward movement after hardship, fosters a collective identity of perseverance, and frames recovery as a shared responsibility.
D. Trump	“This is your day, this is your celebration, and this is...your country” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017)	Reinforces unity and inclusivity by emphasizing ownership and belonging to the American nation. It also fosters a collective national identity and emotional resonance, positioning the people of the U.S.
J. Biden	“Through civil war, the Great Depression, World War, 9/11, through struggle, sacrifice, and setback, our better angels have always prevailed” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021)	It creates a sense of urgency and highlights societal flaws by implying that overcoming these issues requires addressing them as a whole.

Continuation of Table 17

1	2	3
N. Nazarbayev	<p>“U nas est' kvalificirovannyj otrjad rabochih i krest'jan, talantlivye uchenye i inzhenery. U nas est' zamechatel'naja tvorcheskaja intelligencija i molodezh', gotovye sluzhit' delu procvetanija rodnoj respubliki” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, )</p> <p>“We have a qualified team of workers and peasants, talented scientists and engineers. We have a wonderful creative intelligentsia and youth, ready to serve the cause of the prosperity of our republic”.</p>	Serves to unify diverse segments of society under a single national mission that constructs a collective identity and inclusivity.
K. Tokayev	<p>“Jeto kasaetsja jekonomiki, pravoporjadka, politicheskoy sistemy i prav cheloveka” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022).</p> <p>“This concerns the economy, law and order, political system and human rights”.</p>	Frames various domains as equally significant and interconnected, while a single conjunction underscores unity and cohesion in policy focus.
	<p>“Nam nuzhno reshat' voprosy zanjatosti, zarabotnoj platy, zhil'ja, i social'noj spravedlivosti” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2019).</p> <p>“We have to solve the issues of employment, salary, accommodation, and social justice”.</p>	Frames socioeconomic issues as interrelated and equally urgent, emphasizing the need for a comprehensive policy focus.
Note – Compiled by author		

Thus, monosyndetic parallelism is used by the Presidents to reinforce unity, equality, and shared responsibility. It often represents national narrative, that links

diverse issues or groups under a single ideological frame. This impacts the public perception of the Inaugural Address as a speech created to search for collective actions and solutions. From the rhetorical point of view, this rhetorical device is used “to attract attention in a number of different syntactic constructions” [132, p. 131].

The following Table 18 represents the examples of the polysyndetic parallelism found in the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan. This table not only highlights the occurrences of this rhetorical device but also aims to illustrate its significance and effectiveness in enhancing the eloquence and persuasiveness of these important speeches.

Table 18 – Examples of the polysyndetic parallelism from the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan.

President	Excerpt from the Inaugural Addresses	CDA perspective
1	2	3
B. Clinton	“When most people are working harder for less; when others cannot work at all; when the cost of health care...” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).	Highlights systemic issues. CDA identifies this as a strategy to emphasize inequalities and support political change or intervention.
G. Bush	“America has never been united by blood or birth or soil” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).	Emphasizes each individual element, highlighting that unity is not based on a single physical or ethnic marker. It fosters a civic-based national identity by reinforcing the idea of shared values.
B. Obama	“these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked <u>till</u> their hands” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).	Emphasizes consistent effort and collective endurance, reinforcing a narrative of resilience that links historical struggles with national or social identity.
	“honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).	The use of “and” distributes emphasis equally, fostering a collective national identity rooted in moral values. It can be interpreted as a reinforcement of moral values and democratic inclusion

Continuation of Table 18

1	2	3
D.Trump	“new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels and railways” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017)	Adds rhythm and a sense of continuity, suggesting a comprehensive vision of development, implicitly reflecting the importance of modernizing infrastructure for economic growth.
J. Biden	“A day of history and hope, of renewal and resolve” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).	The repetition of “and” between the abstract notions emphasizes a sense of continuity and interconnection, highlighting that they are all equally important parts of the Inauguration ceremony. This could be interpreted as positioning the day of inauguration as a turning point or moment of great significance.
	“Uniting to fight the foes we face – anger, resentment and hatred. Extremism, lawlessness and violence, disease, joblessness and hopelessness” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).	The conjunction “and” links each element in the list, suggesting that all of these issues are connected and must be confronted together, emphasizing the magnitude of the issues that need to be addressed.
	“A story of decency and dignity, love and healing, greatness and goodness” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).	The use of “and” between each pair of qualities creates a sense of continuity and connection between them. It effectively communicates a message of moral goodness and hope.
N. Nazarbayev	darmovye den'gi, i fermerskie hozjajstva, i privatizacija, i razgosudarstvlenie... (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1991)	The repeated use of “and” builds a cumulative list, conveying an overabundance of conflicting policies and promises.

Continuation of Table 18

1	2	3
	“Bız Altai men Atyrau, Arqa men Alatau arasyndağy ūlanğaiyr dalada...” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2011)	It emphasizes the vastness of the nation. Additionally, it highlights the unity among its diverse regions.
K. Tokayev	“...v tom chisle v sfere obrazovaniya, i zdavooohraneniya, i jekologii, i transporta...” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2019). “...including in the fields of education, and healthcare, and ecology, and transport...”	Emphasizes inclusiveness and breadth of state responsibility across key public sectors.
	“...i uchitelja, i vrachi, i predprinimateli, i rabochie...” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022). “...and teachers, and doctors, and entrepreneurs, and workers...”	The repetition of the conjunction “and” emphasizes inclusivity among the social groups, signaling solidarity and equality of each group.
Note – Compiled by author		

Well-structured parallelism adds flow in the given part of the speech and builds intensity of the proposed ideas, thus it “will likely not be noticeable, as it produces an evenly toned, flowing narrative”, however, if the Presidents misuse this rhetorical device, the audience “will be jarred and disconnected, almost as if an alarm bell has sounded” [131, p. 110]. From the critical perspective, it is used to construct a civic-based national identity, especially in a multinational context, links the struggles of the nation, and reinforces moral and democratic values.

American presidents also tend to use asyndeton and polysyndeton more frequently, rather than Kazakhstani Presidents. Asyndeton can be described as “deliberate omission of conjunctions between a series of related clauses” [128, p. 434]. In the following Table 19, we have compiled and presented a comprehensive collection of examples of asyndeton. This comparison not only highlights the stylistic choices made by these leaders but also reflects the cultural and rhetorical significance of asyndeton in their speeches to enhance the emotional impact and urgency of their messages.

Table 19 – Examples of asyndeton from the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan

President	Excerpt from the Inaugural Addresses	CDA perspective
B. Clinton	“We have been touched by tragedy, exhilarated by challenge, strengthened by achievement” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).	Emphasizing a wide range of experiences and reinforcing a collective national identity shaped by diverse events.
	“...restless, questing, hopeful people” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993)	By creating rhythm, it emphasizes the optimism of the American people, portraying them as an ever-evolving and future-oriented nation.
G. Bush	“...years of relative quiet, years of repose, years of sabbatical” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).	The absence of the conjunction between the repeated phrase structure lends fluidity. The rhetorical device reflects a collective period of passivity and calmness, preparing the audience for a call to action.
B. Obama	“...humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).	Omitting conjunctions in a triadic structure creates a solemn rhythm and emphasizes the responsibility and humility of the presidential role.
D.Trump	“Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities, rusted out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation, an education system flushed with cash” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).	Creates a more forceful and urgent rhythm, emphasizing the harshness of the current reality and adding intensity to the portrayal of societal issues.
J. Biden	“We endure, we prevail” (J. Biden, 2021).	Emphasizes the president's firm determination, conveying a sense of decisiveness and strength, signaling that enduring inseparable ideas.
Note – Compiled by author		

From a rhetorical point of view, asyndeton is frequently used in political communication to add rhythm, compress complex ideas, and convey urgency. From the perspective of the CDA, asyndeton plays a significant role in the inaugural addresses, as it prepares the audience for ideological persuasion by creating a calm tone and contributing to the national narrative. It also indicates a strong leadership discourse to convey power and determination to act firmly.

Whereas, polysyndeton is the opposite of asyndeton: it uses coordinating conjunctions more than is needed, and it is used as a tool of “increasing urgency and power, with almost hypnotic rhythm forming quite quickly” [131, p. 164].

In Table 20, we present a detailed representation of the instances of polysyndeton usage observed in the Presidents’ Inaugural Addresses. This table aims to illustrate the frequency of polysyndeton and the context in which it is used. Each instance will be accompanied by relevant excerpts and analysis to provide a deeper understanding of how polysyndeton contributes to the overall impact of the addresses by the presidents of both countries.

Table 20 – Examples of polysyndeton from the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan.

President	Excerpt from the Inaugural Addresses	CDA perspective
1	2	3
B. Clinton	“...reclaim our streets from drugs and gangs and crime” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1997).	The phrase serves to highlight societal problems by framing the government’s role in addressing them. The rhetorical device used to intensify the urgency of the issue forms firm and immediate decisions.
G. Bush	“...make our society more prosperous and just and equal” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).	Emphasizing the interconnectedness of the listed notions promotes the idea that these elements are foundational for national unity.
	“...the exercise of rights is ennobled by service, and mercy, and a heart for the weak” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2005).	Listing the items with conjunctions rather than using commas draws deliberate attention to each value individually, giving weight and

Continuation of Table 20

1	2	3
	“limited by failing schools and hidden prejudice and the circumstances of their birth” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).	importance to each concept.
B. Obama	“build the roads and network and research labs” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).	The repeated conjunction slows the pace of the speech, places equal weight on each item, and suggests that each concept is vital and should not be overestimated. In CDA, it reflects an ideology of progress that prioritizes development across multiple sectors.
	“through Seneca Falls, and Selma, and Stonewall” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).	The use of the rhetorical device slows down the pace and gives equal weight to each historically significant geographical location. In CDA, it can be explained as constructing collective memory, as each place represents a symbol of historical challenges for justice.
D.Trump	“and the crimes, and the gangs, and the drugs that have stolen too many lives” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).	Excessive use of conjunctions here emphasizes each threat, rendering them more severe, immediate, and cumulative. From a CDA perspective, this conveys a sense of overwhelming threat from the mentioned concepts.
	“No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).	Builds emotional weight, giving the sentence a strong and patriotic cadence. According to CDA, this constructs a resilient American identity and patriotic emotion.



Continuation of Table 20

1	2	3
	“We will build new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels and railways all across” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).	Slowing down the sentence draws equal attention to each item and frames collective national renewal while symbolizing progress.
J. Biden	“We can right wrongs, we can put people to work in good jobs, we can teach our children in safe schools. We can overcome the deadly virus, we can rebuild work, we can rebuild the middle class and make work secure, we can secure racial justice, and we can make America once again the leading force for good in the world” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).	The phrase and the rhetorical device emphasize possibility over certainty, adopting a hopeful tone while acknowledging realistic effort.
N. Nazarbayev	“Bız beibıtışılık pen kelısımge, tatulyq pen tūraqtylyqqa täu etıp, täube deımız” (quoted from N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2015). “We bow to peace and harmony, to unity and stability, and we show appreciation”.	Creates a sense of flow and balance, emphasizing the interconnectedness of these values. From a CDA perspective, it generates social power, ideologies, and identities by positioning the president as a legitimate and authoritative figure, while constructing an inclusive national identity.
Note – Compiled by author		

This rhetorical device is successfully mastered by the presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan to equalize and connect concepts, creating a powerful rhetorical effect. In CDA terms, it helps shape ideologies, calls for unity, and identifies political messages. Polysyndeton is used to prioritize social values and magnify the threats and urgencies of current issues.

One of the rhetorical devices used by presidents is antithesis, which is described as a rhetorical device that “makes use of contrast in language to bring out contrast in

ideas” [131, p. 22]. I. Loginova explained that antithesis is one of the key stylistic devices used to realize the persuasive potential of political discourse. It is usually used to contrast ideas, clauses, or statements and emphasize the positive part [133]. The instances of using antithesis in the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan are presented bellow in the Table 21.

Table 21 – Examples of antithesis from the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan.

President	Excerpt from the Inaugural Addresses	CDA perspective
1	2	3
B. Clinton	“Though we marched to the music of our time, our mission is timeless” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).	Highlights the tension between operating in a specific moment and serving a goal beyond that moment. By suggesting the mission is “timeless”, frames the nation’s agenda as a universally valid political program and as a moral or historical necessity.
G. Bush	“We will show purpose without arrogance. We will meet aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).	From a CDA perspective, the phrase represents power dynamics and moral legitimacy.
B. Obama	“On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).	The opposition of hope and fear, unity and discord, creates a moral and emotional sense. From a CDA perspective, critiques the past and reinforces the collective mission of the government and the people.
	“Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will	Creates a framework for action and termination. In CDA, it presents the

Continuation of Table 21

1	2	3
	end” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009)	government as a decisive, action-oriented management style.
D.Trump	“Reinforce old alliance and form new ones” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).	The phrase appeals to both conservative and progressive ideals. From CDA's perspective, it emphasizes the U.S. as an active global leader that supports ongoing commitments and anticipates expanding its impact.
J. Biden	“And together we will write an American story of hope, not fear. Of unity not division, of light not darkness” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).	The use of several opposing concepts together highlights their moral significance. It also refers to the collective agency of the people of the U.S. in national decisions and responsibilities.
N. Nazarbayev	“...vodorazdelom, pograničnoj liniej mezhdru krovavym i dramatičnym vekom XX i polnym nadezhd i ozhidaniy vekom XXI” (quoted N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1999). “... a watershed, a borderline between the bloody and dramatic 20 <sup>th</sup> century and the 21 <sup>st</sup> century full of hopes and expectations”	The device highlights the contrast between the old regime and the governance system of independent Kazakhstan. As a result, the past was marked by hardships, whereas the new era for Kazakhstan holds the promise of a better future. From the perspective of CDA, it portrays Kazakhstan as a nation progressing from a painful and oppressive period toward a hopeful and autonomous future.

Continuation of Table 21

1	2	3
	<p>“...iz mechty, za kotoruju umirali nashi predki... prevratilos' v real'nost'” (quoted N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1999).</p> <p>“...form a dream, for which our ancestors died... it has turned into reality”</p>	<p>The rhetorical device emphasizes the journey of the Kazakh nation from aspiration to achievement. From a CDA perspective, the phrase underscores the historical legitimization and continuity by honoring the struggles of the ancestors and creating an emotional link between the citizens of independent Kazakhstan and the people of the past.</p>
K. Tokayev	<p>“Qyzmet – uaqytşa, al halyq – m äñgi” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022).</p> <p>“Service is temporary, but the people are eternal”.</p>	<p>The device contrasts the temporary nature of service with the eternal essence of people. From a CDA perspective, the phrase reinforces a political ideology in which leadership is seen as an honorable duty for the sake of the nation, and the people are viewed as a larger concept that legitimizes the leader.</p>
Note – Compiled by author		

Thus, antithesis is a powerful rhetorical strategy used to define moral binaries and evoke emotional response. From CDA perspective, it plays a critical role in shaping ideologies and constructing national identity by contrasting between past and present, hopes and regrets of the nation.

An “inversion of the natural or usual word order” [80, p.383], known as anastrophe is also a rhetorical device frequently utilized in the Inaugural Addresses of the American presidents. However, Kazakhstani presidents tend to avoid using this particular rhetorical device, primarily due to certain structural considerations unique to

the Kazakh language. As noted by E. Suleimenova, who has investigated the business discourse of Kazakhstan, the Kazakh language “has a long literary tradition and possesses all the means necessary for carrying out both official and everyday business communication, written and oral” [134, p. 442].

Hence, both business and political discourses operate within an institutional framework and share the same pragmatic functions and structural similarities, particularly in their use of strategic language to influence communication participants, fulfill their authority, and navigate public perception. She also notes that the stylistic diversity of the Kazakh language is quite rich, and features such as “standardization, the use of words in their dictionary meaning, a lack of figurative and evaluative language, impersonal character of exposition, a special system of clichés, terms and set expressions, conventional symbols and abbreviations, a distinct compositional structure” are found across all styles of the Kazakh language. [134, p. 442]

This rhetorical device is frequently used by politicians; thus, in the following Table 22, we present examples of its usage by American Presidents:

Table 22 – Examples of anastrophe from the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan

President	Excerpt from the Inaugural Addresses	CDA perspective
1	2	3
G. Bush	“And to all nations, we will speak for the values that gave our Nation birth” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).	It emphasizes the audience and the President's intention to discuss American values. It aims to solidify national unity and assert the role of the American people as a global actor in shaping and defending the values of the world.
	“Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose today” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).	The inversion emphasizes the resolve of the President, or the nation in general, before the action is even mentioned. It serves to mobilize the audience, framing the purpose as a continuous commitment.
B. Obama	“In reaffirming the greatness of our Nation, we understand that greatness is never a given” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).	It draws the audience's attention to the fact that greatness must be earned, convincing them that it is not a privilege.

Continuation of Table 22

1	2	3
D.Trump	“Now arrives the hour of action” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).	In this example, the President creates a sense of urgency by using inversion, emphasizing time over action and mobilizing the audience for critical tasks before the nation.
Note – Compiled by author		

The excerpts retrieved from the Inaugural Addresses and presented in the table above prove that anastrophe is a “forceful, emotional device”, as by using it the author “has become so caught up in what he or she is writing that it is no longer possible to respect the bounds of the narrative” [131, p. 140].

Thus, this device heightens the rhetorical impact of the Inaugural Address by focusing on values and intensifying urgency. In terms of CDA, it serves to mobilize public will and reinforce ideologies of unity and moral leadership, but most importantly it is used to frame the nation’s mission by positioning the President and the nation as agents of universal global influence.

Various types of repetition are common in politicians’ speeches. One such type is alliteration which means “repetition of initial or medial consonants in two or more adjacent words” [107, p. 436]. The examples of alliteration that were found in the Inaugural addresses of the presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan are given below in Table 23.

Table 23 – Examples of alliteration from the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan

President	Excerpt from the Inaugural Addresses	CDA perspective
1	2	3
B. Clinton	“the sights and sounds of this ceremony” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).	President Clinton uses this phrase to ritualize the inauguration ceremony, emphasizing its symbolic and continuous nature.
	“Profound and powerful forces” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).	It highlights the unavoidable and substantial political change.
G. Bush	“...flawed and fallible people...” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address,	Both concepts beginning with “f” sounds create a soft alliteration that adds rhythm and reflects

Continuation of Table 23

1	2	3
	2001).	humility and realism in the national narrative. Thus, it unites the nation not only by merits and good deeds but also by the imperfect aspects addressed.
	“...through civility, courage, compassion, and character” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).	By using abstract virtues that begin with the same sound to define national identity, the President creates rhythm and appeals to emotional unity through shared American values
B. Obama	“This is the price and the promise of citizenship” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).	The soft sound of “p” adds balance and rhythm to the phrase. The President highlights the duty and active responsibility of the American nation, along with the privilege it has over other nations.
	“solemn duty and awesome joy” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).	The repetition adds rhetorical elegance and memorability while enhancing emotional resonance.
D.Trump	“compassion, courage, and exceptionalism” (quoted from B. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2025).	Creates a rhythmic and memorable triad to reinforce key values. The phrase projects an idealized identity of the nation.
J. Biden	“soul and secure” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).	Invokes emotional and cultural depth, utilizing two terms that balance emotional integrity with practical protection.
K. Tokayev	“Bız tübegeılı betbürysqa jol aşqan auqymdy özgerister jasadyq” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022). “We have made large-scale changes that have paved the way for a fundamental turning point”.	Emphasizes the significance and intent of the reform, strengthening a sense of unity and progress.
Note – Compiled by author		

Alliteration in the inaugural addresses of the presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan creates a positive auditory effect, draws attention to the mentioned concepts, and strengthens the emotional connection with the audience. In terms of CDA, this device helps to construct an idealized national identity and creates a more reflective narrative.

A climax is described as an “arrangement of words, phrases, or clauses in an order of increasing importance” [128, p. 441]. This rhetorical device is utilized extensively by the Presidents of both countries. This strategic approach serves not only to enhance their speeches but also to resonate with a diverse audience. The various instances of this device can be observed in detail in Table 24, showcasing the significance of rhetorical devices in shaping public perception and influencing opinion during pivotal moments in leadership.

Table 24 – Examples of climax from the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan

President	Excerpt from the Inaugural Addresses	CDA perspective
1	2	3
B. Clinton	“But when most people are working harder for less; when others cannot work at all; when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt our enterprises” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).	Each clause in the rhetorical device represents an escalation of urgent social issues, highlighting deep and widespread problems. From a CDA perspective, it conveys moral and emotional pressure to support future reforms.
G. Bush	“a serious work of leaders and citizens and every generation” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).	Builds intensity and inclusiveness by naming the concepts in sequence. In CDA, Bush crafts an image of responsibility shared among all citizens and generations. Furthermore, it implies that the nation is accountable, and the audience acts as co-authors of national progress.
B. Obama	“a recognition on the part of every American that we have duties to ourselves, our Nation, and the world” (quoted from	Escalates from individual responsibility to global duty. From a CDA perspective, it represents discourse on collective



Continuation of Table 24

1	2	3
	B. Obama's Inaugural Address, 2009).	accountability, positioning the nation as agents on the domestic and international stage.
D.Trump	“a decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital and in every hall of power” (quoted from D. Trump's Inaugural Address, 2017).	Builds the progression of locations to emphasize the universal and authoritative nature of the message. In terms of CDA, it reflects a discourse of nationalism as a bold declaration of dominance in the world.
	“by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement. And most importantly, we will be protected by God” (quoted from D. Trump's Inaugural Address, 2017).	
N.Nazarbayev	Әр қазақстандықтарға, әр жанұяға, әрқайсыларыңызға (quoted N. Nazarbayev's Inaugural Address, 2011).	
Note – Compiled by author		

The rhetorical device of climax is used to emphasize escalation and intensity, strengthening the emotional appeal. From the perspective of CDA, highlighting the escalating societal problems rhetorically justifies political reform and evokes a sense of moral urgency.

Metaphor is one of the most poetic political devices, that is used in the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan, it is used “to convey not just the literal truth of a thing, but the emotional or psychological truth of it as well” [131, p. 52]

According to Hayes, “politicians have also recently started to show an interest in metaphor as a mean of engaging with people. Of course, political speechwriters have long been aware of the power of metaphor, but what seems to be different now is the way in which metaphor-laden speeches are being constructed to appeal to the emotions of the audience” [135].

Mio et al. underline that the use of metaphor in a speech is an element of rhetorical skill that makes the leader charismatic and “a tool to clarify meaning, to inspire, and to motivate followers”, hence fulfilling the main function of Inaugural Address. The

group of scholars analyzed the metaphors in the Inaugural Addresses of 36 American presidents and correlated the charisma score by Simonton of American presidents to the metaphor usage density. Their study showed that “charismatic U.S. presidents will use more metaphors in their Inaugural Addresses than will non-charismatic presidents” [136].

For instance, Table 25 offers a detailed analysis of the metaphors used in the addresses delivered by the Presidents of the United States and Kazakhstan. It represents the respective political climates, cultural contexts, and communication strategies through the use of metaphors. By closely examining the metaphors, we can gain a deeper understanding of the underlying messages and themes these Presidents seek to convey to their audiences.

Table 25 – Examples of metaphors from the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan

President	Excerpt from the Inaugural Addresses	CDA perspective
1	2	3
B. Clinton	“This ceremony is held in the depth of winter, but by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring” (quoted from B. Clinton’s Inaugural Address, 1993).	Winter symbolizes challenging times in a political or social context. In contrast, spring represents a time of renewal after the ceremony. It is a powerful metaphor that uses natural imagery to convey hope and transformation.
G. Bush	“The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands” (quoted from G. Bush’s Inaugural Address, 2001).	The concept of liberty is personified and extended across borders, implying that it is a universal idea. It serves as a robust ideological strategy to frame liberty as interdependent and essential for both national and international stability.
B. Obama	“We are the ones we've been waiting for. We are the change that we seek” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009).	This metaphorically suggests that the solution to societal problems lies within the Nation, implying that they should recognize their potential and take action.
	“America’s destiny is not written for us, but by us” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).	The metaphor of destiny in this example highlights that America's future is not predetermined but shaped by the nation through its actions.

Continuation of Table 25

1	2	3
D.Trump	“Now arrives the hour of action” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).	In this example, the metaphor has a symbolic meaning that marks the moment for decisive action without passive discussion. It performs ideological and rhetorical functions, undermining the previous administration and positioning himself as the leader of this action.
J. Biden	“The soul of America is at stake” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).	The metaphor “soul of America” is a powerful representation of the identity, core values, and spirit of the American nation. It encourages the audience to reflect on the country and reinforces the collective moral essence that must be defended.
K. Tokayev	“Men бүгін көк туды сүйіп, дан а халқымның алдында бас идім” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022) “Today I kissed the blue flag and bowed before my wise people”.	It symbolizes loyalty and respect for the nation, acknowledging the people’s sovereignty and wisdom. This metaphor reinforces patriotism and constructs a shared national identity centered around respect for traditions and values.
	“Uaqyt – eñ ädıl qazy, al tarih – bärine tarazy” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022) “Time is the fairest judge, and history is the ultimate scale”.	Time is regarded as the fairest judge, implying that it reveals true value or consequences. History is seen as a measurer that assesses the outcomes and decisions made in the past. From a CDA perspective, the President presents himself as part of a larger historical plan in the moment, to be validated in the future.
	“Elımız – üly dala tösinde jainağan bäiterек” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022)	Baiterek is a symbolic tree of life in Kazakh culture, representing growth, endurance, and unity. Thus, the Kazakh nation is described as a mighty tree rooted

Continuation of Table 25

1	2	3
	“Our country is a blossoming tree in the great steppe”.	in ancient soil. From the CDA perspective, the metaphor legitimizes current political structures with a long historical tradition.
	“El birlığı – berik qamal” (quoted from K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022) “National unity is a strong fortress”.	The metaphor of a fortress symbolizes protection and endurance, signifying that the true strength of a nation lies in unity, social cohesion, and solidarity. From a CDA perspective, it promotes a collective identity among a multinational population under a single image.
Note – Compiled by author		

Rhetorically, the Presidents of Kazakhstan actively employ metaphors to enhance emotional and symbolic resonance, translating abstract or complex ideas into concrete imagery. They also frame national identity and values by constructing a shared cultural identity, illustrating the nation's prosperous future through unity, resilience, and patriotism. In terms of CDA, metaphors help reproduce or challenge dominant ideologies, shape public consciousness, and position the nation and its people within historical and moral narratives.

An allusion is identified as “a reference to some fairly well-known event, place or person” [131, p. 72]. Thus, this technique often employs indirect or subtle references that encourage the audience to make connections and draw inferences based on context and familiarity with the subject matter. In the following Table 26, we present the analysis of the allusions in the inaugural addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan.

Table 26 – Examples of allusion from the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. and Kazakhstan

President	Excerpt from the Inaugural Addresses	CDA perspective
1	2	3
B. Clinton	“The Scripture says, "And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if	These two excerpts contain rich biblical and cultural allusions, drawing from Christian Scripture

Continuation of Table 26

1	2	3
	we faint not" (quoted from B. Clinton's Inaugural Address, 1993).	and the Judeo-Christian symbolic tradition. If the first is a reference to Galatians 6:9, the other refers to the Exodus motif, alluding to the Promised Land. From a CDA perspective, they significantly legitimize political leadership through sacred narratives and shared morals.
	"Guided by the ancient vision of a promised land, let us set our sights upon a land of new promise" (quoted from B. Clinton's Inaugural Address, 1997).	
G. Bush	"But as a saint of our times has said, "Every day we are called to do small things with great love" (quoted from G. Bush's Inaugural Address, 2001)	These allude to the teachings of Mother Teresa within a Christian framework, invoking moral authority and spiritual legacy. In terms of CDA, it functions to reinforce the ideology of service. It establishes high moral grounds, encouraging Americans to perform small acts of kindness for the prosperous future and fostering social cohesion and collective action.
	"we still believe as Abraham Lincoln did: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves and, under the rule of a just God, cannot long retain it" (quoted from G. Bush's Inaugural Address, 2005)	The example alludes to President A. Lincoln's figure, making a comparison between the societal issues of the 19th and 20th centuries, stating that the values and morals of the nation back then are the same at the moment of performing the Inaugural Address, marking continuity. From a CDA perspective, it firstly serves affectionate functions, framing the binary between freedom and tyranny. It aligns universal principles of justice by legitimizing the political actions of the leadership.

Continuation of Table 26

1	2	3
B. Obama	“Forty-four Americans have now taken the Presidential oath” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2009)	This is a powerful illusion of the continuity and resilience of democracy, highlighting the peaceful transition of power. In CDA terms, it legitimizes the authority of the country’s leadership by presenting himself as the president who continues the path of his predecessors.
	“Our journey is not complete until all our children, from the streets of Detroit to the hills of Appalachia, to the quiet lanes of Newtown, know that they are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm” (quoted from B. Obama’s Inaugural Address, 2013).	This excerpt alludes to struggles for social justice, highlighting the unfinished nature of the American promise. From a CDA perspective, it frames a narrative of unity and moral responsibility, as the president highlights specific social and geographical references that draw attention to social inequalities.
D.Trump	“The Bible tells us, "How good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2017).	This is a direct quotation of Psalm 133:1, a sacred text of Christianity with a strong moral and religious framework. In CDA, it prioritizes national cohesion, cultural identity, and ingroup solidarity.
	Today is Martin Luther King Day... we will strive together to make his dream a reality” (quoted from D. Trump’s Inaugural Address, 2025).	It is a powerful illusion for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who is a symbol of equality and unity. President Trump thus aligns his administration’s mission with King’s legacy. From a CDA perspective, it signals inclusivity and shared national values.

Continuation of Table 26

1	2	3
J. Biden	<p>“On New Year’s Day in 1863, Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation” (quoted from J. Biden’s Inaugural Address, 2021).</p>	<p>The year mentioned in the excerpt is a significant moment in American history that marks the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, which is alluded to as a symbol of liberation and moral leadership.</p> <p>In terms of CDA, it shapes collective memory and national values, thus legitimizing Biden’s administration.</p>
N. Nazarbayev	<p>“Nemalo gosudarstvennyh obrazovanij sushhestvovalo na ego drevnej zemle, kotorye, kak i ljudi, perezhivali svoe detstvo, junost', zrelost', preterpevali upadok, vozrozhдали' iz pepla” (quoted N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 1991).</p> <p>"Many state formations existed on this ancient land, which, like people, experienced childhood, youth, maturity, decline, and were reborn from the ashes".</p>	<p>It represents a longstanding historical legacy of Kazakhstan, highlighting the primary periods and eras of its development. In CDA, it is a nation-binding discourse that legitimizes the country’s independence and collective national identity, which is the heir to the rich history of the nation.</p>
	<p>“Segodnja ja vspominaju o tom, kak posle pervyh vsenarodnyh vyborov v dekabre 1991 goda proiznosil slova prisjagi v pervye na vernost' narodu i prinimal regalii vysshej prezidentskoj vlasti” (quoted N. Nazarbayev’s Inaugural Address, 2011)</p> <p>“Today I recall how, after the first nationwide elections in December 1991, I took the oath of allegiance to the people for the first time and accepted the regalia of the highest presidential authority”.</p>	<p>The national identity of Kazakhstan is symbolized by the metaphor of the Phoenix rising from the ashes, emphasizing the rebirth of the Kazakh nation through the challenges of history. From a CDA perspective, it serves as a powerful nation-building metaphor that unites the country around a shared historical context. Additionally, it legitimizes the authority of the President, positioning him as the successor to previous leaders and prominent figures of the nation.</p>

Continuation of table 26

1	2	3
K. Tokayev	<p>“Elbasy – qazaq memleketiniñ negizin qalaısy uly tılğa” (quoted K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2019)</p> <p>“Elbasy is the great figure who founded the Kazakh state”.</p>	<p>In this metaphor, President Tokayev alludes to his predecessor, N. Nazarbayev, representing him as a “founding father” of independent Kazakhstan and emphasizing his role in establishing the country. In CDA terms, it strongly represents continuity and a peaceful transfer of power, as for the first time, the presidency is given to another leader.</p>
	<p>“Sol sebepti Mağjan aqynnyñ “Men jastarğa senemin” degen sözini ünemi aitamyn” (quoted K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022)</p> <p>“That is why I always repeat the words of the poet Magzhan: “I believe in the youth”.</p>	<p>This is a direct allusion to the line of “Men zhastarga senemin” (I believe in youth) poem by M. Zhumabayev, which reflects enlightenment and hope for the future. By this, President Tokayev draws the audience's attention to the significance of young people in the country's development and the trust the nation places in them. From a CDA perspective, it is a powerful future-oriented discourse that involves the youth.</p>
	<p>“Velikij uchitel' Vostoka al'-Farabi prیزیval ljudej...” (quoted K. Tokayev’s Inaugural Address, 2022).</p> <p>“The great teacher of the East, al-Farabi, called upon people...”</p>	<p>In this allusion, Farabi serves as a symbolic figure representing the intellectual and spiritual heritage of the nation. In terms of CDA, it appeals to intellectualism, urging the people of Kazakhstan to promote education, science, and culture.</p>

Presidents of both the U.S. and Kazakhstan employ this rhetorical device, utilizing religious, historical, and cultural allusions to legitimize their authority and leadership. The Kazakhstani presidents use historical and cultural allusions, whereas American presidents use in addition, religious allusions, to legitimize their authority and leadership. From CDA point of view, the American presidents strongly emphasize unity,



service, and inclusivity, whereas Kazakhstani presidents highlight historical continuity nation-building more often to justify their rule and mobilize public support.

Thus, the stylistic peculiarities of the Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States and the Republic of Kazakhstan lie in their deliberate use of rhetorical devices that enhance their inspirational, unifying, and declarative functions. The frequent use of rhetorical devices such as parallelism, repetition, asyndeton, polysyndeton, and alliteration strengthens the rhythm, while the use of metaphor, antithesis, and climax makes the speeches emotional and memorable. Furthermore, the rhetorical composition of the Inaugural Addresses reflects not only the leaders' vision but also the historical, cultural, and political priorities of the nation at specific moments in history.

#### **Conclusions Section 4**

The generic analysis of the Inaugural Addresses of American and Kazakhstani presidents has led to the following generalizations:

1. In both countries, Inaugural Addresses serve four main functions: integrative, inspirational, declarative, and performative. These speeches aim to unify the nation, emphasize national values, announce key political goals, and legitimize the presidency. However, in Kazakhstan, there is a stronger focus on national unity and historical heritage, while in the U.S., the emphasis is on democratic principles and individual freedom.

2. In both nations, presidents frequently use personal pronouns. The use of the personal pronoun "we" implies that the main purpose of the Inaugural Address is to unite the country and highlight focus on the people. By using the pronoun "I", the president shows that he assumes the duties of his office and realizes the importance of his role in solving urgent problems in the country.

3. Presidents frequently use professional terminology to demonstrate expertise and authority. In Kazakhstan, key terms relate to national governance and economic development (e.g., "meritocracy," "National Fund," "democracy"), while in the U.S., more focus is placed on state institutions and global challenges (e.g., "Congress," "presidency," "foreign affairs," "human rights," "terrorism").

4. Presidents rely heavily on repetition to reinforce key ideas. Syntactic parallelism is a common technique used to structure speeches and add rhetorical weight (e.g., "America will start winning again – winning like never before" – Trump). Other stylistic devices include asyndeton and polysyndeton, which create rhythm and emotional intensity, and antithesis, used to contrast ideas and emphasize positive change (e.g., "hope over fear" – Obama).

5. In Kazakhstan, the focus is on tradition, independence, and the role of ancestors. Nursultan Nazarbayev frequently references historical figures (e.g., Abylai Khan, Al-Farabi) and emphasizes national unity ("unity in diversity"). In the U.S., the emphasis is on democracy, equality, and individual rights. Obama and Clinton highlight historical struggles for freedom, while Bush and Trump stress national security and America's global role.

6. Inaugural Addresses are rich in symbolism and emotional imagery. Nazarbayev used quotes from children about peace and independence, while Tokayev stressed his loyalty to the state. In the U.S., presidents often reference struggles for freedom (Obama) or “returning power to the people” (Trump). These elements enhance emotional engagement and memorability

## CONCLUSION

### Summary of the dissertation findings.

1. The study identified key concepts essential to this research: political discourse and Inaugural Addresses. It examined the characteristics of the presidential political discourse genre – namely, providing a comprehensive linguistic analysis of Inaugural Addresses as a distinct genre of political discourse. The genre's definitions were formulated based on the works of K.K. Campbell and K.H. Jamieson, P. Chilton, A. Chudinov, Y. Sheigal, and M. Gavrilova.

2. It is established that the Inaugural Address is a key and symbolic element of political discourse, serving various rhetorical and ideological purposes. The analysis compares the structural, lexical, and stylistic features of the Inaugural Addresses given by the presidents of the United States and Kazakhstan, highlighting their similarities and differences. By exploring the ceremonial traditions, functional aspects, and linguistic strategies, we gain insights into the broader political cultures of both nations.

3. The Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States of America and of the Republic of Kazakhstan fulfill all four functions proposed by the scholars Y. Sheigal [105, p. 207-211] and K.K. Campbell and K.H. Jamieson [76, p. 341], serving as an effective tool for defining and redefining the presidency:

1) The integrative function unites the nation under a shared vision;

2) The inspirational function reinforces national values and highlights historical achievements;

3) The declarative function sets forth the new administration's policies and priorities;

4) The performative function officially confirms the transition of power.

While these functions are common in both Kazakhstani and American addresses, their relative emphasis differs. Kazakh presidents focus on stability and national unity, whereas U.S. presidents prioritize democratic values and historical continuity.

4. A comparative analysis reveals common strategies for using evaluative language, referring to historical events, and verbalizing political values. The language of Inaugural Addresses plays a crucial role in shaping public perception. Presidents frequently use “we” to emphasize national unity. In the U.S., this pronoun is used inclusively, addressing the entire nation. In Kazakhstan, the pronoun “my” or “biz” (“we”) appears frequently, reinforcing the collective responsibility of the people.

The use of the first-person singular has declined in U.S. speeches (from B. Clinton to the first Inaugural Address of D. Trump), shifting the focus from individual leadership to collective governance. However, both President Joe Biden’s Inaugural Address and President Trump’s final Inaugural Address show a marked increase in the use of “I”.

Inaugural Addresses employ various rhetorical devices, mostly metaphors, parallelism, antithesis, and repetition, to enhance their rhetorical power. These stylistic choices reinforce key ideological messages, making speeches more memorable and persuasive.

5. The structure of an Inaugural Address generally follows a three-part framework: introduction, main body, and conclusion. However, within this framework, different organizational patterns emerge.

For instance, the Presidents of Kazakhstan often use a radial structure, where multiple themes stem from a central national idea (e.g., unity, stability, economic growth). They also frequently employ chain structures, linking historical events with contemporary policies. In contrast, the Presidents of the United States frequently employ a dichotomic structure, contrasting past challenges with future opportunities. Both approaches reflect the political priorities of each country.

6. The ceremonial and ritual nature of the speech is shown to significantly influence its genre characteristics. The Inaugural Address is considered a ritualized communicative act embedded within a formal state ceremony. Its delivery marks a constitutional transfer of power and symbolizes political continuity and stability. The ritual setting often involves national symbols such as the constitution, the flag, and the oath. As a result, the genre becomes highly formulaic and conventionalized, favoring epideictic rhetoric (praise, reaffirmation) over deliberative or argumentative forms.

7. The study confirms the importance of inaugural addresses as valuable material for research in political linguistics in Kazakhstan. The genre of Inaugural Address, while not being thoroughly studied within the broader context of political discourse in Kazakhstan, plays a significant role in the epideictic genre of rhetoric. This genre is characterized by its focus on praise, employed during ceremonial occasions that is witnessed by the audience – the citizens of Kazakhstan, depicts the main historical events, looks into the current situation in the country and outlines visions for the future, and throughout the address the addresses use rhetorical devices and literary language.

8. The present study delves into the fascinating nuances of inaugural genres within the contexts of two distinct nations: the United States and Kazakhstan. Through careful analysis, this study reveals that these differences go beyond mere stylistic choices; they reflect deeper societal values, historical experiences, and the unique identities of each nation, thus revealing the following difference:

1. Kazakhstan has a unique linguistic landscape where both Kazakh and Russian languages are utilized side by side. Consequently, it has become a common practice for the political leadership of Kazakhstan to deliver official speeches, including the presidential inaugural addresses, in both languages.

2. In each Inaugural Address delivered by the newly elected presidents of Kazakhstan, significant emphasis is placed on the idea that the election represents a crucial moment of national unity. It is during this pivotal event that citizens come together to exercise their democratic rights.

However, it is interesting to note that American Inaugural Addresses tend not to explicitly depict the presidential election itself as a tool for unification. Instead, this theme is more commonly explored in the Presidential Election Victory Speech, which is delivered on the day the election results are made public.

3. Religious imagery is prominent in U.S. speeches, rather than in Kazakhstani Inaugural Addresses. Kazakhstani Presidents, until K.Tokayev, avoided the usage of

religious imagery in the Inaugural Addresses.

Inaugural Addresses of Kazakhstan serve as a significant reflection of not only the political aspirations of the nation but also its rich cultural heritage. These addresses often embed traditional wisdom, aphorisms, and sayings that resonate deeply within the Kazakh identity and carry profound meaning for its people. For instance, the phrase “*Kop tilegi – kieli, zhurttyn sozi – uali*” (N. Nazarbayev, 2011) translates to “The wish of many is sacred, the peoples’ word is holy”, emphasizing the importance of communal aspirations and the sanctity of collective voices in decision-making processes, “*Asu bermes askar zhok*” (N. Nazarbayev, 2015) meaning “There is no height that cannot be reached”, inspires perseverance and ambition, reminding citizens that they can achieve great heights through unity and determination.

However, Tokayev, in his Inaugural Address in 2022 makes a direct reference to Islam by mentioning the sacred place for all Muslims and holy prayer.

The national and cultural aspects of the inaugural discourse of Kazakhstan are richly woven with various mechanisms that aim to preserve the unity of the state. It carefully incorporates allusions to the nation's early history, showcasing significant milestones that have shaped its identity, as well as contemporary achievements that reflect progress and development in various sectors. This discourse also outlines the principles that will guide the actions of the newly established office, emphasizing not only the responsibilities that come with leadership but also the ethical standards expected from those in power.

The representation of the president in this context is particularly crucial; he is depicted not only as a person possessed of the exceptional abilities required to lead a diverse and dynamic nation but also as an individual who has been entrusted with the immense responsibilities that accompany the highest position in the government. This portrayal serves to instill confidence among the citizens and fosters a sense of hope for the future.

Inaugural Addresses are compelling rhetorical instruments that embody a nation's political culture and governance principles. Yet, their function transcends simple celebration or formality in both countries. They serve as significant ideological tools that confer legitimacy on power and leadership, forge national identity, influence ideology, unify the audience, garner consent and support, and define the global perception of the nation. While both countries employ comparable methods, their emphases and ideological narratives differ significantly, influenced by their unique histories and political contexts.

**Assessment of the Completion of Research Objectives.** The objectives of the dissertation have been fully achieved through the application of discourse analysis, stylistic-functional methods, and intercultural comparison. Both theoretical and practical approaches to political discourse were reviewed. A comprehensive comparative analysis of presidential Inaugural Addresses in the United States and Kazakhstan was conducted. Practical recommendations for academic and applied use of the findings were developed.

**Recommendations and Practical Applications.** The proposed classification of

functions and structural components of the inaugural address, the developed methodology for analyzing political discourse, and the conceptual framework of the study may be applied:

- in courses on political linguistics, rhetoric, stylistics, and intercultural communication;
- in the practice of political speechwriting and communication strategies;
- on teaching MA and PhD students in fields such as “philology”, “intercultural communication”, and “journalism”.

**Assessment of the Scientific Contribution Compared to the Field’s Best Achievements.** This dissertation presents an original perspective on the nature of Inaugural Addresses as a distinct genre of political discourse, combining elements of institutional, epideictic, and ritual discourse. It offers a modified classification of the functions of inaugural speeches based on a comparative analysis of Inaugural Addresses in the United States and Kazakhstan. A comprehensive methodology for analyzing inaugural discourse has been developed, integrating pragmalinguistic, stylistic, discourse, and cognitive approaches. The research substantiates key genre-specific communicative features of inaugural addresses, such as integrative purpose, institutional authority, evaluative tone, ritualistic structure, and symbolic expression.

A thorough review of the scientific literature reveals a significant gap in domestic research: while political linguistics is well established internationally, there is a lack of systematic comparative studies of inaugural discourse in the Kazakhstani context. This dissertation addresses that gap by offering both theoretical insights and practical tools for discourse analysis, thereby demonstrating substantial scientific and methodological relevance.

Compared to other studies in the field, this work's scientific level is marked by the successful adaptation of advanced international theoretical models to the socio-cultural and political realities of Kazakhstan. The approach employed in this study is interdisciplinary, evidence-based, theoretically grounded, and empirically tested on authentic materials. The research results are original and hold practical value for academic inquiry, teaching, and political speechwriting in the Kazakhstani context.

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## APPENDIX A

### Inaugural Address of the 42nd President of the United States William J. Clinton

20 January, 1993

Washington D.C.

My fellow citizens,

Today we celebrate the mystery of American renewal. This ceremony is held in the depth of winter, but by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring, a spring reborn in the world's oldest democracy that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America. When our Founders boldly declared America's independence to the world and our purposes to the Almighty, they knew that America, to endure, would have to change; not change for change's sake but change to preserve America's ideals: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. Though we marched to the music of our time, our mission is timeless. Each generation of Americans must define what it means to be an American.

On behalf of our Nation, I salute my predecessor, President Bush, for his half-century of service to America. And I thank the millions of men and women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over depression, fascism, and communism.

Today, a generation raised in the shadows of the cold war assumes new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom but threatened still by ancient hatreds and new plagues. Raised in unrivaled prosperity, we inherit an economy that is still the world's strongest but is weakened by business failures, stagnant wages, increasing inequality, and deep divisions among our own people.

When George Washington first took the oath I have just sworn to uphold, news traveled slowly across the land by horseback and across the ocean by boat. Now, the sights and sounds of this ceremony are broadcast instantaneously to billions around the world. Communications and commerce are global. Investment is mobile. Technology is almost magical. And ambition for a better life is now universal.

We earn our livelihood in America today in peaceful competition with people all across the Earth. Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world. And the urgent question of our time is whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy. This new world has already enriched the lives of millions of Americans who are able to compete and win in it. But when most people are working harder for less; when others cannot work at all; when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt our enterprises, great and small; when the fear of crime robs law-abiding citizens of their freedom; and when millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead, we have not made change our friend.

We know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps, but we have not done so; instead, we have drifted. And that drifting has eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence. Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our

strengths. Americans have ever been a restless, questing, hopeful people. And we must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us. From our Revolution to the Civil War, to the Great Depression, to the civil rights movement, our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history. Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundations of our Nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow Americans, this is our time. Let us embrace it.

Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America. And so today we pledge an end to the era of deadlock and drift, and a new season of American renewal has begun.

To renew America, we must be bold. We must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, and in their future, and at the same time cut our massive debt. And we must do so in a world in which we must compete for every opportunity. It will not be easy. It will require sacrifice, but it can be done and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake but for our own sake. We must provide for our Nation the way a family provides for its children.

Our Founders saw themselves in the light of posterity. We can do no less. Anyone who has ever watched a child's eyes wander into sleep knows what posterity is. Posterity is the world to come: the world for whom we hold our ideals, from whom we have borrowed our planet, and to whom we bear sacred responsibility. We must do what America does best: offer more opportunity to all and demand more responsibility from all. It is time to break the bad habit of expecting something for nothing from our Government or from each other. Let us all take more responsibility not only for ourselves and our families but for our communities and our country.

To renew America, we must revitalize our democracy. This beautiful Capital, like every capital since the dawn of civilization, is often a place of intrigue and calculation. Powerful people maneuver for position and worry endlessly about who is in and who is out, who is up and who is down, forgetting those people whose toil and sweat sends us here and pays our way. Americans deserve better. And in this city today there are people who want to do better. And so I say to all of you here: Let us resolve to reform our politics so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people. Let us put aside personal advantage so that we can feel the pain and see the promise of America. Let us resolve to make our Government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called bold, persistent experimentation, a Government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays. Let us give this Capital back to the people to whom it belongs.

To renew America, we must meet challenges abroad as well as at home. There is no longer a clear division between what is foreign and what is domestic. The world economy, the world environment, the world AIDS crisis, the world arms race: they affect us all. Today, as an older order passes, the new world is more free but less stable. Communism's collapse has called forth old animosities and new dangers. Clearly, America must continue to lead the world we did so much to make.

While America rebuilds at home, we will not shrink from the challenges nor fail to seize the opportunities of this new world. Together with our friends and allies, we will work to shape change, lest it engulf us. When our vital interests are challenged or the will and conscience of the international community is defied, we will act, with peaceful diplomacy whenever possible, with force when necessary. The brave Americans serving our Nation today in the Persian Gulf, in Somalia, and wherever else they stand are testament to our resolve. But our greatest strength is the power of our ideas, which are still new in many lands. Across the world we see them embraced, and we rejoice. Our hopes, our hearts, our hands are with those on every continent who are building democracy and freedom. Their cause is America's cause.

The American people have summoned the change we celebrate today. You have raised your voices in an unmistakable chorus. You have cast your votes in historic numbers. And you have changed the face of Congress, the Presidency, and the political process itself. Yes, you, my fellow Americans, have forced the spring. Now we must do the work the season demands. To that work I now turn with all the authority of my office. I ask the Congress to join with me. But no President, no Congress, no Government can undertake this mission alone.

My fellow Americans, you, too, must play your part in our renewal. I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season of service: to act on your idealism by helping troubled children, keeping company with those in need, reconnecting our torn communities. There is so much to be done; enough, indeed, for millions of others who are still young in spirit to give of themselves in service, too. In serving, we recognize a simple but powerful truth: We need each other, and we must care for one another.

Today we do more than celebrate America. We rededicate ourselves to the very idea of America, an idea born in revolution and renewed through two centuries of challenge; an idea tempered by the knowledge that, but for fate, we, the fortunate, and the unfortunate might have been each other; an idea ennobled by the faith that our Nation can summon from its myriad diversity the deepest measure of unity; an idea infused with the conviction that America's long, heroic journey must go forever upward.

And so, my fellow Americans, as we stand at the edge of the 21st century, let us begin anew with energy and hope, with faith and discipline. And let us work until our work is done. The Scripture says, "And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not". From this joyful mountaintop of celebration we hear a call to service in the valley. We have heard the trumpets. We have changed the guard. And now, each in our own way and with God's help, we must answer the call.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

Inaugural Address  
of the 42<sup>nd</sup> President of the United States  
William J. Clinton

20 January, 1997

Washington D.C.

My fellow citizens,

At this last Presidential Inauguration of the 20th century, let us lift our eyes toward the challenges that await us in the next century. It is our great good fortune that time and chance have put us not only at the edge of a new century, in a new millennium, but on the edge of a bright new prospect in human affairs, a moment that will define our course and our character for decades to come. We must keep our old democracy forever young. Guided by the ancient vision of a promised land, let us set our sights upon a land of new promise.

The promise of America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal. It was extended and preserved in the 19th century, when our Nation spread across the continent, saved the Union, and abolished the awful scourge of slavery.

Then, in turmoil and triumph, that promise exploded onto the world stage to make this the American Century. And what a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power, saved the world from tyranny in two World Wars and a long cold war, and time and again reached out across the globe to millions who, like us, longed for the blessings of liberty.

Along the way, Americans produced a great middle class and security in old age, built unrivaled centers of learning and opened public schools to all, split the atom and explored the heavens, invented the computer and the microchip, and deepened the wellspring of justice by making a revolution in civil rights for African-Americans and all minorities and extending the circle of citizenship, opportunity, and dignity to women.

Now, for the third time, a new century is upon us and another time to choose. We began the 19th century with a choice: to spread our Nation from coast to coast. We began the 20th century with a choice: to harness the industrial revolution to our values of free enterprise, conservation, and human decency. Those choices made all the difference. At the dawn of the 21st century, a free people must now choose to shape the forces of the information age and the global society, to unleash the limitless potential of all our people, and yes, to form a more perfect Union.

When last we gathered, our march to this new future seemed less certain than it does today. We vowed then to set a clear course to renew our Nation. In these 4 years, we have been touched by tragedy, exhilarated by challenge, strengthened by achievement. America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation. Once again, our economy is the strongest on Earth. Once again, we are building stronger families, thriving communities, better educational opportunities, a cleaner environment. Problems that once seemed destined to deepen, now bend to our efforts. Our streets are

safer, and record numbers of our fellow citizens have moved from welfare to work. And once again, we have resolved for our time a great debate over the role of Government. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem, and Government is not the solution. We—the American people—we are the solution. Our Founders understood that well and gave us a democracy strong enough to endure for centuries, flexible enough to face our common challenges and advance our common dreams in each new day.

As times change, so Government must change. We need a new Government for a new century, humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves, a Government that is smaller, lives within its means, and does more with less. Yet where it can stand up for our values and interests around the world, and where it can give Americans the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, Government should do more, not less. The preeminent mission of our new Government is to give all Americans an opportunity, not a guarantee but a real opportunity, to build better lives.

Beyond that, my fellow citizens, the future is up to us. Our Founders taught us that the preservation of our liberty and our Union depends upon responsible citizenship. And we need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. There is work to do, work that Government alone cannot do: teaching children to read, hiring people off welfare rolls, coming out from behind locked doors and shuttered windows to help reclaim our streets from drugs and gangs and crime, taking time out of our own lives to serve others.

Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume personal responsibility not only for ourselves and our families but for our neighbors and our Nation. Our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century. For any one of us to succeed, we must succeed as one America. The challenge of our past remains the challenge of our future: Will we be one Nation, one people, with one common destiny, or not? Will we all come together, or come apart?

The divide of race has been America's constant curse. And each new wave of immigrants gives new targets to old prejudices. Prejudice and contempt cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction are no different. These forces have nearly destroyed our Nation in the past. They plague us still. They fuel the fanaticism of terror. And they torment the lives of millions in fractured nations all around the world.

These obsessions cripple both those who hate and of course those who are hated, robbing both of what they might become. We cannot, we will not, succumb to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. We shall overcome them. And we shall replace them with the generous spirit of a people who feel at home with one another. Our rich texture of racial, religious, and political diversity will be a godsend in the 21st century. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, forge new ties that bind together.

As this new era approaches, we can already see its broad outlines. Ten years ago, the Internet was the mystical province of physicists; today, it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists now are decoding the blueprint

of human life. Cures for our most feared illnesses seem close at hand. The world is no longer divided into two hostile camps. Instead, now we are building bonds with nations that once were our adversaries. Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people the world over. And for the very first time in all of history, more people on this planet live under democracy than dictatorship.

My fellow Americans, as we look back at this remarkable century, we may ask, can we hope not just to follow but even to surpass the achievements of the 20th century in America and to avoid the awful bloodshed that stained its legacy? To that question, every American here and every American in our land today must answer a resounding, “Yes!” This is the heart of our task. With a new vision of Government, a new sense of responsibility, a new spirit of community, we will sustain America’s journey.

The promise we sought in a new land, we will find again in a land of new promise. In this new land, education will be every citizen’s most prized possession. Our schools will have the highest standards in the world, igniting the spark of possibility in the eyes of every girl and every boy. And the doors of higher education will be open to all. The knowledge and power of the information age will be within reach not just of the few but of every classroom, every library, every child. Parents and children will have time not only to work but to read and play together. And the plans they make at their kitchen table will be those of a better home, a better job, the certain chance to go to college.

Our streets will echo again with the laughter of our children, because no one will try to shoot them or sell them drugs anymore. Everyone who can work, will work, with today’s permanent under class part of tomorrow’s growing middle class. New miracles of medicine at last will reach not only those who can claim care now but the children and hard-working families too long denied.

We will stand mighty for peace and freedom and maintain a strong defense against terror and destruction. Our children will sleep free from the threat of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. Ports and airports, farms and factories will thrive with trade and innovation and ideas. And the world’s greatest democracy will lead a whole world of democracies.

Our land of new promise will be a nation that meets its obligations, a nation that balances its budget but never loses the balance of its values, a nation where our grandparents have secure retirement and health care and their grandchildren know we have made the reforms necessary to sustain those benefits for their time, a nation that fortifies the world’s most productive economy even as it protects the great natural bounty of our water, air, and majestic land. And in this land of new promise, we will have reformed our politics so that the voice of the people will always speak louder than the din of narrow interests, regaining the participation and deserving the trust of all Americans.

Fellow citizens, let us build that America, a nation ever moving forward toward realizing the full potential of all its citizens. Prosperity and power, yes, they are important, and we must maintain them. But let us never forget, the greatest progress we have made and the greatest progress we have yet to make is in the human heart. In

the end, all the world's wealth and a thousand armies are no match for the strength and decency of the human spirit.

Thirty-four years ago, the man whose life we celebrate today spoke to us down there, at the other end of this Mall, in words that moved the conscience of a nation. Like a prophet of old, he told of his dream that one day America would rise up and treat all its citizens as equals before the law and in the heart. Martin Luther King's dream was the American dream. His quest is our quest: the ceaseless striving to live out our true creed. Our history has been built on such dreams and labors. And by our dreams and labors, we will redeem the promise of America in the 21st century.

To that effort I pledge all my strength and every power of my office. I ask the Members of Congress here to join in that pledge. The American people returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and extreme partisanship they plainly deplore. No, they call on us instead to be repairers of the breach and to move on with America's mission. America demands and deserves big things from us, and nothing big ever came from being small. Let us remember the timeless wisdom of Cardinal Bernardin, when facing the end of his own life. He said, "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time on acrimony and division".

Fellow citizens, we must not waste the precious gift of this time. For all of us are on that same journey of our lives, and our journey, too, will come to an end. But the journey of our America must go on.

And so, my fellow Americans, we must be strong, for there is much to dare. The demands of our time are great, and they are different. Let us meet them with faith and courage, with patience and a grateful, happy heart. Let us shape the hope of this day into the noblest chapter in our history. Yes, let us build our bridge, a bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American to cross over to a blessed land of new promise.

May those generations whose faces we cannot yet see, whose names we may never know, say of us here that we led our beloved land into a new century with the American dream alive for all her children, with the American promise of a more perfect Union a reality for all her people, with America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world.

From the height of this place and the summit of this century, let us go forth. May God strengthen our hands for the good work ahead, and always, always bless our America.



Inaugural Address  
of the 43<sup>rd</sup> President of the United States  
George W. Bush

20 January, 2001

Washington D.C.

Thank you, all.

Chief Justice Rehnquist, President Carter, President Bush, President Clinton, distinguished guests, and my fellow citizens. The peaceful transfer of authority is rare in history, yet common in our country. With a simple oath, we affirm old traditions and make new beginnings.

As I begin, I thank President Clinton for his service to our Nation, and I thank Vice President Gore for a contest conducted with spirit and ended with grace.

I am honored and humbled to stand here where so many of America's leaders have come before me, and so many will follow. We have a place, all of us, in a long story, a story we continue but whose end we will not see. It is a story of a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old, the story of a slaveholding society that became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer.

It is the American story, a story of flawed and fallible people united across the generations by grand and enduring ideals. The grandest of these ideals is an unfolding American promise that everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no insignificant person was ever born.

Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws. And though our Nation has sometimes halted and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other course.

Through much of the last century, America's faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations. Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country. It is the inborn hope of our humanity, an ideal we carry but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along. Even after nearly 225 years, we have a long way yet to travel.

While many of our citizens prosper, others doubt the promise, even the justice of our own country. The ambitions of some Americans are limited by failing schools and hidden prejudice and the circumstances of their birth. And sometimes our differences run so deep, it seems we share a continent but not a country. We do not accept this, and we will not allow it.

Our unity, our Union, is a serious work of leaders and citizens and every generation. And this is my solemn pledge: I will work to build a single nation of justice and opportunity. I know this is in our reach because we are guided by a power larger than ourselves, who creates us equal, in His image, and we are confident in principles that unite and lead us onward.

America has never been united by blood or birth or soil. We are bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests, and teach us what it

means to be citizens. Every child must be taught these principles. Every citizen must uphold them. And every immigrant, by embracing these ideals, makes our country more, not less, American.

Today we affirm a new commitment to live out our Nation's promise through civility, courage, compassion, and character. America at its best matches a commitment to principle with a concern for civility. A civil society demands from each of us good will and respect, fair dealing and forgiveness.

Some seem to believe that our politics can afford to be petty because in a time of peace the stakes of our debates appear small. But the stakes for America are never small. If our country does not lead the cause of freedom, it will not be led. If we do not turn the hearts of children toward knowledge and character, we will lose their gifts and undermine their idealism. If we permit our economy to drift and decline, the vulnerable will suffer most.

We must live up to the calling we share. Civility is not a tactic or a sentiment; it is the determined choice of trust over cynicism, of community over chaos. And this commitment, if we keep it, is a way to shared accomplishment.

America at its best is also courageous. Our national courage has been clear in times of depression and war, when defeating common dangers defined our common good. Now we must choose if the example of our fathers and mothers will inspire us or condemn us. We must show courage in a time of blessing by confronting problems instead of passing them on to future generations.

Together we will reclaim America's schools before ignorance and apathy claim more young lives. We will reform Social Security and Medicare, sparing our children from struggles we have the power to prevent. And we will reduce taxes to recover the momentum of our economy and reward the effort and enterprise of working Americans.

We will build our defenses beyond challenge, lest weakness invite challenge. We will confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century is spared new horrors. The enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake: America remains engaged in the world, by history and by choice, shaping a balance of power that favors freedom.

We will defend our allies and our interests. We will show purpose without arrogance. We will meet aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength. And to all nations, we will speak for the values that gave our Nation birth.

America at its best is compassionate. In the quiet of American conscience, we know that deep, persistent poverty is unworthy of our Nation's promise. And whatever our views of its cause, we can agree that children at risk are not at fault.

Abandonment and abuse are not acts of God; they are failures of love. And the proliferation of prisons, however necessary, is no substitute for hope and order in our souls. Where there is suffering, there is duty. Americans in need are not strangers; they are citizens—not problems but priorities. And all of us are diminished when any are hopeless.

Government has great responsibilities for public safety and public health, for civil rights and common schools. Yet, compassion is the work of a nation, not just a government. And some needs and hurts are so deep they will only respond to a mentor's touch or a pastor's prayer. Church and charity, synagogue and mosque lend our communities their humanity, and they will have an honored place in our plans and in our laws.

Many in our country do not know the pain of poverty. But we can listen to those who do. And I can pledge our Nation to a goal: When we see that wounded traveler on the road to Jericho, we will not pass to the other side.

America at its best is a place where personal responsibility is valued and expected. Encouraging responsibility is not a search for scapegoats; it is a call to conscience. And though it requires sacrifice, it brings a deeper fulfillment. We find the fullness of life not only in options but in commitments. And we find that children and community are the commitments that set us free.

Our public interest depends on private character, on civic duty and family bonds and basic fairness, on uncounted, unhonored acts of decency, which give direction to our freedom.

Sometimes in life we're called to do great things. But as a saint of our times has said, "Every day we are called to do small things with great love". The most important tasks of a democracy are done by everyone.

I will live and lead by these principles: to advance my convictions with civility, to serve the public interest with courage, to speak for greater justice and compassion, to call for responsibility and try to live it, as well. In all these ways, I will bring the values of our history to the care of our times.

What you do is as important as anything Government does. I ask you to seek a common good beyond your comfort, to defend needed reforms against easy attacks, to serve your Nation, beginning with your neighbor. I ask you to be citizens: Citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building communities of service and a nation of character.

Americans are generous and strong and decent, not because we believe in ourselves but because we hold beliefs beyond ourselves. When this spirit of citizenship is missing, no Government program can replace it. When this spirit is present, no wrong can stand against it.

After the Declaration of Independence was signed, Virginia statesman John Page wrote to Thomas Jefferson, "We know the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. Do you not think an angel rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm?"

Much time has passed since Jefferson arrived for his inauguration. The years and changes accumulate, but the themes of this day, he would know: our Nation's grand story of courage and its simple dream of dignity.

We are not this story's author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose. Yet, his purpose is achieved in our duty. And our duty is fulfilled in service to one another. Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose today, to make our country more just and generous, to affirm the dignity of our lives and every life. This

work continues, the story goes on, and an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm.

God bless you all, and God bless America.

Inaugural Address  
of the 43<sup>rd</sup> President of the United States  
George W. Bush

20 January, 2005

Washington D.C.

Vice President Cheney, Mr. Chief Justice, President Carter, President Bush, President Clinton, Members of the United States Congress, reverend clergy, distinguished guests, fellow citizens:

On this day, prescribed by law and marked by ceremony, we celebrate the durable wisdom of our Constitution and recall the deep commitments that unite our country. I am grateful for the honor of this hour, mindful of the consequential times in which we live, and determined to fulfill the oath that I have sworn and you have witnessed.

At this second gathering, our duties are defined not by the words I use but by the history we have seen together. For a half a century, America defended our own freedom by standing watch on distant borders. After the shipwreck of communism came years of relative quiet, years of repose, years of sabbatical, and then there came a day of fire.

We have seen our vulnerability, and we have seen its deepest source. For as long as whole regions of the world simmer in resentment and tyranny, prone to ideologies that feed hatred and excuse murder, violence will gather and multiply in destructive power and cross the most defended borders and raise a mortal threat. There is only one force of history that can break the reign of hatred and resentment and expose the pretensions of tyrants and reward the hopes of the decent and tolerant, and that is the force of human freedom.

We are led, by events and common sense, to one conclusion: The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands. The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world.

America's vital interests and our deepest beliefs are now one. From the day of our founding, we have proclaimed that every man and woman on this Earth has rights and dignity and matchless value, because they bear the image of the Maker of heaven and Earth. Across the generations, we have proclaimed the imperative of self-government, because no one is fit to be a master and no one deserves to be a slave. Advancing these ideals is the mission that created our Nation. It is the honorable achievement of our fathers. Now, it is the urgent requirement of our Nation's security and the calling of our time.

So it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world. This is not primarily the task of arms, though we will defend ourselves and our friends by force of arms when necessary. Freedom, by its nature, must be chosen and defended by citizens and sustained by the rule of law and the protection of minorities. And when the soul of a nation finally speaks, the institutions that arise may reflect customs and traditions very different from our own. America will not impose our own style of government on the unwilling. Our goal

instead is to help others find their own voice, attain their own freedom, and make their own way.

The great objective of ending tyranny is the concentrated work of generations. The difficulty of the task is no excuse for avoiding it. America's influence is not unlimited, but fortunately for the oppressed, America's influence is considerable and we will use it confidently in freedom's cause.

My most solemn duty is to protect this Nation and its people from further attacks and emerging threats. Some have unwisely chosen to test America's resolve and have found it firm. We will persistently clarify the choice before every ruler and every nation, the moral choice between oppression, which is always wrong, and freedom, which is eternally right.

America will not pretend that jailed dissidents prefer their chains or that women welcome humiliation and servitude or that any human being aspires to live at the mercy of bullies. We will encourage reform in other governments by making clear that success in our relations will require the decent treatment of their own people. America's belief in human dignity will guide our policies. Yet rights must be more than the grudging concessions of dictators. They are secured by free dissent and the participation of the governed. In the long run, there is no justice without freedom and there can be no human rights without human liberty.

Some, I know, have questioned the global appeal of liberty, though this time in history, four decades defined by the swiftest advance of freedom ever seen, is an odd time for doubt. Americans, of all people, should never be surprised by the power of our ideals. Eventually, the call of freedom comes to every mind and every soul. We do not accept the existence of permanent tyranny because we do not accept the possibility of permanent slavery. Liberty will come to those who love it.

Today, America speaks anew to the peoples of the world. All who live in tyranny and hopelessness can know: The United States will not ignore your oppression or excuse your oppressors. When you stand for your liberty, we will stand with you.

Democratic reformers facing repression, prison, or exile can know: America sees you for who you are, the future leaders of your free country.

The rulers of outlaw regimes can know that we still believe as Abraham Lincoln did: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves and, under the rule of a just God, cannot long retain it".

The leaders of governments with long habits of control need to know: To serve your people, you must learn to trust them. Start on this journey of progress and justice, and America will walk at your side.

And all the allies of the United States can know: We honor your friendship; we rely on your counsel; and we depend on your help. Division among free nations is a primary goal of freedom's enemies. The concerted effort of free nations to promote democracy is a prelude to our enemies' defeat.

Today I also speak anew to my fellow citizens. From all of you I have asked patience in the hard task of securing America, which you have granted in good measure. Our country has accepted obligations that are difficult to fulfill and would be

dishonorable to abandon. Yet because we have acted in the great liberating tradition of this Nation, tens of millions have achieved their freedom. And as hope kindles hope, millions more will find it. By our efforts, we have lit a fire as well, a fire in the minds of men. It warms those who feel its power. It burns those who fight its progress. And one day this untamed fire of freedom will reach the darkest corners of our world.

A few Americans have accepted the hardest duties in this cause, in the quiet work of intelligence and diplomacy, the idealistic work of helping raise up free governments, the dangerous and necessary work of fighting our enemies. Some have shown their devotion to our country in deaths that honored their whole lives, and we will always honor their names and their sacrifice.

All Americans have witnessed this idealism and some for the first time. I ask our youngest citizens to believe the evidence of your eyes. You have seen duty and allegiance in the determined faces of our soldiers. You have seen that life is fragile and evil is real and courage triumphs. Make the choice to serve in a cause larger than your wants, larger than yourself, and in your days you will add not just to the wealth of our country but to its character.

America has need of idealism and courage because we have essential work at home, the unfinished work of American freedom. In a world moving toward liberty, we are determined to show the meaning and promise of liberty.

In America's ideal of freedom, citizens find the dignity and security of economic independence instead of laboring on the edge of subsistence. This is the broader definition of liberty that motivated the Homestead Act, the Social Security Act, and the GI bill of rights. And now we will extend this vision by reforming great institutions to serve the needs of our time. To give every American a stake in the promise and future of our country, we will bring the highest standards to our schools and build an ownership society. We will widen the ownership of homes and businesses, retirement savings, and health insurance, preparing our people for the challenges of life in a free society. By making every citizen an agent of his or her own destiny, we will give our fellow Americans greater freedom from want and fear and make our society more prosperous and just and equal.

In America's ideal of freedom, the public interest depends on private character, on integrity and tolerance toward others and the rule of conscience in our own lives. Self-government relies, in the end, on the governing of the self. That edifice of character is built in families, supported by communities with standards, and sustained in our national life by the truths of Sinai, the Sermon on the Mount, the words of the Koran, and the varied faiths of our people. Americans move forward in every generation by reaffirming all that is good and true that came before, ideals of justice and conduct that are the same yesterday, today, and forever.

In America's ideal of freedom, the exercise of rights is ennobled by service and mercy and a heart for the weak. Liberty for all does not mean independence from one another. Our Nation relies on men and women who look after a neighbor and surround the lost with love. Americans, at our best, value the life we see in one another and must always remember that even the unwanted have worth. And our country must abandon

all the habits of racism, because we cannot carry the message of freedom and the baggage of bigotry at the same time.

From the perspective of a single day, including this day of dedication, the issues and questions before our country are many. From the viewpoint of centuries, the questions that come to us are narrowed and few: Did our generation advance the cause of freedom? And did our character bring credit to that cause?

We go forward with complete confidence in the eventual triumph of freedom, not because history runs on the wheels of inevitability—it is human choices that move events; not because we consider ourselves a chosen nation—God moves and chooses as He wills. We have confidence because freedom is the permanent hope of mankind, the hunger in dark places, the longing of the soul. When our Founders declared a new order of the ages, when soldiers died in wave upon wave for a union based on liberty, when citizens marched in peaceful outrage under the banner “Freedom Now”, they were acting on an ancient hope that is meant to be fulfilled. History has an ebb and flow of justice, but history also has a visible direction, set by liberty and the Author of Liberty.

When the Declaration of Independence was first read in public and the Liberty Bell was sounded in celebration, a witness said, “It rang as if it meant something”. In our time, it means something still. America, in this young century, proclaims liberty throughout all the world and to all the inhabitants thereof. Renewed in our strength, tested but not weary, we are ready for the greatest achievements in the history of freedom.

May God bless you, and may He watch over the United States of America.



Inaugural Address  
of the 44<sup>th</sup> President of the United States  
Barak Obama

20 January, 2009

Washington D.C.

My fellow citizens, I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. I thank President Bush for his service to our Nation, as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition.

Forty-four Americans have now taken the Presidential oath. The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet every so often, the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we the people have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to our founding documents.

So it has been; so it must be with this generation of Americans.

That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our Nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the Nation for a new age. Homes have been lost, jobs shed, businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly. Our schools fail too many. And each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet.

These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics. Less measurable but no less profound is a sapping of confidence across our land, a nagging fear that America's decline is inevitable, that the next generation must lower its sights. Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real. They are serious, and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this, America: They will be met.

On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord. On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics.

We remain a young nation, but in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things. The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit, to choose our better history, to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.

In reaffirming the greatness of our Nation, we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. Our journey has never been one of shortcuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the fainthearted, for those who prefer leisure over work or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the

doers, the makers of things--some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor--who have carried us up the long, rugged path toward prosperity and freedom.

For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search of a new life. For us, they toiled in sweatshops and settled the West, endured the lash of the whip, and plowed the hard Earth. For us, they fought and died in places like Concord and Gettysburg, Normandy and Khe Sanh.

Time and again, these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked 'til their hands were raw so that we might live a better life. They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions, greater than all the differences of birth or wealth or faction.

This is the journey we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive. Our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last month or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished. But our time of standing pat, of protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions, that time has surely passed. Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America.

For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of the economy calls for action, bold and swift, and we will act not only to create new jobs but to lay a new foundation for growth. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. We will restore science to its rightful place and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost. We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories. And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age. All this we can do. All this we will do.

Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions, who suggest that our system cannot tolerate too many big plans. Their memories are short, for they have forgotten what this country has already done, what free men and women can achieve when imagination is joined to common purpose and necessity to courage.

What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them, that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply. The question we ask today is not whether our Government is too big or too small, but whether it works; whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end. And those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day, because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government.

Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched. But this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control. The Nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy

has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on our ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart, not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good.

As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. Our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the blood of generations. Those ideals still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience's sake. And so to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born, know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman, and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and we are ready to lead once more.

Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks but with sturdy alliances and enduring convictions. They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead, they knew that our power grows through its prudent use. Our security emanates from the justness of our cause, the force of our example, the tempering qualities of humility and restraint.

We are the keepers of this legacy. Guided by these principles once more, we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations. We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, we will work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat and roll back the specter of a warming planet. We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense. And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken. You cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you.

For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus and nonbelievers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth. And because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass, that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself, and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace.

To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward based on mutual interest and mutual respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict or blame their society's ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy. To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.

To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow, to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no

longer afford indifference to suffering outside our borders, nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect, for the world has changed, and we must change with it.

As we consider the road that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who, at this very hour, patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains. They have something to tell us today, just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages. We honor them not only because they are guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service, a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves. And yet at this moment, a moment that will define a generation, it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all.

For as much as Government can do and must do, it is ultimately the faith and determination of the American people upon which this Nation relies. It is the kindness to take in a stranger when the levees break, the selflessness of workers who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job, which sees us through our darkest hours. It is the firefighter's courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent's willingness to nurture a child, that finally decides our fate.

Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new. But those values upon which our success depends--honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism--these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history. What is demanded then is a return to these truths. What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility, a recognition on the part of every American that we have duties to ourselves, our Nation, and the world. Duties that we do not grudgingly accept but, rather, seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character, than giving our all to a difficult task.

This is the price and the promise of citizenship. This is the source of our confidence, the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny. This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed; why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent Mall, and why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath.

So let us mark this day with remembrance of who we are and how far we have traveled. In the year of America's birth, in the coldest of months, a small band of patriots huddled by dying campfires on the shores of an icy river. The Capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood. At a moment when the outcome of our Revolution was most in doubt, the Father of our Nation ordered these words be read to the people:

"Let it be told to the future world . . . that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive . . . that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet [it]"

America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents and endure what storms may come. Let it be said by our children's children

that when we were tested, we refused to let this journey end; that we did not turn back, nor did we falter. And with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

Thank you. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

Inaugural Address  
of the 44<sup>th</sup> President of the United States  
Barak Obama

21 January, 2013

Washington D.C.

Vice President Biden, Mr. Chief Justice, Members of the United States Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow citizens:

Each time we gather to inaugurate a President we bear witness to the enduring strength of our Constitution. We affirm the promise of our democracy. We recall that what binds this Nation together is not the colors of our skin or the tenets of our faith or the origins of our names. What makes us exceptional—what makes us American—is our allegiance to an idea articulated in a declaration made more than two centuries ago:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Today we continue a never-ending journey to bridge the meaning of those words with the realities of our time. For history tells us that while these truths may be self-evident, they've never been self-executing; that while freedom is a gift from God, it must be secured by His people here on Earth. The patriots of 1776 did not fight to replace the tyranny of a king with the privileges of a few or the rule of a mob. They gave to us a republic, a government of and by and for the people, entrusting each generation to keep safe our founding creed.

And for more than 200 years, we have.

Through blood drawn by lash and blood drawn by sword, we learned that no union founded on the principles of liberty and equality could survive half-slave and half-free. We made ourselves anew, and vowed to move forward together.

Together, we determined that a modern economy requires railroads and highways to speed travel and commerce, schools and colleges to train our workers.

Together, we discovered that a free market only thrives when there are rules to ensure competition and fair play.

Together, we resolved that a great nation must care for the vulnerable and protect its people from life's worst hazards and misfortune.

Through it all, we have never relinquished our skepticism of central authority nor have we succumbed to the fiction that all society's ills can be cured through government alone. Our celebration of initiative and enterprise, our insistence on hard work and personal responsibility, these are constants in our character.

But we have always understood that when times change, so must we; that fidelity to our founding principles requires new responses to new challenges; that preserving our individual freedoms ultimately requires collective action. For the American people can no more meet the demands of today's world by acting alone than American soldiers could have met the forces of fascism or communism with muskets and militias. No single person can train all the math and science teachers we'll need to equip our

children for the future, or build the roads and networks and research labs that will bring new jobs and businesses to our shores. Now more than ever, we must do these things together, as one nation and one people.

This generation of Americans has been tested by crises that steeled our resolve and proved our resilience. A decade of war is now ending. An economic recovery has begun. America's possibilities are limitless, for we possess all the qualities that this world without boundaries demands: youth and drive; diversity and openness; an endless capacity for risk and a gift for reinvention. My fellow Americans, we are made for this moment and we will seize it—so long as we seize it together.

For we, the people, understand that our country cannot succeed when a shrinking few do very well and a growing many barely make it. We believe that America's prosperity must rest upon the broad shoulders of a rising middle class. We know that America thrives when every person can find independence and pride in their work; when the wages of honest labor liberate families from the brink of hardship. We are true to our creed when a little girl born into the bleakest poverty knows that she has the same chance to succeed as anybody else, because she is an American; she is free and she is equal, not just in the eyes of God, but also in our own.

We understand that outworn programs are inadequate to the needs of our time. So we must harness new ideas and technology to remake our government, revamp our Tax Code, reform our schools, and empower our citizens with the skills they need to work harder, learn more, reach higher. But while the means will change, our purpose endures: a nation that rewards the effort and determination of every single American. That is what this moment requires. That is what will give real meaning to our creed.

We, the people, still believe that every citizen deserves a basic measure of security and dignity. We must make the hard choices to reduce the cost of health care and the size of our deficit. But we reject the belief that America must choose between caring for the generation that built this country and investing in the generation that will build its future. For we remember the lessons of our past, when twilight years were spent in poverty and parents of a child with a disability had nowhere to turn.

We do not believe that in this country freedom is reserved for the lucky, or happiness for the few. We recognize that no matter how responsibly we live our lives, any one of us at any time may face a job loss or a sudden illness or a home swept away in a terrible storm. The commitments we make to each other through Medicare and Medicaid and Social Security, these things do not sap our initiative, they strengthen us. They do not make us a nation of takers; they free us to take the risks that make this country great.

We, the people, still believe that our obligations as Americans are not just to ourselves, but to all posterity. We will respond to the threat of climate change, knowing that the failure to do so would betray our children and future generations. Some may still deny the overwhelming judgment of science, but none can avoid the devastating impact of raging fires and crippling drought and more powerful storms.

The path towards sustainable energy sources will be long and sometimes difficult. But America cannot resist this transition, we must lead it. We cannot cede to other

nations the technology that will power new jobs and new industries, we must claim its promise. That's how we will maintain our economic vitality and our national treasure—our forests and waterways, our crop lands and snow-capped peaks. That is how we will preserve our planet, commanded to our care by God. That's what will lend meaning to the creed our fathers once declared.

We, the people, still believe that enduring security and lasting peace do not require perpetual war. Our brave men and women in uniform, tempered by the flames of battle, are unmatched in skill and courage. Our citizens, seared by the memory of those we have lost, know too well the price that is paid for liberty. The knowledge of their sacrifice will keep us forever vigilant against those who would do us harm. But we are also heirs to those who won the peace and not just the war; who turned sworn enemies into the surest of friends—and we must carry those lessons into this time as well.

We will defend our people and uphold our values through strength of arms and rule of law. We will show the courage to try and resolve our differences with other nations peacefully—not because we are naive about the dangers we face, but because engagement can more durably lift suspicion and fear.

America will remain the anchor of strong alliances in every corner of the globe. And we will renew those institutions that extend our capacity to manage crisis abroad, for no one has a greater stake in a peaceful world than its most powerful nation. We will support democracy from Asia to Africa, from the Americas to the Middle East, because our interests and our conscience compel us to act on behalf of those who long for freedom. And we must be a source of hope to the poor, the sick, the marginalized, the victims of prejudice—not out of mere charity, but because peace in our time requires the constant advance of those principles that our common creed describes: tolerance and opportunity, human dignity and justice.

We, the people, declare today that the most evident of truths—that all of us are created equal—is the star that guides us still; just as it guided our forebears through Seneca Falls and Selma and Stonewall; just as it guided all those men and women, sung and unsung, who left footprints along this great Mall, to hear a preacher say that we cannot walk alone; to hear a King proclaim that our individual freedom is inextricably bound to the freedom of every soul on Earth.

It is now our generation's task to carry on what those pioneers began. For our journey is not complete until our wives, our mothers and daughters can earn a living equal to their efforts. Our journey is not complete until our gay brothers and sisters are treated like anyone else under the law—for if we are truly created equal, then surely the love we commit to one another must be equal as well. Our journey is not complete until no citizen is forced to wait for hours to exercise the right to vote. Our journey is not complete until we find a better way to welcome the striving, hopeful immigrants who still see America as a land of opportunity—until bright young students and engineers are enlisted in our workforce rather than expelled from our country. Our journey is not complete until all our children, from the streets of Detroit to the hills of Appalachia, to the quiet lanes of Newtown, know that they are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm.



That is our generation's task—to make these words, these rights, these values of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness real for every American. Being true to our founding documents does not require us to agree on every contour of life. It does not mean we all define liberty in exactly the same way or follow the same precise path to happiness. Progress does not compel us to settle centuries-long debates about the role of government for all time, but it does require us to act in our time.

For now decisions are upon us and we cannot afford delay. We cannot mistake absolutism for principle or substitute spectacle for politics or treat name-calling as reasoned debate. We must act, knowing that our work will be imperfect. We must act, we must act knowing that today's victories will be only partial and that it will be up to those who stand here in 4 years and 40 years and 400 years hence to advance the timeless spirit once conferred to us in a spare Philadelphia hall.

My fellow Americans, the oath I have sworn before you today, like the one recited by others who serve in this Capitol, was an oath to God and country, not party or faction. And we must faithfully execute that pledge during the duration of our service. But the words I spoke today are not so different from the oath that is taken each time a soldier signs up for duty or an immigrant realizes her dream. My oath is not so different from the pledge we all make to the flag that waves above and that fills our hearts with pride.

They are the words of citizens and they represent our greatest hope. You and I, as citizens, have the power to set this country's course. You and I, as citizens, have the obligation to shape the debates of our time—not only with the votes we cast, but with the voices we lift in defense of our most ancient values and enduring ideals.

Let us, each of us, now embrace with solemn duty and awesome joy what is our lasting birthright. With common effort and common purpose, with passion and dedication, let us answer the call of history and carry into an uncertain future that precious light of freedom.

Thank you. God bless you, and may He forever bless these United States of America.

Inaugural Address  
of the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States  
Donald J. Trump

20 January, 2017

Washington D.C.

Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world: Thank you.

We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people. Together, we will determine the course of America and the world for many, many years to come. We will face challenges, we will confront hardships, but we will get the job done.

Every 4 years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent. Thank you.

Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning. Because today we are not merely transferring power from one administration to another or from one party to another, but we are transferring power from Washington, DC, and giving it back to you, the people.

For too long, a small group in our Nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of Government while the people have borne the cost. Washington flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth. Politicians prospered, but the jobs left, and the factories closed. The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country. Their victories have not been your victories; their triumphs have not been your triumphs; and while they celebrated in our Nation's Capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land.

That all changes, starting right here and right now, because this moment is your moment: It belongs to you. It belongs to everyone gathered here today and everyone watching all across America. This is your day. This is your celebration. And this, the United States of America, is your country.

What truly matters is not which party controls our Government, but whether our Government is controlled by the people. January 20, 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this Nation again. The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer. Everyone is listening to you now.

You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement the likes of which the world has never seen before. At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction: that a nation exists to serve its citizens. Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves. These are just and reasonable demands of righteous people and a righteous public.

But for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities; rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our Nation; an education system, flush with cash, but which

leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge; and the crime and the gangs and the drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential.

This American carnage stops right here and stops right now. We are one Nation, and their pain is our pain, their dreams are our dreams, and their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny.

The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans.

For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military. We've defended other nations' borders while refusing to defend our own and spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay. We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has dissipated over the horizon.

One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores, with not even a thought about the millions and millions of American workers that were left behind. The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed all across the world.

But that is the past. And now we are looking only to the future.

We, assembled here today, are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power. From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. From this this day forward, it's going to be only America first. America first.

Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families.

We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength. I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down.

America will start winning again, winning like never before. We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth. And we will bring back our dreams.

We will build new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels and railways all across our wonderful Nation.

We will get our people off of welfare and back to work, rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor. We will follow two simple rules: Buy American and hire American.

We will seek friendship and good will with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first. We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example—we will shine—for everyone to follow.

We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth.

At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other. When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice. The Bible tells us, "How good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity". We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity. When America is united, America is totally unstoppable. There should be no fear: We are protected, and we will always be protected. We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement, and most importantly, we will be protected by God.

Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger. In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving.

We will no longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action, constantly complaining, but never doing anything about it. The time for empty talk is over. Now arrives the hour of action.

Do not allow anyone to tell you that it cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America. We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.

We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the Earth from the miseries of disease, and to harness the energies, industries, and technologies of tomorrow. A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions.

It's time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget: that whether we are Black or Brown or White, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots, we all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same great American flag.

And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the windswept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams, and they are infused with the breath of life by the same almighty Creator.

So to all Americans in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words: You will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us along the way.

Together, we will make America strong again. We will make America wealthy again. We will make America proud again. We will make America safe again.

And, yes, together, we will make America great again. Thank you. God bless you, and God bless America. Thank you. God bless America.

Inaugural Address  
of the 46<sup>th</sup> President of the United States  
Joseph R. Biden Jr.

20 January, 2021

Washington D.C.

Chief Justice Roberts, Vice-President Harris, Speaker Pelosi Leader Schumer, Leader McConnell, Vice-President Pence. My distinguished guests, my fellow Americans.

This is America's day. This is democracy's day. A day of history and hope, of renewal and resolve. Through a crucible for the ages, America has been tested anew and America has risen to the challenge. Today we celebrate the triumph not of a candidate but of a cause, a cause of democracy. The people - the will of the people - has been heard, and the will of the people has been heeded.

We've learned again that democracy is precious, democracy is fragile and, at this hour my friends, democracy has prevailed. So now on this hallowed ground where just a few days ago violence sought to shake the Capitol's very foundations, we come together as one nation under God - indivisible - to carry out the peaceful transfer of power as we have for more than two centuries.

As we look ahead in our uniquely American way, restless, bold, optimistic, and set our sights on a nation we know we can be and must be, I thank my predecessors of both parties for their presence here. I thank them from the bottom of my heart. And I know the resilience of our Constitution and the strength, the strength of our nation, as does President Carter, who I spoke with last night who cannot be with us today, but who we salute for his lifetime of service.

I've just taken a sacred oath each of those patriots have taken. The oath first sworn by George Washington. But the American story depends not on any one of us, not on some of us, but on all of us. On we the people who seek a more perfect union. This is a great nation, we are good people. And over the centuries through storm and strife in peace and in war we've come so far. But we still have far to go.

We'll press forward with speed and urgency for we have much to do in this winter of peril and significant possibility. Much to do, much to heal, much to restore, much to build, and much to gain. Few people in our nation's history have been more challenged or found a time more challenging or difficult than the time we're in now. A once in a century virus that silently stalks the country has taken as many lives in one year as in all of World War Two.

Millions of jobs have been lost. Hundreds of thousands of businesses closed. A cry for racial justice, some 400 years in the making, moves us. The dream of justice for all will be deferred no longer. A cry for survival comes from the planet itself, a cry that can't be any more desperate or any more clear now. The rise of political extremism, white supremacy, domestic terrorism, that we must confront and we will defeat.

To overcome these challenges, to restore the soul and secure the future of America, requires so much more than words. It requires the most elusive of all things

in a democracy - unity. Unity. In another January on New Year's Day in 1863 Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. When he put pen to paper the president said, and I quote, 'if my name ever goes down in history, it'll be for this act, and my whole soul is in it'.

My whole soul is in it today, on this January day. My whole soul is in this. Bringing America together, uniting our people, uniting our nation. And I ask every American to join me in this cause. Uniting to fight the foes we face - anger, resentment and hatred. Extremism, lawlessness, violence, disease, joblessness, and hopelessness.

With unity we can do great things, important things. We can right wrongs, we can put people to work in good jobs, we can teach our children in safe schools. We can overcome the deadly virus, we can rebuild work, we can rebuild the middle class and make work secure, we can secure racial justice and we can make America once again the leading force for good in the world.

I know speaking of unity can sound to some like a foolish fantasy these days. I know the forces that divide us are deep and they are real. But I also know they are not new. Our history has been a constant struggle between the American ideal, that we are all created equal, and the harsh ugly reality that racism, nativism and fear have torn us apart. The battle is perennial and victory is never secure.

Through civil war, the Great Depression, World War, 9/11, through struggle, sacrifice, and setback, our better angels have always prevailed. In each of our moments enough of us have come together to carry all of us forward and we can do that now. History, faith and reason show the way. The way of unity.

We can see each other not as adversaries but as neighbours. We can treat each other with dignity and respect. We can join forces, stop the shouting and lower the temperature. For without unity there is no peace, only bitterness and fury, no progress, only exhausting outrage. No nation, only a state of chaos. This is our historic moment of crisis and challenge. And unity is the path forward. And we must meet this moment as the United States of America.

If we do that, I guarantee we will not failed. We have never, ever, ever, ever failed in America when we've acted together. And so today at this time in this place, let's start afresh, all of us. Let's begin to listen to one another again, hear one another, see one another. Show respect to one another. Politics doesn't have to be a raging fire destroying everything in its path. Every disagreement doesn't have to be a cause for total war and we must reject the culture in which facts themselves are manipulated and even manufactured.

My fellow Americans, we have to be different than this. We have to be better than this and I believe America is so much better than this. Just look around. Here we stand in the shadow of the Capitol dome. As mentioned earlier, completed in the shadow of the Civil War. When the union itself was literally hanging in the balance. We endure, we prevail. Here we stand, looking out on the great Mall, where Dr King spoke of his dream.

Here we stand, where 108 years ago at another inaugural, thousands of protesters tried to block brave women marching for the right to vote. And today we mark the

swearing in of the first woman elected to national office, Vice President Kamala Harris. Don't tell me things can't change. Here we stand where heroes who gave the last full measure of devotion rest in eternal peace.

And here we stand just days after a riotous mob thought they could use violence to silence the will of the people, to stop the work of our democracy, to drive us from this sacred ground. It did not happen, it will never happen, not today, not tomorrow, not ever. Not ever. To all those who supported our campaign, I'm humbled by the faith you placed in us. To all those who did not support us, let me say this. Hear us out as we move forward. Take a measure of me and my heart.

If you still disagree, so be it. That's democracy. That's America. The right to dissent peacefully. And the guardrail of our democracy is perhaps our nation's greatest strength. If you hear me clearly, disagreement must not lead to disunion. And I pledge this to you. I will be a President for all Americans, all Americans. And I promise you I will fight for those who did not support me as for those who did.

Many centuries ago, St Augustine - the saint of my church - wrote that a people was a multitude defined by the common objects of their love. Defined by the common objects of their love. What are the common objects we as Americans love, that define us as Americans? I think we know. Opportunity, security, liberty, dignity, respect, honour, and yes, the truth.

Recent weeks and months have taught us a painful lesson. There is truth and there are lies. Lies told for power and for profit. And each of us has a duty and a responsibility as citizens as Americans and especially as leaders. Leaders who are pledged to honour our Constitution to protect our nation. To defend the truth and defeat the lies.

Look, I understand that many of my fellow Americans view the future with fear and trepidation. I understand they worry about their jobs. I understand like their dad they lay in bed at night staring at the ceiling thinking: 'Can I keep my healthcare? Can I pay my mortgage?' Thinking about their families, about what comes next. I promise you, I get it. But the answer's not to turn inward. To retreat into competing factions. Distrusting those who don't look like you, or worship the way you do, who don't get their news from the same source as you do.

We must end this uncivil war that pits red against blue, rural versus urban, conservative versus liberal. We can do this if we open our souls instead of hardening our hearts, if we show a little tolerance and humility, and if we're willing to stand in the other person's shoes, as my mom would say. Just for a moment, stand in their shoes.

Because here's the thing about life. There's no accounting for what fate will deal you. Some days you need a hand. There are other days when we're called to lend a hand. That's how it has to be, that's what we do for one another. And if we are that way our country will be stronger, more prosperous, more ready for the future. And we can still disagree.

My fellow Americans, in the work ahead of us we're going to need each other. We need all our strength to persevere through this dark winter. We're entering what may be the darkest and deadliest period of the virus. We must set aside politics and finally face this pandemic as one nation, one nation. And I promise this, as the Bible

says, "Weeping may endure for a night, joy cometh in the morning". We will get through this together. Together.

Look folks, all my colleagues I serve with in the House and the Senate up here, we all understand the world is watching. Watching all of us today. So here's my message to those beyond our borders. America has been tested and we've come out stronger for it. We will repair our alliances, and engage with the world once again. Not to meet yesterday's challenges but today's and tomorrow's challenges. And we'll lead not merely by the example of our power but the power of our example.

Fellow Americans, moms, dads, sons, daughters, friends, neighbours and co-workers. We will honour them by becoming the people and the nation we can and should be. So I ask you let's say a silent prayer for those who lost their lives, those left behind and for our country. Amen.

Folks, it's a time of testing. We face an attack on our democracy, and on truth, a raging virus, a stinging inequity, systemic racism, a climate in crisis, America's role in the world. Any one of these would be enough to challenge us in profound ways. But the fact is we face them all at once, presenting this nation with one of the greatest responsibilities we've had. Now we're going to be tested. Are we going to step up?

It's time for boldness for there is so much to do. And this is certain, I promise you. We will be judged, you and I, by how we resolve these cascading crises of our era. We will rise to the occasion. Will we master this rare and difficult hour? Will we meet our obligations and pass along a new and better world to our children? I believe we must and I'm sure you do as well. I believe we will, and when we do, we'll write the next great chapter in the history of the United States of America. The American story.

A story that might sound like a song that means a lot to me, it's called American Anthem. And there's one verse that stands out at least for me and it goes like this:

"The work and prayers of centuries have brought us to this day, which shall be our legacy, what will our children say?"

Let me know in my heart when my days are through, America, America, I gave my best to you."

Let us add our own work and prayers to the unfolding story of our great nation. If we do this, then when our days are through, our children and our children's children will say of us: 'They gave their best, they did their duty, they healed a broken land.'

My fellow Americans I close the day where I began, with a sacred oath. Before God and all of you, I give you my word. I will always level with you. I will defend the Constitution, I'll defend our democracy. I'll defend America and I will give all - all of you - keep everything I do in your service. Thinking not of power but of possibilities. Not of personal interest but of public good.

And together we will write an American story of hope, not fear. Of unity not division, of light not darkness. A story of decency and dignity, love and healing, greatness and goodness. May this be the story that guides us. The story that inspires us. And the story that tells ages yet to come that we answered the call of history, we met the moment. Democracy and hope, truth and justice, did not die on our watch but thrive.



That America secured liberty at home and stood once again as a beacon to the world. That is what we owe our forbearers, one another, and generations to follow.

So with purpose and resolve, we turn to those tasks of our time. Sustained by faith, driven by conviction and devoted to one another and the country we love with all our hearts. May God bless America and God protect our troops.

Inaugural Address  
of the 47th President of the United States  
Donald J.Trump

20 January, 2025

Washington D.C.

Thank you. Thank you very much, everybody. Wow. Thank you very, very much.

Vice President Vance, Speaker Johnson, Senator Thune, Chief Justice Roberts, Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, President Biden, Vice President Harris, and my fellow citizens: The golden age of America begins right now.

From this day forward, our country will flourish and be respected again all over the world. We will be the envy of every nation, and we will not allow ourselves to be taken advantage of any longer. During every single day of the Trump administration, I will, very simply, put America first.

Our sovereignty will be reclaimed. Our safety will be restored. The scales of justice will be rebalanced. The vicious, violent, and unfair weaponization of the Justice Department and our Government will end.

And our top priority will be to create a nation that is proud, prosperous, and free. America will soon be greater, stronger, and far more exceptional than ever before.

I return to the Presidency confident and optimistic that we are at the start of a thrilling new era of national success. A tide of change is sweeping the country, sunlight is pouring over the entire world, and America has the chance to seize this opportunity like never before.

But first, we must be honest about the challenges we face. While they are plentiful, they will be annihilated by this great momentum that the world is now witnessing in the United States of America.

As we gather today, our Government confronts a crisis of trust. For many years, a radical and corrupt establishment has extracted power and wealth from our citizens while the pillars of our society lay broken and seemingly in complete disrepair.

We now have a Government that cannot manage even a simple crisis at home while, at the same time, stumbling into a continuing catalogue of catastrophic events abroad.

It fails to protect our magnificent, law-abiding American citizens, but provides sanctuary and protection for dangerous criminals, many from prisons and mental institutions, that have illegally entered our country from all over the world.

We have a Government that has given unlimited funding to the defense of foreign borders, but refuses to defend American borders or, more importantly, its own people.

Our country can no longer deliver basic services in times of emergency, as recently shown by the wonderful people of North Carolina—who have been treated so badly—and other States who are still suffering from a hurricane that took place many months ago or, more recently, Los Angeles, where we are watching fires still tragically burn from weeks ago without even a token of defense. They're raging through the

houses and communities, even affecting some of the wealthiest and most powerful individuals in our country, some of whom are sitting here right now. They don't have a home any longer. That's interesting. But we can't let this happen. Everyone is unable to do anything about it. That's going to change.

We have a public health system that does not deliver in times of disaster, yet more money is spent on it than any country anywhere in the world.

And we have an education system that teaches our children to be ashamed of themselves, in many cases, to hate our country despite the love that we try so desperately to provide to them. All of this will change starting today, and it will change very quickly.

My recent election is a mandate to completely and totally reverse a horrible betrayal and all of these many betrayals that have taken place and to give the people back their faith, their wealth, their democracy, and indeed, their freedom. From this moment on, America's decline is over.

Our liberties and our Nation's glorious destiny will no longer be denied. And we will immediately restore the integrity, competency, and loyalty of America's Government.

Over the past 8 years, I have been tested and challenged more than any President in our 250-year history, and I've learned a lot along the way. The journey to reclaim our Republic has not been an easy one, that I can tell you. Those who wish to stop our cause have tried to take my freedom and, indeed, to take my life.

Just a few months ago, in a beautiful Pennsylvania field, an assassin's bullet ripped through my ear. But I felt then and believe even more so now that my life was saved for a reason. I was saved by God to make America great again. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much.

That is why each day under our administration of American patriots, we will be working to meet every crisis with dignity and power and strength. We will move with purpose and speed to bring back hope, prosperity, safety, and peace for citizens of every race, religion, color, and creed.

For American citizens, January 20, 2025, is liberation day. It is my hope that our recent Presidential election will be remembered as the greatest and most consequential election in the history of our country.

As our victory showed, the entire nation is rapidly unifying behind our agenda with dramatic increases in support from virtually every element of our society: young and old, men and women, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, urban, suburban, rural. And very importantly, we had a powerful win in all seven swing States – and the popular vote, we won by millions of people.

To the Black and Hispanic communities, I want to thank you for the tremendous outpouring of love and trust that you have shown me with your vote. We set records, and I will not forget it. I've heard your voices in the campaign, and I look forward to working with you in the years to come.

Today is Martin Luther King Day. And his honor—this will be a great honor. But in his honor, we will strive together to make his dream a reality. We will make his dream come true. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you.

National unity is now returning to America, and confidence and pride is soaring like never before. In everything we do, my administration will be inspired by a strong pursuit of excellence and unrelenting success. We will not forget our country, we will not forget our Constitution, and we will not forget our God. Can't do that.

Today I will sign a series of historic Executive orders. With these actions, we will begin the complete restoration of America and the revolution of common sense. It's all about common sense.

First, I will declare a national emergency at our southern border. All illegal entry will immediately be halted, and we will begin the process of returning millions and millions of criminal aliens back to the places from which they came. We will reinstate my “Remain in Mexico” policy.

I will end the practice of catch-and-release. And I will send troops to the southern border to repel the disastrous invasion of our country. Under the orders I sign today, we will also be designating the cartels as foreign terrorist organizations.

And by invoking the Alien Enemies Act of 1798, I will direct our Government to use the full and immense power of Federal and State law enforcement to eliminate the presence of all foreign gangs and criminal networks bringing devastating crime to U.S. soil, including our cities and inner cities.

As Commander in Chief, I have no higher responsibility than to defend our country from threats and invasions, and that is exactly what I am going to do. We will do it at a level that nobody has ever seen before.

Next, I will direct all members of my Cabinet to marshal the vast powers at their disposal to defeat what was record inflation and rapidly bring down costs and prices. The inflation crisis was caused by massive overspending and escalating energy prices, and that is why today I will also declare a national energy emergency. We will drill, baby, drill.

America will be a manufacturing nation once again, and we have something that no other manufacturing nation will ever have, the largest amount of oil and gas of any country on earth, and we are going to use it. We'll use it.

We will bring prices down, fill our strategic reserves up again right to the top, and export American energy all over the world. We will be a rich nation again, and it is that liquid gold under our feet that will help to do it.

With my actions today, we will end the “green new deal”, and we will revoke the electric vehicle mandate, saving our auto industry and keeping my sacred pledge to our great American autoworkers. In other words, you'll be able to buy the car of your choice.

We will build automobiles in America again at a rate that nobody could have dreamt possible just a few years ago. And thank you to the autoworkers of our Nation for your inspiring vote of confidence. We did tremendously with their vote.

I will immediately begin the overhaul of our trade system to protect American workers and families. Instead of taxing our citizens to enrich other countries, we will tariff and tax foreign countries to enrich our citizens.

For this purpose, we are establishing the External Revenue Service to collect all tariffs, duties, and revenues. It will be massive amounts of money pouring into our Treasury, coming from foreign sources. The American dream will soon be back and thriving like never before.

To restore competence and effectiveness to our Federal Government, my administration will establish the brandnew Department of Government Efficiency.

After years and years of illegal and unconstitutional Federal efforts to restrict free expression, I also will sign an Executive order to immediately stop all Government censorship and bring back free speech to America.

Never again will the immense power of the state be weaponized to persecute political opponents, something I know something about. *[Laughter]* We will not allow that to happen. It will not happen again. Under my leadership, we will restore fair, equal, and impartial justice under the constitutional rule of law. And we are going to bring law and order back to our cities.

This week, I will also end the Government policy of trying to socially engineer race and gender into every aspect of public and private life. We will forge a society that is colorblind and merit based. As of today, it will henceforth be the official policy of the United States Government that there are only two genders: male and female.

This week, I will reinstate any servicemembers who were unjustly expelled from our military for objecting to the COVID vaccine mandate with full backpay.

And I will sign an order to stop our warriors from being subjected to radical political theories and social experiments while on duty. It's going to end immediately. Our Armed Forces will be freed to focus on their sole mission: defeating America's enemies.

Like in 2017, we will again build the strongest military the world has ever seen. We will measure our success not only by the battles we win, but also by the wars that we end and, perhaps most importantly, the wars we never get into.

My proudest legacy will be that of a peacemaker and unifier. That's what I want to be: a peacemaker and a unifier. I'm pleased to say that as of yesterday, 1 day before I assumed office, the hostages in the Middle East are coming back home to their families. Thank you.

America will reclaim its rightful place as the greatest, most powerful, most respected nation on Earth, inspiring the awe and admiration of the entire world.

A short time from now, we are going to be changing the name of the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of America, and we will restore the name of a great President, William McKinley, to Mount McKinley, where it should be and where it belongs.

President McKinley made our country very rich through tariffs and through talent – he was a natural businessman – and gave Teddy Roosevelt the money for many of the great things he did, including the Panama Canal, which has foolishly been given to the country of Panama after the United States – the United States – I mean, think of

this – spent more money than ever spent on a project before and lost 38,000 lives in the building of the Panama Canal.

We have been treated very badly from this foolish gift that should have never been made, and Panama's promise to us has been broken. The purpose of our deal and the spirit of our treaty has been totally violated. American ships are being severely overcharged and not treated fairly in any way, shape, or form. And that includes the United States Navy.

And above all, China is operating the Panama Canal. And we didn't give it to China. We gave it to Panama, and we're taking it back.

Above all, my message to Americans today is that it is time for us to once again act with courage, vigor, and the vitality of history's greatest civilization.

So, as we liberate our Nation, we will lead it to new heights of victory and success. We will not be deterred. Together, we will end the chronic disease epidemic and keep our children safe, healthy, and disease-free.

The United States will once again consider itself a growing nation, one that increases our wealth, expands our territory, builds our cities, raises our expectations, and carries our flag into new and beautiful horizons.

And we will pursue our manifest destiny into the stars, launching American astronauts to plant the Stars and Stripes on the planet Mars.

Ambition is the lifeblood of a great nation, and, right now, our Nation is more ambitious than any other. There's no nation like our Nation.

Americans are explorers, builders, innovators, entrepreneurs, and pioneers. The spirit of the frontier is written into our hearts. The call of the next great adventure resounds from within our souls.

Our American ancestors turned a small group of colonies on the edge of a vast continent into a mighty republic of the most extraordinary citizens on Earth. No one comes close.

Americans pushed thousands of miles through a rugged land of untamed wilderness. They crossed deserts, scaled mountains, braved untold dangers, won the Wild West, ended slavery, rescued millions from tyranny, lifted billions from poverty, harnessed electricity, split the atom, launched mankind into the heavens, and put the universe of human knowledge into the palm of the human hand. If we work together, there is nothing we cannot do and no dream we cannot achieve.

Many people thought it was impossible for me to stage such a historic political comeback. But as you see today, here I am. The American people have spoken. I stand before you now as proof that you should never believe that something is impossible to do. In America, the impossible is what we do best.

From New York to Los Angeles, from Philadelphia to Phoenix, from Chicago to Miami, from Houston to right here in Washington, DC, our country was forged and built by the generations of patriots who gave everything they had for our rights and for our freedom.

They were farmers and soldiers, cowboys and factory workers, steelworkers and coal miners, police officers and pioneers who pushed onward, marched forward, and let no obstacle defeat their spirit or their pride.

Together, they laid down the railroads, raised up the skyscrapers, built great highways, won two world wars, defeated fascism and communism, and triumphed over every single challenge that they faced.

After all we have been through together, we stand on the verge of the 4 greatest years in American history. With your help, we will restore America promise and we will rebuild the nation that we love, and we love it so much.

We are one people, one family, and one glorious nation under God. So, to every parent who dreams for their child and every child who dreams for their future, I am with you, I will fight for you, and I will win for you. We're going to win like never before. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you.

In recent years, our Nation has suffered greatly. But we are going to bring it back and make it great again, greater than ever before. We will be a nation like no other, full of compassion, courage, and exceptionalism. Our power will stop all wars and bring a new spirit of unity to a world that has been angry, violent, and totally unpredictable.

America will be respected again and admired again, including by people of religion, faith, and good will. We will be prosperous, we will be proud, we will be strong, and we will win like never before.

We will not be conquered, we will not be intimidated, we will not be broken, and we will not fail. From this day on, the United States of America will be a free, sovereign, and independent nation.

We will stand bravely, we will live proudly, we will dream boldly, and nothing will stand in our way because we are Americans. The future is ours, and our golden age has just begun.

Thank you. God bless America. Thank you all. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Thank you.

## APPENDIX B

### Inaugural Address of the 1<sup>st</sup> President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev

December 10, 1991

Almaty

Dorogie sootchestvenniki!  
Uvazhaemye narodnye deputaty!  
Uvazhaemye gosti!

Ne kazhdomu pokoleniju vypadaet na dolju byt' svideteljami i uchastnikami stol' grandioznyh istoricheskikh peremen, kakie perezhivaem my s vami. Bez preuvelichenija mozžno skazat', chto u nas na glazah na karte mira pojavljajutsja novye gosudarstva, menjajutsja obshhestvenno-politicheskie i jekonomicheskie formacii, formy gosudarstvennogo upravlenija.

Ne ostalsja v storone ot stolbovoj dorogi istorii i Kazahstan. Nemalo gosudarstvennyh obrazovanij sushhestvovalo na ego drevnej zemle, kotorye, kak i ljudi, perezhivali svoe detstvo, junost', zrelost', preterpevali upadok, vozrozhдали' iz pepla. I na novom istoricheskom vitke narody Kazahstana reshitel'no sdělali svoj vybor k civilizovannomu demokraticeskomu obshhestvu.

Po suti dela nam predstoit radikal'naja smena vsego social'no-jekonomicheskogo uklada zhizni, a ona, kak pokazala istorija, prohodit uspeshno lish' tam, gde obshhestvo dvizhimo edinoj idee, vo imja kotoroj ljudi gotovy k vremennym trudnostjam i dazhe otdel'nym neudacham.

Dlja nas jeta ideja — svobodnoe suverennoe demokraticeskoe gosudarstvo Kazahstan. Za nee, sobstvenno, i golosovali 1 dekabrja grazhdane respublik, v pervye za tysjacheletniju kazahskuju istoriju vsenarodno izbiraja svoego Prezidenta.

Govorja o suverenitete, ja vovse ne imeju v vidu, chto Kazahstan sobiraetsja stat' zamknutoj sistemoj. Ved' ochevidno, chto jeto by pagubno skazalos' na vozmozhnostjah realizacii politicheskoi i jekonomicheskoi samostojatel'nosti. Unikal'nost' i nepovtorimost' podobnogo položenija Kazahstana ponimal i mudryj Abylaj, sumevshij vosstanovit' v seredine XVIII veka raspadvshujusja kazahskuju gosudarstvennost', naladit' dobrososedskie otnoshenija s prilegajushhimi gosudarstvami.

Ponimali jeto i prodolzhili ego delo posledujushhie pokolenija.

Segodnja, v krizisnoj dlja obshhestva situacii — na rubezhe dvuh jepoh — faktor vremeni imeet ogromnoe znachenie. Narastajushhaja naprjazhennost' v respublikah byvshej federacii, ostrota teh problem s kotorymi my stolknemsja v blizhajshie mesjacy ne ostavljajut vremeni dlja raskachki, zastavljajut dejstvovat' bystro, reshitel'no i chetko.

Nyne pochtu kazhdomu jasno, chto istorija ne ostavila nam drugogo vybora, krome kardinal'nyh izmenenij proizvodstvennyh otnoshenij. No i kolossal'naja



slozhnost' povorota k rynochnoj jekonomike tozhe ochevidna pochtu vsem. Odnako osushhestvljaemyh mer segodnja javno nedostatochno. Odni iz nih ograničeny, drugie polovinchaty, tret'i natakivajutsja na skrytoe i javnoe tormozhenie konservativnyh sil, sabotazh ostatkov staroj komandno-administrativnoj sistemy. Nam neobhodimo jekstrennoe provedenie radikal'nyh vzaimosvjazannyh mer dlja stabilizacii social'no-jekonomicheskoy situacii, poskol'ku v nastojashhee vremja krizis podhodit k svoej kriticheskoj otmetke.

Pri jetom ne sleduet otozhdestvljat' radikal'nyj kurs s total'noj lomkoj i razrusheniem. Jeto my uzhe prohodili. Ubytochnye predprijatija i hozjajstva nado preobrazovat', ibo jekonomicheskaja celesoobraznost' nesovmestima s dotacionnym sitom, pogloshhajushhim darmovye den'gi. No razgosudarstvlenie i privatizacija ne oznachajut polnuju likvidaciju gosudarstvennoj sobstvennosti, a podderzhka fermerskih hozjajstv — vseobshhaju dekollektivizaciju.

Pust' ot vcherashnego dnja nam ostalos' malo polozhitel'nogo, odnako dejstvitel'no cennyj opyt, tak zhe, kak i istoricheskie kontakty nado berezhno sohranjat'. Ja uzhe mnogokratno govoril i ne schitaju lishnim povtorit' o znachenii slozhivshijsja integracionnyh svjazej, jeffektivnogo jekonomicheskogo soobshhestva respublik byvshej federacii, oformlenija ih politicheskogo sojuza.

Hochu skazat' otkrovenno: perspektivy podpisaniya novogo Sojuznogo dogovora, formirovaniya jekonomicheskogo soobshhestva segodnja kak nikogda problematichny.

Tak sluchilos' ne po nashej vine. K moemu glubokomu sozhaleniju, v rukovodjashhem jeshelone rjada respublik suverenitet stali otozhdestvljat' s avtarkiej. Ves'ma neozhidannym bylo zajavlenie rukovoditelej Rossii, Ukrainy i Belarusi, podpisanie imi soglashenija o sozdanii Sodruzhestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv. Reshenija, prinjatye liderami treh respublik slishkom ser'ezny, chtoby po svezhim sledam davat' im kategorichnuju ocenku. Odnako Kazahstan dolzhen byt' gotov k ljubomu povorotu sobytij. My v sostojanii zhit' samostojatel'no.

Dlja jetogo u nas est' neobhodimyj jekonomicheskij potencial, bogatejšie prirodnye resursy, a samoe glavnoe — u nas est' kvalificirovannyj otrjad rabochih i krest'jan, talantlivye učenye i inzhenery. U nas est' zamechatel'naja tvorčeskaja intelligencija i molodezh', gotovye sluzhit' delu procvetanija rodnoj respubliki.

V to zhe vremja my po-prezhnemu ostaemsja storonnikami integracionnyh processov, obuslovlennyh ob#ektivnym hodom istorii.

Kakie mery nam neobhodimo predprinjat' v pervuju ochered'?

V politike — jeto shagi, svjazannye s chetkim razdeleniem vlastej, formirovanijem vertikal'nyh prezidentskih struktur, čto pozvolit sozdat' strojnuju sistemu upravlenija ispolnitel'nyh organov

Jeto ob#ektivnaja transformacija Verhovnogo Soveta respublik i professional'nyj parlament, čto svjazano s neobhodimost'ju znachitel'nogo sokrashhenija deputatskogo korpusa i razbuhshih apparatov mestnyh Sovetov.

Jeto podderzhka politicheskogo pljuralizma, narjadu s bezuslovnym zapretom dejatel'nosti partij i dvizhenij, propovedujushhih jekstremizm i nacional'nuju rozn', separatizm, napravlenyj protiv territorial'noj celostnosti respublik.

Jeto reshitel'nye dejstvija po ukrepleniju pravoporjadka i sobljudeniju zakonnosti.

Jeto sohranenie mezhnacional'nogo soglasija na osnove ravenstva prav vseh kazahstancev, prioritet politicheskoy stabil'nosti kak osnovopolagajushhego principa gosudarstvennoj politiki.

Bez jetogo politicheskogo fundamenta nevozmozhno vkljuchit' Kazahstan v ruslo sovremennoj civilizacii, osushhestvit' glubokie jekonomicheskie preobrazovanija, predusmatrivajushhie liberalizaciju cen, finansovoe ozdorovlenie, privatizaciju, formirovanie rynochnoj infrastruktury, ravnopravie vseh form sobstvennosti. Vazhno ustranit' ljubye bjurokraticheskie prepjatstvija na puti kollektivnogo i chastnogo predprinimatel'stva, kotoroe dolzhno stat' odnim iz glavnyh dvigatelej jekonomicheskogo vozrozhdenija.

Suverennyj Kazahstan predstoit na dele prevratit' v samostojatel'nyj sub'ekt mezhdunarodnyh otnoshenij, aktivnoe dejstvujushhee lico mirovogo jekonomicheskogo prostranstva. Geograficheskoe polozhenie i social'nyj potencial respubliky sposobstvujut orientacii Kazahstana kak na Aziatsko-Tihookeanskij, tak i na Evroatlantskij region. Nam neobhodimo formirovat' rynek otkrytogo tipa, sdelat' inostrannye investicii vazhnym faktorom kardinal'nyh strukturnykh izmenenij narodnogo hozjajstva, vseмерно narashhivat' zolotoj zapas i valjutnyj fond.

V svjazi s jetim hochu skazat' o nashem namerenii dopustit' uchastie inostrannogo kapitala v processah razgosudarstvlenija i privatizacii gosudarstvennoj sobstvennosti, sozdanie koncessij.

Nesmotrja na ogranichenost' finansovyh i material'nyh vozmozhnostej my budem provodit' chetkij kurs na okazanie podderzhki social'no nezashhishhennym i ujazvimym slojam naselenija: pensioneram, invalidam, sirotam, mnogodetnym sem'jam, uchashhimsja.

Ja schitaju principial'no vazhnym, razvivaja jekonomiku, berezhno otnosit'sja k prirodnyh bogatstvam Kazahstana, osushhestvljat' realizaciju jekologicheskikh programm v interesah nyneshnih i budushhikh pokolenij.

pered vami, esli by ne skazal ob jetom. Cherez vse jeto nado projti, stisnuv zuby, s veroj v zavtrashnij den'. Tak bylo v Turcii, Juzhnoj Koree, tak bylo v Singapore. Znanie celi, obshhnost' interesov i edinstvo dejstvij pomoglo narodam jetih stran osushhestvit' nastojashhee jekonomicheskoe chudo. Sejchas cherez jeto prohodjat strany Vostochnoj Evropy.

Nuzhno osoznat', chto na nashu dolju vypal istoricheskij shans, kotoryj my ne dolzhny upustit'. Ja imeju v vidu to, chto kazahskaja nacija vobravshaja v sebja tradicii i mudrost' predydushhikh pokolenij, skoncentrirovshaja nerastrachennuju jenergiju sozidanija, nakopivshaja ogromnyj opyt internacionalizma, nacional'nogo i grazhdanskogo soglasija, mozhet i dolzhna vzjat' na sebja velikuju missiju – vystupit' garantom stabil'nosti i spokojstvija v svoem regione, dostojno vojti v mirovoe soobshhestvo.

1 dekabnja na izbiratel'nyh uchastkah prohodilo ne prostoe golosovanie. Ono polozhilo nachalo formirovaniju novogo bratskogo soobshhestva kazahov, russkih,

ukraincev, korejcev, nemcev, ujgurov — vseh teh, kto edinoj komandoj reshil probivat' dorogu cherez dramaticheskoe nastojashhee v zdorovoe budushhee nashej respubliki.

Dorogie sograzhdane!

Ja v polnoj mere osoznaju vysokoe doverie i ogromnuju chest', kotorye vy okazali mne na pervyh vsenarodnyh vyborah Prezidenta Kazahstana. Ot vsej dushi hochu poblagodarit' izbiratelej, predstavljajushhih razlichnye nacional'nosti i social'nye sloi, obshhestvennye dvizhenija i partii, religioznye obshhiny, — vseh teh, kto podderzhal menja i vydvinutuju mnoj programmu. Mandat vsenarodnogo doverija — jeto ne tol'ko pravo dejstvovat', no i ogromnaja otvetstvennost' pered vsem narodom. I ja nadejus' na vashu podderzhku i obeshhaju sdelat' vse vozmozhnoe, chtoby opravdat' vashi chajanja i nadezhdy.

Ja verju, chto my sumeem sozdat' na territorii Kazahstana vysokorazvituju politjetnicheskiju civilizaciju, v kotoroj vozrodivsja kazahskaja nacija, v kotoroj budut svobodno chuvstvovat' sebja vse vhodjashhie v nee narii i narodnosti.

Inaugural Address  
of the 1<sup>st</sup> President of Kazakhstan  
Nursultan Nazarbayev

January 20, 1999

Astana

Uvazhaemye sootchestvenniki!

Uvazhaemye gosti!

V politike bol'shaja redkost' periody, kogda dol'she veka dlitsja den'. Takim dnevom dlja nashej strany i dlja menja stalo 10 janvarja 1999 goda. V Kazahstane jeta data stala vodorazdelom, pograničnoj liniej mezhdru krovavym i dramaticnym vekom XX i polnym nadezhd i ozhidaniy vekom XXI.

Pochemu jetot holodnyj zimnij den' vojdet v otechestvennuju istoriju kak odna iz samyh gorjachih toček v toj kratkoj cherede let, čto imenuetsja nashej molodoj nezavisimost'ju? Potomu čto my v pervye v svoej mnogovekovej nacional'noj istorii proveli al'ternativnye, konkurentnye, prjamyje, demokratičeskie vybory glavy gosudarstva. Da, dlja kogo-to jeto davno projdennyj jetap. Da, my eshhe daleki ot ideal'noj modeli vybornoj demokratii. Da, my jasno vidim, čto nam nuzhno sdelat' na jetom puti. No my znaem i to, čto nash narod, tol'ko čto osvobodivshijsja ot mnogovekovogo totalitarizma, dolzhen vystradat' demokratiju.

My zajavljajem o svoej vernosti principam stroitel'stva demokratičeskogo obshhestva s rynočnoj jekonomikoj. My prodolzhim nachatye reformy. Nashi vneshnjaja i nacional'naja politika neizmenny. No odno bessporno. V pervye milliony kazahstancov imenno vybiralı Prezidenta, odnogo iz neskol'kih kandidatov. I nikto ne dovlel nad nimi, krome sobstvennogo razuma i sovesti.

Poltora veka nazad bylo skazano: "Opyt — učitel", dorogo berushhij za svoi uroki, no nikto ne učit luchshe ego". My obreli jetot opyt. I jeto opyt uspešnyj. To, čto my otmečаем segodnja, — ne pobeda odnogo čeloveka. Jeto obshhaja pobeda. Jeto ne torzhestvo odnogo iz pobedivshih kandidatov, a torzhestvo idei. Jeto ne uspeh političeskoj gruppy, a uspeh politiki.

Ja gord tem, čto absoljutnoe bol'shinstvo moih sootchestvennikov otdalo svoi golosa za menja. Jeto osobo cenno tem, čto ja ne obeshhal "raja zemnogo", a bol'she govoril o trudnostjah blizhajshih let, obuslovlennyh mirovym jekonomičeskim krizisom. No ja priznatelen i tem kazahstancam, kotorye otdali golosa za drugih kandidatov. Ne tol'ko potomu, čto, blagodarja im sostojalis' real'no konkurentnye vybory, no i potomu, čto jeto zhestkij i čestnyj signal glave gosudarstva o trudnostjah i pechaljah soten tysjach nashih sootchestvennikov.

Ja priznatelen i svoim sopernikam na vyborah za to, čto polemika v hode kampanii ostavalas' korrektnoj i civilizovannoj. Imenno blagodarja jetomu narod osushhestvil svoj vybor na osnove soderzhatel'nyh programm, a ne na osnove kompromata i poiska ved'm.

Ja priznatelen tem zhurnalistam i nabljudateljam, kak otechestvennym, tak i zarubezhnym, kotorye dali ob'ektivnyj i čestnyj analiz situacii.

Ja blagodaren vsem rukovoditeljam zarubezhnyh gosudarstv i mezhdunarodnyh organizacij, pozdravivshim menja s pobedoj na vyborah, prisutstvujushhim segodnja v zale glavam delegacij stran i vsem gostjam za vysokuju ocenku vyborov.

Ja blagodaren tysjacham svoih storonnikov, kotorye proveli kolossal'nuju rabotu za jeti mesjacy. No prezhde vsego ja blagodaren narodu Kazahstana, kotoryj dal predmetnyj urok vsem otechestvennym politikam.

Pervaja chast' jetogo uroka sostoit v tom, chto kazahskoe nacional'noe edinstvo iz mechty, za kotoruju umirali nashi predki v krovavyh bitvah poslednih treh stoletij, iz mechty, za kotoruju zaplatili strashnuju cenu dejateli partii "Alash" v nachale veka, prevratilos' v real'nost'. Popytki raskolot' kazahov kak naciju ne udavalis' i ranee, i jeto uzhe ne udastsja nikomu.

Blagodarja nezrimym kanalam, nevidimym tokam nacija v pervye za gody nezavisimosti real'nym postupkom dokazala miru i sebe svoje edinstvo. Esli by jetih vyborov ne bylo, ih stoilo by pridumat' radi jetogo momenta istiny!

Vtoraja chast' jetogo uroka sostoit v tom, chto edinstvo naroda Kazahstana nezavisimo ot nacional'nosti, religii, cveta kozhi iz politicheskogo lozunga stalo politicheskim faktom. K schast'ju, vse rassuzhdenija o raskole kazahov i russkih, tjurkov i slavjan, musul'man i hristian na protivopolozhnye gruppy vo vremja vyborov tak i ostalis' rassuzhdenijami. Dlja menja jeto znamenie budushhego, znak mirnoj i spokojnoj zhizni nashih narodov v sledujushhem stoletii.

Peredo mnoj stojat dve vneshne prostye zadachi. No istorija učit, chto oni samye slozhnye. U nashih drevnih predkov naivysshej pohvaloj pravitelju byli slova: "On horosho kormil svoj narod". Pojetomu pervaja zadacha — jeto dostatok naroda. Est' vremja razbrasyvat' kamni, i est' vremja sobirat' kamni. Est' vremja provodit' reformy, i est' vremja pozhinat' plody reform. Za budushhie 7 let narod dolzhen uvidet' plody reform na svoem stole i v svoem karmane. Vtoraja zadacha — jeto razvitie demokratii v strane. My provedem v jetom godu vybory v Parlament po novomu izbiratel'nomu zakonu. Vse partii i nacional'nye gruppy smogut uchastvovat' v jetoj bor'be. Za 49 nedel' do novogo tysjacheletija al'ternativy svobode net.

Ja tol'ko chto prines prisjagu Prezidenta Respubliki Kazahstan. Ja pokljalsja bljusti nashu Konstituciju, nashi zakony, nashu nacional'nuju chest' i dostoinstvo. I ja nikogda ne narushu jetoj kljatvy. Cherpaja sily v nashem slavnom proshlom, my tverdoj postup'ju pojdem navstrechu novomu veku.

Inaugural Address  
of the 1<sup>st</sup> President of Kazakhstan  
Nursultan Nazarbayev

January 11, 2006

Astana

Uvazhaemye damy i gospoda! Dorogie sograzhdane!

Segodnja – ochen' vazhnyj istoricheskij den' ne tol'ko dlja menja, prinimajushhego prisjagu, no i dlja vsej nashej strany.

Bolee mesjaca nazad narod Kazahstana demokraticeskim putem na otkrytyh, spravedlivyh i prozrachnyh vyborah osushhestvil svoe voleizjavlenie i izbral Glavu gosudarstva.

Vybory, sostojavshiesja na glazah nabljudatelej iz mnogih stran mira i mezhdunarodnyh organizacij, stali jarkim svidetel'stvom uverenosti nezavisimogo Kazahstana v svoem nastojashhem i budushhem, svidetel'stvom edinstva nashego naroda, splochnogo obshhej cel'ju.

Ja vosprinjal okazannuju mne na jetih vyborah vsenarodnuju podderzhku kak podderzhku politiki stabil'nosti, mezhnacional'nogo soglasija i dinamichnogo jekonomicheskogo razvitija. Pojetomu moim vysokim i svjashennym dolgom i v predstojashhij period ostanetsja vernoe sluzhenie narodu Kazahstana.

Kazahstan, obretja Nezavisimost' vsego 14 let nazad, dostojno projdja vse ispytaniya i trudnosti, vstupil na put' uskorennoj jekonomicheskoy, social'noj i politicheskoy modernizacii.

My sozdali nacional'noe zakonodatel'stvo i prinjali novuju Konstituciju, obespechivajushhie ravnye prava, svobody i dostojnuju zhizn' vseh kazahstancev.

Vse jeti gody my provodim garmonichnuju politiku, obespechivshuju mezhnacional'noe soglasie mezhdru predstaviteljami bolee 130 nacional'nostej, prozhivajushhih v nashej strane, i politicheskiju stabil'nost' v obshhestve. Jeto prevratilo Kazahstan v zemlju mira i soglasija v jetom bushujushhem sovremennom mire.

Blгодарja gosudarstvennoj politike mezhkonfessional'nogo soglasija, obespechivajushhej svobodu sovesti, v Kazahstane družno prozhivajut predstaviteli svyshe 40 religioznyh konfessij. V rezul'tate jetogo v 2003 godu lidery mirovyh i tradicionnyh religij vybrali Astanu dlja provedenija svoego pervogo s#ezda.

Prinjav Strategiju razvitija Kazahstana do 2030 goda, napravlennuju na dinamichnyj jekonomicheskij rost, my voshli v chislo naibolee stremitel'no razvivajushhihsja stran mira. Kazahstanskaja model' jekonomicheskogo razvitija pozvolila nam v techenie poslednih pjati let uvelichivat' ezhegodno rost VVP na 9-10 procentov. Pojetomu my postavili novuju zadachu - uvelichit' v 2008 godu VVP po sravneniju s 2000 godom v dva raza. Nyneshnee dinamichnoe razvitie Kazahstana jarko svidetel'stvuet, čto jeta cel' budet objazatel'no dostignuta.

Kazahstan polnost'ju ureguliroval voprosy gosudarstvennoj granicy so vsemi sosedjami – Rossiej, Kitaem, Uzbekistanom, Turkmenistanom, Kyrgyzstanom, i

zakrepil jeto na mezhdunarodno-pravovom urovne. Jeto bol'shoj uspeh vneshnej politiki nashej strany, imejushhej bolee 14 tysjach kilometrov suhoputnoj granicy. My vysoko cenim i budem dal'she vseмерно razvivat' sotrudnichestvo i partnerstvo so vseimi nashimi sosedjami.

Ukrepiv gosudarstvennost', Kazahstan sozdal obshhestvo, sootvetstvujushhee standartam zapadnyh demokratij. Sformirovav kazahstanskuju model' razvitija, osnovannuju na principah rynochnoj jekonomiki, my pristupili k politicheskoj modernizacii.

My real'no obespechili politicheskij pljuralizm i mnogopartijnost'. Jarkim svidetel'stvom tomu javljaetsja uchastie v proshedshih parlamentskih i prezidentskih vyborah predstavitelej desjati oficial'no zaregistrovannyh politicheskijh partij.

V Kazahstane obespecheny svoboda slova i svobodnaja dejatel'nost' bolee pjati tysjach nepravitel'stvennyh organizacij i bolee dvuh tysjach nezavisimyh sredstv massovoj informacii.

V sootvetstvii s mezhdunarodnymi normami my sozdali institut ombudsmena, zashhishhajushhij prava i svobody cheloveka, vvveli moratorij na smertnuju kazn'.

Kazahstan sformiroval nezavisimuju sudebnuju sistemu, poluchivshuju vysokuju ocenku mezhdunarodnyh jekspertov, i nahoditsja na puti k vvvedeniju, soglasno mirovoj praktike, instituta suda prisjazhnyh.

V blizhajshie gody nashi vneshnepoliticheskie priority takzhe ostanutsja neizmennymi.

Segodnja bezopasnost' kazhdogo gosudarstva tesno svjazana s global'noj bezopasnost'ju, bezopasnost'ju vsego chelovechestva.

Zakryv samyj krupnyj v mire Semipalatinskij jadernyj poligon, Kazahstan dobrovol'no otkazalsja ot vseh jadernyh arsenalov na svoej territorii. Jeto – dostojnyj vklad nashej strany v delo nerasprostraneniya i likvidacii jadernogo oruzhija na zemle, v formirovanie sistemy global'noj bezopasnosti.

Kazahstan, vystupaja protiv ljubyh projavlenij mezhdunarodnogo terrorizma i religioznogo jekstremizma, stal liderom v obespechenii bezopasnosti v central'no-aziatskom regione.

Blгодарja politicheskoj stabil'nosti my privlekli v svoju jekonomiku bolee 40 milliardov dollarov prjamyh inostrannyh investicij. Aktivno osvajaaja svoi jenergeticheskie resursy, nasha strana jeksportiruet ih na mirovye rynki. Tem samym my ne tol'ko obespechivaem sobstvennuju jenergeticheskiju bezopasnost', no i vnosim svoj vklad v formirovanie jenergeticheskogo balansa mirovoj jekonomiki.

Jeti vneshnepoliticheskie priority Kazahstana – jarkoe svidetel'stvo nashego stremlenija zhit' v družbe, partnerstve i vzaimovыgodnom sotrudnichestve so vseimi narodami mira. Vse jeto po pravu možno schitat' vkladom Kazahstana v obespechenie global'noj bezopasnosti i stabil'nosti sovremennogo mira.

Uvazhaemye glavy gosudarstv i delegacij, gosti i druž'ja nashej strany, okazavshie nam chest' svojim prisutstviem, a takzhe – nahodjashhiesja sejchas vne jetih sten!

Uvazhaemye damy i gospoda!

Ja gluboko tronut doveriem, ktoroe okazal mne narod Kazahstana, vnov' izbrav menja Prezidentom strany.

Jeti chuvstva mnogokratno usilivajutsja vysochajshej ocenkej moego truda na jetom postu, vyrazhennoj v itogah golosovanija. A eshhe bolee – zdravym ponimanjem otvetstvennosti, znachimosti i masshtabnosti zadach, kotorye nam s vami predstaot reshiti'.

Ja serdechno blagodarju moih storonnikov i soratnikov, vseh grazhdan strany za okazannuju mne chest', za sozidatel'nyj trud, rezul'tatom kotorogo javljaetsja segodnjashnij Kazahstan.

Ja vyrazhaju takzhe iskrennjuju priznatel'nost' ot imeni vsego nashego naroda, stranam mirovogo soobshhestva, nashim sosedjam kotorye samym neposredstvennym uchastiem i družestvennym otnosheniem podderzhivali nas vse jeti gody.

Vybory 2005 goda – jeto ne prosto ocherednaja prezidentskaja kampanija, jeto ocenka toho, chto nam udalos' sdelat' za gody nezavisimosti.

My reshili tri zadachi ogromnoj slozhnosti – postroili sobstvennuju gosudarstvennost', sozdali odnu iz samyh dinamichnyh jekonomik v mire, real'no povysili uroven' zhizni naroda.

My postroili novuju stolicu – Astanu v samom serdce Evrazii kak simvol nashej ustremlennosti v budushhee, kotoruju nashi gosti nazyvajut zhemchuzhinoj stepej.

Sozdav prochnye osnovy novogo obshhestva, my poshli na samye otkrytye i prozrachnye v istorii Kazahstana vybory, dokazav svoju gotovnost' k masshtabnym demokraticeskim izmenenijam.

Blagodarja tysjacham inostrannyh i mestnyh nabljudatelej, mezhdunarodnym organizacijam i prakticheski vsem mirovym sredstvam massovoj informacii Kazahstan okazalsja v fokuse global'nogo vnimanija. Takaja besprecedentnaja otkrytost' est' prjamoe svidetel'stvo toho, chto my ser'ezno nastroeny na integraciju v sovremennyj mir.

V segodnjashnem mire nacional'naja i religioznaja neterpimost' stali real'noj ugrozoi ne tol'ko gosudarstvennoj, no i global'noj stabil'nosti. V jetih uslovijah Kazahstan eshhe raz pokazal, chto v strane, sostojashhej iz bolee 130-ti jetnosov i 40 religioznyh konfessij, blagodarja nastojashhej tolerantnosti v gosudarstvennoj politike možno dobit'sja soglasija i harmonii. Imenno pojetomu nashu nacional'nuju politiku podderzhal ves' narod Kazahstana.

No vybory jeto ne tol'ko ocenka proshlogo opyta. Vybory – jeto, prezhde vsego, nadezhda ljudej na budushhee. Ja ispytyvaju velikuju gordost' za doverie moego naroda, ja chuvstvuju glubochajshuju otvetstvennost' pered moim narodom. Kakie gorizonty otkrojutsja Kazahstanu v blizhajshee desjatiletie? Budet li jeto budushhee takim zhe mirnym i bezoblachnym? Otvet na jeti voprosy zavisit ot vybora celi.

U menja est' davno vynashivaemaja cel'. V sledujushhem desjatiletii vyvesti Kazahstan v chislo 50-ti samyh konkurentnosposobnyh gosudarstv mira. Razvitost' opredeljaetsja ne tol'ko jekonomikoj, ne tol'ko dushevym dohodom ili ob'emom valovogo nacional'nogo produkta. Ja vedu rech' o chetyreh izmerenijah razvitogo gosudarstva – jekonomicheskom, politicheskom, social'nom i kul'turnom. Jeto



potrebuje razrabotki celostnoj programmy, vključajushhej ser'eznye jekonomicheskie, administrativnye, politicheskie i pravovye izmenenija. Vpered i ogromnaja rabota. Cherez prizmu jetoj zadachi my rassmatrivaem i nashe vstuplenie vo Vsemirnuju trgovuju organizaciju i nashi plany na predsedatel'stvo v OBSE.

Vremja, kotoroe dano mne narodom, budet ispol'zovano na dostizhenie jetih celej. Jetot kart-blansh nuzhno opravdat' tverdoj politicheskoj volej i jasnym ponimaniem prioritetov.

Odnako dostizhenie ljubogo, dazhe točno rasschitannogo plana, nevozmožno bez vnutrennej i vneshnej bezopasnosti.

Nasha vnutrennjaja bezopasnost' budet stroit'sja na treh platformah. Jeto sohranenie mezhnacional'nogo i religioznogo soglasija, jeto politicheskaja stabil'nost' na fone ser'eznoj demokratizacii politicheskoj sistemy, jeto zhestkaja profilaktika sistemnyh ugroz nacional'noj bezopasnosti.

Nasha vneshnjaja bezopasnost' stroitsja na zdravom ponimanii svoih mezhdunarodnyh objazatel'stv v sfere jenergeticheskoj bezopasnosti, bor'by s mezhdunarodnym terrorizmom, sozdanii pojasa dobrososedstva i stabil'nosti po vsemu perimetru kazahstanskih granic. My tverdo stoim na pozicijah strategicheskogo partnerstva s Rossiej, Kitaem, Soedinennymi Shtatami Ameriki. Rasshirenie sotrudnichestva s Evropejskim Sojuzom i musul'manskimi stranami javljaetsja odnim iz glavnyh prioritetov nashej vneshnej politiki. My pridajem osoboe znachenie nashim otnoshenijam s blizhajshimi sosedjami v Central'noj Azii. Moe glubokoe ubezhdenie состоit v tom, čto bezopasnost' regiona trebet kachestvennogo proryva v urovne integracii nashih gosudarstv.

Kazahskaja zemlja, otkuda chelovek v pervye vzletel v kosmos, zemlja, gde v pervye ostanovili bezumie jadernyh ispytanij, ne sluchajno otkryvaet svoi bogatstva perez nyneshnim pokoleniem.

My dolzhny byt' dostojny nashih muzhestvennyh predkov, v zhestokih bitvah vekami zashchishhavshih širokie prostory nashej Rodiny. Oni mechtali o nezavisimosti, o edinom i sil'nom gosudarstve. Na dolju nashego pokolenija vypalo velikoe schast'e osushhestvit' jetu mechtu. Nasha istoricheskaja zadacha – vyvesti stranu v rjad razvityh gosudarstv mira i perezdat' budushhim pokolenijam sil'nyj i procvetajushhij Kazahstan.

Dorogie sootčestvenniki, soratniki i druž'ja!

Vstupaja v dolžnost' ja gord tem, čto menja podderzhali i vpered' budut so mnoj čestnye, patriotičnye, vernye svoemu graždanskomu dolgu, kazahstancy. Pojetomu ja uveren v tom, čto nam po silam dostizhenie samyh vysokih vershin.

My sil'ny nashim mnogoobraziem – mnogoobraziem nacional'nostej i veroispovedanij.

Nasha sila v edinstve – edinstve cennostej i ustremlenij k progressu i procvetaniju nashej Rodiny.

My dolzhny idti k jetim vysokim celjam smelo, posledovatel'no, s nesgibaemoj volej vo blago svoego naroda.

Dorogie sograždane!

Naskol'ko vysoki pokorennye nami vershiny, nastol'ko ih eshhe mnogo vpered.  
Samoe glavnoe – my postroili nezavisimoe gosudarstvo, osnovannoe na mire i  
soglasii.

My sformirovalis' kak edinaja nacija, ustremlennaja v budushhee.

My sozdali novoe obshhestvo, priverzhennoe obshhechelovecheskim cennostjam.

My postroili kazahstanskuju model' jekonomicheskogo razvitija,  
obespechivajushhuju ezhegodnyj rost blagosostojanija naroda.

Vse jeto stalo vozmozhnym blagodarja sozidatel'nomu trudu i edinstvu vseh  
kazahstancev. Tak budem zhe vseгда vmeste i vseгда vpered!

Imenno k jetomu nas prizyvajut zavety nashih predkov i otvetstvennost' pered  
grjadushhimi pokolenijami.

Blagodarju za vnimanie!

Inaugural Address  
of the 1<sup>st</sup> President of Kazakhstan  
Nursultan Nazarbayev

April 8, 2011

Astana

Qymbatty otandastar!  
Märtebeli meimandar!  
Hanymdar men myrzalar!

Bүgін eldің aqjoltai senіmin, abyroily amanatyn arqalağan men üshin erekşe tebіreniske toly airyqsa aısyqty күn. Qazaqstan halqy Prezident sailauy arqyly бүgіn bаіyptaityn, bolaşaғыn bekemdeitin tarihi taңdau jasady. Sondyqtan, mağan taғdyryn tabystap, el tızgynın senip ұstatqan, mynau aq kiізge qaitadan kōtergen, senim artqan ardaqty halqyma aqjarma alǵysymdy aitamyn.

Bızdıң jarqyn jeñіsımız – kōshımızdıң tūzu, kōkjiegımızdıң şuaqty, baǵytymyzdyñ dūrys ekenin taǵy bır aıǵaqtai tūstı. Eldiñ tilegimen otken, taǵylymy tarihimyzǵa engen sailaudyñ nātіjesı – tōkken ter, etken eñbektiñ baǵasy dep bilemin.

Tāuelsızdık jyldarynda men halqymnyñ baqytty omırı, baiandy bolaşaǵy üshin bar qajyr-qairatymmen eñbek etip kelemін. Taǵdyry tūtas, tilegı ūqsas Qazaqstan halqy osy kezeñde ğasyrlyq mānı bar ğalamat tabystarǵa jetkızıp otyr.

Bız Altai men Atyrau, Arqa men Alatau arasyndaǵy ūlanǵaiyr dalada bırlıǵı bekem, ūlysy ūıysqan, quatty memleket qūrdyq. Qūbylǵan zamanda qūbylasynan jañylmağan Qazaqstan damudyñ ozındık dañǵyl jolyna tūstı. Az uaqyttaalapasy artqan alaş jūrty āleueti asqan, dāuletі tasqan, ırgeı berik, bedeli zor aidyndy elge ainaldy. Batys pen şyǵysty jalǵağan elimiz orkeniетter undestıǵınıñ jerūiyq bıǵı sanaldy. Esildіñ boiyndaǵy eñseli Elordamyз Euraziadaǵy baisaldy tūraqtylyqtyñ altyn arqauyna balandy. Izgılık nūryn şaşqan Astana ruhy külli ālemge beibіtşilik pen kelіsimniñ kielі kiltin ūsyndy.

Biyl el tāuelsızdıǵınıñ 20 jyldyǵyn atap otetin Qazaqstan osylaişa jasampaz jaña dāurge qadam basty. Osynyñ bārı bızdıñ ūrpaqtyñ mañdaiyna jazylǵan, peşenesine būıyrǵan airyqsa baq ekenin sezіnuımız kerek, ūmytpauymyz kerek. Degenmen, aldymyzda almaǵaiyp zaman bar, ūlan asu, beles bar. Endeşe, bız boldyq dep bosańsymaimyz, toldyq dep tasymaimyz. Tūraqtylyq pen tatulyqqa negizdelgen sarabdal jolymyzdy tabandy türde jalǵastyra beremiz.

Uvazhaemye kazahstancy!  
Dorogie moi sootchestvenniki!

Vy vnov' mne okazali vysochajshee doverie, izbrav Prezidentom Respubliki Kazahstan.

Dlja menja ogromnaja chest' byt' vsenarodno izbrannym Glavoj gosudarstva v god 20-letija nashej Nezavisimosti, prodolzhit' missiju Lidera unikal'noj mnogonacional'noj nashej Rodiny.

Ja gluboko blagodaren vsem kazahstancam za iskrennjuju podderzhku, kotoruju okazali mne na jetih vyborah.

Jeto samaja luchshaja ocenka nashego obshhego truda po sozdaniju takogo uspehnogo gosudarstva, kakim stal nash rodnoj Kazahstan.

Ja serdechno blagodaren vsem iskrennim druž'am nashej strany po vsemu miru.

Kak vy znaete, ja uzhe poluchil mnozhestvo pozdravlenij ot glav Rossii, Kitaja, stran SNG i Evrosojuza i mnogih drugih, i jeti pozdravlenija prodolzhaют postupat'.

Ja s blagodarnost'ju ih prinimaju, potomu chto v nih – iskrennjaja podderzhka ne tol'ko vybora kazahstancev, no i nashego strategicheskogo kursa.

Tysjachi pozdravlenij so vseh koncov nashej strany postupajut i ot vseh kazahstancev.

Ja blagodaren vsem moim sootechestvennikam za teple slova i dobre pozhelanija, vyskazannye v jetih pozdravlenijah. Ja vsem im zhelaju toho zhe, chto oni zhelajut mne - dobra i schast'ja.

Segodnja Kazahstan pokazyvaet vsemu miru moshh' edinstva naroda i gosudarstvennoj vlasti.

Sostojavshiesja vybory byli samymi luchshimi po organizacii i demokratichnosti v istorii ne tol'ko sovremennogo Kazahstana, no i kak schitajut jeksperty, vsej Central'noj Azii.

Golosuja za kurs stabil'nosti i procvetanija, kazhdyj kazahstanec golosoval za svoe budushhee, budushhee svoej sem'i, za stranu, za Rodinu!

Uvazhaemye kazahstancy!

Segodnja ja vspominaju o tom, kak posle pervyh vsenarodnyh vyborov v dekabre 1991 goda proiznosil slova prisjagi v pervye na vernost' narodu i prinimal regalii vysshej prezidentskoj vlasti.

Togda pered nami stojali sovershenno inye zadachi.

My byli na ruinah raspavshejsja superderzhavy.

Nas, v pervuju ochered', volnovali voprosy o tom, kak nakormit' narod.

Kak ustanovit' padenie proizvodstva i infljaciju?

Gde najti den'gi, chtoby vovremja vydavat' ljudjam zarabotnye platy i pensii?

Kak sberech' svoju zemlju v slozhnom mire, polnom ugroz i vyzovov?

U nas ne bylo ni sobstvennoj valjuty, ni strategicheskikh rezervov, ni armii dlja zashhity svoih obnazhivshihsja granic.

Segodnja trudno predstavit', chto vsjo jeto bylo lish' 20 let nazad.

V te gody dlja menja na povestke dnja byla jekonomika i tol'ko jekonomika.

Glavnym bylo obespechit' neobhodimye sredstva k sushhestvovaniju i snosnyj uroven' zhizni ljudej.

Otkrovenno govorja, togda rech' shla prosto o vyzhivanii.

Krah Sovetskogo Sojuza provociroval narastajushhuju bezyshodnost' i apatiju.

Protivopostavit' im mozžno bylo tol'ko povyshenie blagosostojanija, znachit - jekonomicheskij rost i edinenie vokrug jetoj celi.

Imenno narodnoe doverie, glubokaja narodnaja vera v budushhee nashego Otechestva davala nam sily idti naperekor vsem trudnostjam.

I my preodoleli jekonomicheskij kollaps, sozdali jeffektivnuju jekonomiku, integrirovannuju v global'nyj sovremennyj mir.

My vystojali pered vyzovom mirovogo finansovogo i jekonomicheskogo krizisa blagodarja moshhnoj social'noj orientirovannosti nashih antikrizisnyh mer, posle tol'ko chto proshedshih samyh tjazhelyh global'nyh krizisov v mire.

I jeto v to vremja, kogda bol'shinstvo gosudarstv zamorozili ili sokratili svoi social'nye objazatel'stva.

My sdelali stavku na forsirovannuju industrializaciju i innovacionnoe razvitie.

Po vsemu Kazahstanu byli sozdany novye proizvodstva i novye rabochie mesta.

Segodnja my uverenno idjom k namechennoj celi - vhozhdeniju v chislo 50-ti naibolee konkurentosposobnyh gosudarstv mira.

Po rjadu pokazatelej my uzhe voshli v pervuju polusotnju stran mira.

Naprimer, po urovnju mezhdunarodnyh rezervov.

Vmeste s Nacional'nym fondom oni segodnja dostigli 69 milliardov dollarov SShA.

My podderzhali predprinimatel'skij klass, sdelali ego real'nym i jeffektivnym uchastnikom razvitija nashej jekonomiki.

My rasschityvaem, chto k 2020 godu dolja malogo i srednego biznesa v VVP strany sostavit ne menee 40-ka procentov.

Segodnja u nas est' vse predposylki dlja rosta konkurentosposobnosti, predprinimatel'stva i proizvoditel'nosti truda.

My dvigaemsja po puti sozdanija osnov "narodnogo kapitalizma".

Pervoj stadije jetogo processa stanut "narodnye IPO".

Oni polozhat nachalo processu vysokokachestvennoj privatizacii.

Jeto uluchshit perspektivy srednego klassa i povysit ego zainteresovannost' v dal'nejshem razvitii strany.

My razvivaem politiku otkrytoj jekonomiki, chtoby privlech' novye prjamye i portfel'nye inostrannye investicii.

My namereny obespechit' dlja inostrannyh i mestnyh investorov odinakovyje uslovija uchastija v nashej industrializacii.

Segodnja, obespechiv postkrizisnyj jekonomicheskij rost v 7 procentov, my sdelali reshitel'nyj povorot k social'nomu razvitiju, povysheniju kachestva zhizni kazahstancev.

My razvivaem obrazovanie kak glavnyj faktor konkurentosposobnosti kazahstancev.

U nas sozdajotsja set' shkol principial'no novogo tipa - Intellektual'nye shkoly.

My otkryli v Astane Mezhdunarodnyj universitet - unikal'nyj centr nauki, v ktorom rabotajut professora iz vedushhih nauchno-obrazovatel'nyh centrov vsego mira.

My sovershenstvuem sistemu zdravoohranenija, adaptiruja ee k mezhdunarodnym standartam HHI veka.

Uroven' VVP na dushu naselenija dostig po itogam proshlogo goda 9-ti tysjach dollarov SShA.

Osoboe vnimanie my udeljaem zashhite okruzhajushhej sredy.

V samom centre strany postroena novaja stolica Astana, stavshaja zhemchuzhinoj Evrazii.

Astana vobrala vys', glubinu i shir' nashego nacional'nogo duha.

Dlja vseh kazahstancev ona stala simvolom obnovlenija, uverenosti naroda v svoih silah, gordosti za nashi svershenija.

Ja vseгда videl nashu stranu sovremennym i sil'nym gosudarstvom, ravnym partnjorom peredovyh derzhav.

Pojetomu my stroim Kazahstan s otkrytoj jekonomikoj i demokraticeskoj politicheskoj sistemoj.

Dinamika nashih reform javljaetsja bolee vysokoj, chem v ljubom razvitom gosudarstve, gde demokratija razvivalas' na protjazhenii stoletij.

My prodolzhim nashu rabotu po dal'nejshej demokratizacii obshhestva.

My dolzhny najti naibolee optimal'nye reshenija po rasshireniju polnomochij Parlamenta i otvetstvennosti Pravitel'stva, po sovershenstvovaniju vybornogo processa.

Neobhodimo najti vzveshennoe reshenie po decentralizacii vlasti i delegirovaniju polnomochij regionam.

Nam nado razvivat' politicheskiju kul'turu.

Na sostojavshihsja prezidentskih vyborah vpervye otsutstvoval "chernyj piar".

Oni proshli v spokojnoj obstanovke, bez zhestkoj konfrontacii.

Jeto dolzhno stat' primerom dlja vseh posledujushhih vybornyh kampanij.

Tol'ko v jetom sluchae u nas budet razvivat'sja real'naja demokratija i jeffektivnaja mnogopartijnost'.

My budem razvivat' sistemu otvetstvennyh i svobodnyh SMI.

Moja zadacha - obespechit' ravenstvo vseh pered zakonom.

Ja nameren predprinjat' novye shagi po obespecheniju dal'nejshej jeffektivnosti sudebnoj sistemy.

Nasha obshhaja zadacha - prodolzhit' beskompromissnuju bor'bu s korrupciej.

My uzhestochim mery po iskoreneniju korrupcii ne tol'ko cherez ugovnoe presledovanie, no i cherez ustranenie pravovyh lazeek v zakonah.

My obespechim adekvatnuju zashhitu prav i sobstvennosti fizicheskikh i juridicheskikh lic.

Jeti i drugie reformy obespechat Kazahstanu v blizhajshie desjatiletija uverennyj uspeh v jekonomike, i blagosostojanii naroda.

Segodnja Kazahstan stal otvetstvennym uchastnikom mirovogo soobshhestva.

My zakryli Semipalatinskij ispytatel'nyj poligon, reshitel'no otkazalis' ot jadernogo oruzhija.

Sejchas my idjom v pervyh rjadah global'nogo antijadernogo dvizhenija.

My sozdali vmeste so svoimi sosedjami, sojuznikami i partnerami novye mehanizmy regional'noj bezopasnosti i sotrudnichestva v ramkah SVMDA, ShOS, ODKB.

V proshlom godu uspešno proshli predsedatel'stvo Kazahstana v OBSE i Sammit v Astane jetoj organizacii.

V mire net bol'she takoj strany, kotoraja by za stol' korotkij srok dostigla takih uspehov!

Ja mogu s gordost'ju utverzdat', chto vse celi i zadachi, kotorye ja stavil 20 let nazad pered nashim narodom na zare nashej Nezavisimosti, vypolneny i perevypolneny.

I ja blagodaren sud'be za to, chto mne vypala ogromnaja chest' byt' Liderom novoj Nacii i takoj velikoj strany kak nash Kazahstan, dostojno voshedshej v sem'ju narodov mira!

Dorogie druž'ja!

Za 20 let my izmenili nashu stranu, sdelali luchshe zhizn' kazahstancev.

No i mir ne zastyl na meste.

Pered stranami i narodami vstajut novye, eshhjo bolee slozhnye vyzovy i zadachi.

Kljuchami k kazahstanskomu uspehu v HHI veke javljajutsja chetyre sud'bonosnyh ponjatija.

Jeto MODERNIZACIJa, BLAGOPOLUCHIE NARODA, INNOVACII, INTEGRACIJa.

Imenno v nih sostoit glavnyj smysl moej predvybornoj programmy i sut' Strategicheskogo plana razvitija strany do 2020 goda.

Modernizacija – jeto glavnyj sterzhen' vsej gosudarstvennoj politiki.

Blagopoluchie naroda – osnovnoe uslovie progressa strany i naroda.

Innovacii i nauchnye otkrytija v XXI veke budut opredeljat' ryvok v Budushhee.

Kazahstan dolzhen stat' stranoj, v kotoroj smelye innovacii budut poluchat' putevku v zhizn', obretat' plot' i krov' v nauchnyh laboratorijah, na sovremennyh proizvodstvah.

Dlja jetogo my dolzhny uzhe segodnja pristupit' k poisku "sta absoljutnyh innovacij". Takaja zadacha postavlena pered Pravitel'stvom, vseimi ministerstvami i vedomstvami, pered regionami.

Iz nih my otberjom desjat' naibolee perspektivnyh proektov i sosredotochimsja na ih realizacii v blizhajshie dvadcat' let.

Vsjo jeto dolzhno stat' oporoj dlja moshhnogo dvizhenija Kazahstana vperjod.

Jeto kljuch k formirovaniju nacional'nogo innovacionnogo klassa, kotoryj budet opredeljat' razvitie strany.

K nachalu tret'ego desjatiletija my sozdamim vse uslovija dlja perehoda Kazahstana v chislo industrial'no razvityh stran mira.

Jetim my triumfal'no zavershim istoricheskiju Strategiju "Kazahstan do 2030".

I pristupim k razrabotke eshhjo bolee ambicioznyh planov na sledujushhie desjatiletija, kotorye budut ispolnjat' nashi deti i vnuki, i budut vspominat' to, chto my sozdali dlja nih takuju moshhnuju bazu do 2030 goda.

Integracija i otkrytost' vsemu miru – nash osoznannyj vybor.

Vmeste s Rossiej i Belarus'ju my budem razvivat' Tamozhennyj sojuz, v blizhajshie gody my rabotaem nad formirovaniem Evrazijskogo jekonomicheskogo sojuza.

My priverzheny rasshireniju vzaimovыgodnogo sotrudnichestva s Kitajskoj Narodnoj Respublikoj.

Kazahstan nacelen na ukreplenie strategicheskogo partnerstva s Soedinennymi Shtatami Ameriki i stranami Evropejskogo Sojuza.

My budem bolee tesno vzaimodejstvovat' s nashimi central'no-aziatskimi sosedjami i tjurkskimi stranami.

V ramkah predsedatel'stva Kazahstana v jetom godu v Organizacii Islamskaja Konferencija my namereny rasshirit' sotrudnichestvo so vsem musul'manskim mirom.

Povyshenie jeffektivnosti sistemy bezopasnosti v Central'noj Azii svjazano s aktivnym uchastiem Kazahstana v dejatel'nosti OBSE, SVMDA, ShOS i ODKB, a takzhe rasshireniem partnerstva s NATO.

Dorogie друз'ja!

Ja verju, chto kazahstanskaja nacija uspesjno prodolzhit put' stabil'nosti i procvetaniya.

Verju, chto nashi budushhie pobedy sostavjat chest' i dostoinstvo nacii, usiljat moshh' nashej strany.

Segodnja Kazahstan - jeto celeustremlennaja strana s sil'nymi ambicijami, sposobnaja stavit' pered soboj vysokie celi i dobivat'sja ih vypolnenija.

My jeto dokazali.

My jeto dokazhem snova.

Ja verju v kazahstanskij narod, verju v nashu stranu!

Qūrmetti halaiyq, qadırmendı qonaqtar!

Yqylas bildirgen ardaqty äleumet!

Halqymyzda “Köp tılegı – kielı, jürttyñ sözi – ualı” – degen dana söz bar. Men jaña ğana Qazaqstan Prezidentı retinde ata-babalarymyzdan qalğan aq kiizdiñ üstinde tūryp, saltanatty türde ant berdim.

Meniñ ainymas antym – amanatqa adaldyqtyñ, senimge serttiñ belgisi! Aqjürek jürtymnyñ qaltqysyz senimi qaşanda mağan orasan zor jauapkerşılık jüginmindetteidi. Men üşin el ümitin aqtağannan, jürt senimin saqtağannan asqan baqyt joq. Meniñ mynadai sailaudağy bügingı jeñisim – bül halqymnyñ yntymaq-bırlıgınıñ mäueli jemisi.

Halqymnyñ qoldauy mağan sarqylmas küş-jıger beredi. Bızdıñ bağdarymyz – aiqyn, endese, bolaşağymyz – jarqyn! Bız kemel keleşegimizdiñ berik ırgesin birge qalaimyz! Barşañyz bilesızder, bız täuelsızdık jyldarynda bar igılıktı ıstı jarqyn bolaşaq üşin jasaudamyz. Sondyqtan, sailauda bolaşağymyz – jastardyñ belsendi türde mağan dauys bergenı meni erekşe tebirentedi.

Taiauda men Narğyz İmanğazy degen osy astanalıq büldırşın aqyn qyzdyñ jyr joldaryn tyñdadym. Onda bylai dep aitylğan:

“Täuelsızdık, atyñ qandai kielı!

Seni qorğau – är qazaqtyñ paryzy,

Är qazaqtyñ sen dep soğar jüregi!

Täuelsızdık – qandai ğajap bül üğym!”



Kıp-kışkentai qyzdyň osyndai öleňderin şygaryp, jüreginen aituy, osyndai täuelsızdıktıñ qadırın jete sezinetin otanşyl, memleketşil jasöspirimderdiñ ösip kele jatqany meni erekşe quanyşqa böleidi.

Bızdın tamyrın tereñge tartqan mähgılik üly mūrattyмыз бар: Ol – täuelsızdıktı közdın qaraşyğyndai saqtap, eldıgımızdı tüğyrly, memleketimizdı ğūmyrly etu! Elımdı törtküл дүниеде тerezесı teñ eñselı jürtqa, abyroiы asqan aıbyndy elge ainaldyru – meniñ ömirlik te örşıl mūrattyм. Sondyqtan, men küş-quattyм barda, täjiribem barda tileğı bır eldın tireğı bolyp qyzmet ete beruge qaşanda daıynмын. Är qazaqstandyqtarğa, är janūiağa, ärqaisylaryñyzğa şyn jüregimмен құрмет, aq nietimмен zor densaulыq, bas aman bolsyn, el-jürtymыз aman bolsyn, är janūiada baqyt pen bereke ornyqsyn dep tileimін. Barşaңызға zor rahmetimді aitamын!

Vsem kazahstancam hochu skazat' ogromnoe chelovecheskoe spasibo za takoe doverie, kotoroe bylo okazano, kotoroe vdohnovljaet. Estestvenno, ja budu rabotat' ne pokladaja sil. A vam ja zhelaju krepkogo zdorov'ja, vseh blag, spokojstviya, blagopoluchija v sem'e, spokojstviya, družhby, mira i stabil'nosti v nashej mnogonacional'noj strane.

Vsego dobrogo, dorie sootchestvenniki!

Inaugural Address  
of the 1<sup>st</sup> President of Kazakhstan  
Nursultan Nazarbayev

April 6, 2015

Astana

Qymbatty otandastar!

26 säuir elimiz üşin taǵy bır tarihi, taǵdyrly kün boldy. Prezident sailauy Qazaqstan halqynyń kemeńgerligin bükil álemge paş etti. El birligine beriktıǵı men kemel keleşekke senimın tanytty. Mäńgılık Eldiń myzǵymas ústyndaryna adaldyǵın körsetti. Bül tańdau – jarqyn bolaşaqqa qadam basqan Qazaqstannyń tańdauy! Birligin berekege úlastyryp, úly ister jolynda úiysqan barşa halyqtyń joly! Öziniń, úrpaǵynyń bolaşaqın qasietti Otanymyz – Qazaqstanmen birge köretin árбір azamattyń erik-jigeri!

Bügingi mereili sätte maǵan berilgen senim mandatı – memlekettigimizdi nyǵaitu jolyndaǵy qyruar isterimizdiń baǵasy! Qazaqstandy eń quatty elderdiń qataryna qosudy közdeitin úly maqsatqa berilgen halqymnyń aq batasy! “Mäńgılık El” ulttyq ideiasy men “Qazaqstan 2050” strategiasyna, “Nürli jol” baǵdarlamasy men “Bes halyqtyq reformaǵa” elimniń bildirgen qoldaıy.

Ömirin halqynyń baqyty jolyna arnaǵan jańǵa būdan zor qūrmet bolmaidy. Men üşin el seniminen asqan mártebe joq, sol senimdi aqtaudan artyq baqyt joq. Sol sebepti, men Qazaqstannyń jarqyn bolaşaqy jolynda qandai täuekelge de daiynmyn.

Uvazhaemye kazahstancy!

Dorogie druz’ja!

Soratniki i edinomyshlenniki!

Tol’ko chto soglasno Konstitucii strany - ja dal prisjagu moemu narodu! Ejo slova ja segodnja vpervye proiznjos nakanune samogo dobrego i svetlogo prazdnika – Dnja edinstva naroda. Silu edinstva nashego obshhestva nagljadno pokazali sostojavshiesja prezidentskie vybory. Ja blagodaren vsemu nashemu narodu!

My prodemonstrovali vsemu miru silu edinstva i krepkoj splochnosti naroda. Sustojavshiesja vybory vojdu v istoriju, kak samye massovye po jelektoral’nomu uchastiju. Kazahstancy okazali mne velikoe doverie, eshho raz prizvav sluzhit’ Rodine. My vmeste proshli neprostoı put’: poverili v sebja, obreli Nezavisimost’, postroili gosudarstvo, otkryli miru novyj Kazahstan, nashli sebja kak edinuju i velikuju naciju. Vashe doverie vseгда vdohnovljalo menja, davalo uverennost’ i silu. I sejchas hochu so vsej otvetstvennost’ju skazat’, chto kak i v predydushhie gody budu verno sluzhit’ narodu, oberegat’ stranu i blagopoluchie vseh nashih grazhdan, budu zashhishhat’ nashi vysshie obshhenacional’nye interesy.

Vybory 26 aprelya 2015 goda podtverdili, chto narod Kazahstana splochen, sosredotochen, nacelen na budushhee. My - odna sem’ja, i u nas odna Rodina. Sud’ba kazhdogo iz nas - v sud’be Kazahstana. My vmeste proshli put’ ot haosa k procvetaniju. Nam udalos’ bez jekscessov i kataklizmov projti neprostoı “trojnoı tranzit”: ot sovetskoj sistemy k rynochnoj jekonomike, demokratii i novomu mezhhjetnicheskomu

soglasiju. Prinjav pervuju dolgosrochnuju Strategiju “Kazahstan-2030”, my tvrdo vstupili na put’ ustojchivogo razvitija. Nasha strana odolela “Aziatskij krizis” 1997-98 godov. I nesmotrja na vyzovy, my nachali stroit’ nashu novuju stolicu Astanu, gordost’ vseh kazahstancev.

Sostojatel’nost’ nashego gosudarstvennogo stroitel’sstva dokazana uspešnym preodoleniem vyzovov global’nogo jekonomicheskogo krizisa 2007-2009 godov. V otlichie ot drugih gosudarstv Kazahstan sohranil jekonomicheskij rost i ne uronil uroven’ zhizni nashih grazhdan. K 2012 godu Kazahstan voshel v chislo 50-ti samyh konkurentosposobnyh jekonomik mira. My stali stranoj so srednim urovnem dohodov naselenija. My voshli v chislo 50 krupnejshih jekonomik mira. Strategija “Kazahstan 2030” srabotala. Glavnye zadachi, kotorye ja postavil v 1997 godu, byli vypolneny vsego za 15 let.

Ja nazval vazhnye vehi, kotorye dajut chetkoe predstavlenie o cene nashej gosudarstvennosti. Sejchas vsjo jeto horosho pomnit starshee pokolenie. No molodye pokolenija dolzhny znat’ i pomnit’ cenu nyneshnego blagopoluchija strany. Imenno v te trudnye gody pojavilis’ luchshie cherty haraktera nashego naroda - konstruktivnost’, vzveshennost’, pragmatizm. Vernost’ jetim cennostjam pozvolit voplotit’ nashu mechtu o “Mäñgılik El” – postroit’ sil’noe i jeffektivnoe gosudarstvo na veka.

Strategija - 2050 postavila pered naciej novuju ambicioznuju zadachu: vojti v chislo 30-ti samyh razvityh gosudarstv mira. V nachale vtorogo desjatiletija situacija v mire sposobstvovala nashemu uskorennomu razvitiju. No segodnja global’nyj mir stal razvivat’sja ne po samomu blagoprijatnomu scenariju. Na nashih glazah krizisy i konflikty sotrasajut vse chasti sveta. Uvelichivaetsja kolichestvo nesostojavshihsja gosudarstv, grazhdane kotoryh prozjabajut v nishhete ili gibnut v voennyh konfliktah. Nestabil’nost’ vplotnuju podoshla k granicam Central’noj Azii.

Poslednie 2-3 goda, vidja narastanie global’nyh problem, ja dumal o tom, kak ukrepit’ i obezopasit’ nash Kazahstan i ne sbit’sja s puti vhozhdenija v 30-ku naibolee uspešnyh stran. Ja obsuzhdal situaciju s liderami drugih gosudarstv. So vsej otvetstvennost’ju hochu predupredit’ naciju. Nashemu dal’nejshemu razvitiju eshhe prodolzhaet ugrozhat’ 5 novyh vneshnih vyzovov.

Pervyj. Jeto krizis mirovogo porjadka i narastanie obshhej neopredelennosti. Mirovaja sistema bezopasnosti ispytyvaetsja na prochnost’ konfliktami novogo tipa. Na mirovoj arene pojavljajutsja novye nesistemnye igroki, ispol’zujushhie jekstremizm i nasilie.

Vtoroj vyzov - prodolzhaetsja turbulentnost’ mirovoj jekonomiki. Sankcionnye, “valjutnye” i torgovye vojny obostrajut problemy vo vseh stranah.

Tretij. Process izmenenija klimata segodnja proishodit s nepredskazuemymi posledstvijami, vedet k raznym kataklizmam.

Chetvertyj. Central’naja Azija mozhet byt’ zatronuta novymi linijami mirovyh razlomov, chto takzhe stanet vyzovom dlja vsego regiona.

Pjatyj vyzov - krizis global’nogo porjadka i nestabil’nost’ mirovoj jekonomiki stavjat pod vopros mezhdunarodnuju koordinaciju po bor’be s jetimi vyzovami.

V otvet na turbulentnost' mirovoj jekonomiki my razrabotali novuju jekonomicheskiju politiku "Nurly zhol". Ona predstavljajet soboj smelye i bystrye dejstvija s glavnoj cel'ju sozdanija novyh rabochih mest i uprochenija fundamenta dlja novogo jekonomicheskogo rosta. Odnako, vazhno ponimat', chto vneshnie ugrozy narastajut. Chtoby spravit'sja s vneshnimi ugrozami, nam neobhodimo ukrepit'sja vnutrenne. Bol'shaja oshibka schitat', chto dostignutye nami za jeti gody voshititel'nye uspehi i blagopoluchie nezyblemo.

Ja vizhu stojashhie pered stranoj pjat' masshtabnyh vnutrennih zadach.

Vo-pervyh, nam nado uvelichit' dolju srednego klassa, kak opory nashej stabil'nosti, razvit' biznes i pomoch' strane stat' gosudarstvom s preobladajushhim kolichestvom zhitelej srednego dostatka. Vo-vtoryh, my ogromnaja strana. Pojetomu nam nado razvivat' Edinyj vnutrennij rynek i sbalansirovanoe razvitie vseh regionov. V-tret'ih, bor'ba s korrupciej javljaetsja odnim iz glavnyh prioritetov nashej raboty. V-chetvertyh, sozdanie novyh rabochih mest, dlja jetogo osushhestvljaetsja industrial'naja programma, razvivaetsja biznes. V-pjatyh, ukreplenie edinstva nacji na novom vitke istorii. Vsjo jeto vyzovy nashej gosudarstvennosti v XXI veke.

Vremja mirovyh peremen stavit kazhdoe gosudarstvo pered vyborom: ili reformy ili degradacija. Dostojno projdet cherez jepohu peremen tot, kto sposoben na samoobnovlenie, znachit, na reformy. Pered nami stoit ogromnaja principial'naja zadacha: sdelat' nepotopljaemym nash gosudarstvennyj korabl'. Zadacha predstojashhih let: ukrepit' Kazahstan, i dazhe nesmotrja na vremja mirovyh bur' uverenno vojti v chislo 30 gosudarstv liderov grjadushhego mira.

Ja predlozhl 5 institucional'nyh reform, kotorye stali moej predvybornoj platformoj. Rezul'tat golosovanija 26 aprelja ja vosprinimaju kak prjamoj mandat naroda na nemedlennoe provedenie reform. I ja nameren projavit' vsju svoju volju, reshimost', skoncentrirovat' gosudarstvennyj apparat i konsolidirovat' usilija obshhestva na vypolnenie reform. V samoe blizhajshee vremja budet sozdana Nacional'naja komissija po modernizacii pri Prezidente strany. Ejo missija - upravlenie pojetapnoj realizaciej 5 reform i koordinacija dejstvij gosudarstvennyh organov, biznes-sektora i grazhdanskogo obshhestva.

Pri Nacional'noj komissii budet dejstvovat' Mezhdunarodnyj konsul'tativnyj sovet v sostave avtoritetnyh inostrannyh i kazahstanskih jekspertov. Jeto budet sposobstvovat' ispol'zovaniju nailuchshego mezhdunarodnogo opyta. Na pervom zasedanii komissii ja predstavlju Plan Nacii – "100 konkretnyh shagov dal'nejshego gosudarstvennogo stroitel'stva", kotoryj objasnit, chto my sobiraemsja delat' po pjati reformam. "100 shagov" - jeto nash otvet na global'nye i vnutrennie vyzovy, i odnovremenno, plan po vhozhdeniju v 30-ku razvityh gosudarstv v novyh istoricheskikh uslovijah. Osushhestvlenie reform – pervostepennaja obshhenacional'naja zadacha na predstojashhie 10-15 let.

Ja nazval plan reform Planom Nacii, potomu chto reformy trebujut neposredstvennogo uchastija kazhdogo grazhdanina Kazahstana. Reformy – delo naroda, a ne tol'ko gosudarstvennoj mashiny. Sut' reform - v modernizacii nacji.

Imenno kachestvo nacji, sila duha naroda, sposobnost' prinjat' vyzovy vremeni i idti tol'ko vpered bylo i budet opredelajushhim faktorom uspeha gosudarstva.

Ja vizhu stroguju posledovatel'nost' osushhestvlenija reform.

Pervoe. Predstojashhaja reforma sistemy gosudarstvennoj sluzhby sformiruet prozrachnuju i jeffektivnuju model', pri kotoroj, sluzhashhie budut uvazhat' prava grazhdan i sluzhit' ih zakonnyim interesam. Gossluzhba stanet prototipom spravedlivogo kazahstanskogo obshhestva, kogda vsem grazhdanam bez iskljuchenija predostavljajutsja ravnye vozmozhnosti dlja samorealizacii na osnove principa meritokratii.

Vtoroe. Reforma sdelat sudebnuju sistemu bespristrastnoj. Spravedlivyj sud stanet dostupnym dlja investorov i biznesa. Pravo chastnoj sobstvennosti budet nezyblemo. Investicionnoe pravosudie i mezhdunarodnyj arbitrazhnyj centr po primeru luchshego mezhdunarodnogo opyta dolzhny sdelat' biznes-klimat v strane odnim iz samyh privlekatel'nyh v mire.

Tret'e. V mire uzhe pojavilsja termin "kazahstanskoe jekonomicheskoe chudo". Dejstvitel'no, my za korotkij srok sdelali ochen' mnogoe. Segodnja Kazahstan – jekonomicheskij lider v Central'noj Azii. No nel'zja ostanavlivat'sja. Reformy sdelajut nacional'nuju jekonomiku peredovoj, osnovannoj na znanijah. Kljuchevaja zadacha - uluchshenie zhizni kazahstancev. Jeto principial'no vazhno dlja sozdanija shirokogo srednego klassa. Dlja obespechenija jekonomicheskogo rosta, osnovannogo na industrializacii, my provedem kardinal'nye strukturnye reformy. Obrazovanie i zdravoohranenie budut orientirovany na standarty stran-chlenov Organizacii jekonomicheskogo sotrudnichestva i razvitija. Dlja diversifikacii jekonomiki my privlechem transnacional'nye kompanii v pererabatyvajushhuju promyshlennost', chto obespechit vyhod Kazahstana na mirovoj rynek. Nasha strana stanet transportnym i logisticheskim centrom Evrazii. Na baze vysokotehnologichnoj infrastruktury "JeKSPO-2017" budet sozdan finansovyj centr "Astana" s osobym statusom.

Chetvertoe. Mnogoobrazie nashego obshhestva - jeto nasha sila, a ne slabost'. Vse grazhdane dolzhny pol'zovat'sja odnim ob#emom prav, nesti odin gruz otvetstvennosti i imet' dostup k ravnym vozmozhnostjam. Nashe obshhestvo istoricheski slozhilos' iz mnozhestva jazykov i kul'tur, stav bolee sil'nym i edinyim. Segodnja nas ob#edinajut cennosti "Mäñgılık El": grazhdanskoe ravenstvo, trudoljubie, chestnost', kul't uchenosti, tolerantnost', predannost' i patriotizm. I jeto ne prosto slova. Nashi predki govorili: "Esli vy zagadyvaete na god vpered - vyrashhivajte hleb; esli vy zagadyvaete na sto let vperjod - posadite derev'ja; esli vy zagadyvaete na celuju vechnost' - vospityvajte Cheloveka". Cennosti "Mäñgılık El" programmirujut nashe blagopoluchnoe budushhee. I my dolzhny dal'she ukrepljat' nashu obshhuju grazhdanskuju identichnost' radi edinstva i splochnosti strany.

Pjatoe. Reforma sdelat rabotu gosudarstvennogo apparata prozrachnoj i podotchetnoj grazhdanam. Gosudarstvo dolzhno stat' kompaktnym i bol'she polnomochij delegirovat' negosudarstvennomu sektoru. Plan reform, kotoryj ja daju nacji, pozvolit, vo-pervyh, obespechit' grazhdanam bezopasnost' v nespokojnem mire, vo-vtoryh, inkljuzivnuju, vseob#emljushhuju modernizaciju.

V pervye gody obretenija nezavisimosti my stroili osnovy suverennogo gosudarstva. Jeto byl pervyj jetap nashego gosudarstvennogo stroitel'stva. Zatem, ukrepivshis', my prodelali put' k sostojavshemusja gosudarstvu. Jeto byl vtoroj jetap. Sejchas, nachinaja velikie reformy, my prokladyvaem put' k Məngilik El. Jeto budet tretij jetap nashego gosudarstvennogo stroitel'stva.

Uvazhaemye kazahstancy!

Uspeshnoe vypolnenie Plana Nacii trebuetsja blagoprijatnogo mezhdunarodnogo klimata. My prodolzhim sotrudnichestvo s nashimi strategicheskimi partnerami - Rossiej, Kitajskoj Narodnoj Respublikoj, SShA, stranami Evropejskogo Sojuza, islamskogo mira. My budem aktivno rabotat' v mezhdunarodnyh organizacijah. Kak lider Central'noj Azii, Kazahstan budet podderzhivat' obshchuju arhitekturu bezopasnosti i jekonomicheskoe razvitie nashego regiona. Osobyje otnoshenija nas budut svjazyvat' s nashimi blizhajshimi partnerami po Evrazijskomu jekonomicheskomu sojuzu - Rossiej, Belarus'ju, Kyrgyzstanom i Armeniej. Kazahstanskaja diplomatija budet narashchivat' usilija po mirnomu uregulirovaniju ostryh regional'nyh konfliktov v islamskom mire i na postsovetskom prostranstve.

Uvazhaemye sograzhdane! Dorogie druž'ja!

Sejchas pered nami vstajut novye vyzovy. Nash otvet - usilenie gosudarstva i modernizacija nacii. Kazahskaja mudrost' glazit: "Asu bermes asqar zhoq". Kazahstanskij put' splotil nashu naciju odnoj cel'ju i obshhej mechtaj. Vybornye pokazali - kazhdyj kazahstanec osoznaet svoj dolg pered samim soboj i pered stranoj. I v jetom istochnik moej uverenosti v uspehe reform, uspehe moego naroda i gosudarstva. Ja obrashhajus' k nacii prinjat' samoe shirokoe uchastie v obščjavlennyh mnozhestve reformah. Slovo "Respublika" perevoditsja s latyni doslovno kak "Obshhee delo". Modernizacija Kazahstana – i est' nashe obshhee delo. Kakie by ispytaniya ni byli vpered, my spravimsja, opirajas' na silu nashego gosudarstva i mudrost' naroda.

V jetu torzhestvennuju minutu, hotel by privesti slova iz konkursnogo sochinenija pjatiklassnicy shkoly-liceja №7 iz Aktau Kariny Danilovoj, tronuvshie menja do glubiny dushi: "Mne ochen' hochetsja vseгда zhit' v blagopoluchnoj i mirnoj strane", - napisala ona. "Chtoby ne bylo vojn, kakie byli v Chechne ili Tadžikistane, otkuda vynuždeny byli uehat' moi prababushka i pradedushka - veterany Velikoj Otechestvennoj vojny". Mirnoe nebo nad golovoj - vot samoe glavnoe dlja kazhdogo iz nas".

My, vozmuzhavshaja nacija, delaem reshitel'nyj shag v novuju jepohu. Pust' budet blagoslovenna vechnaja zemlja Kazahstana! Pust' budet sil'na nasha edinaja nacija!

Qymbatty otandastar!

Meniñ halqym – ūlangaiyr jeri bar, ūly mūratty eli bar, babalar jazğan ūly tarihy men ūrpağy köz tikken ūly bolaşağy bar halyq. Myñjyldyq tarihyndağy eñ biregei betbūrystynda halqymnyñ zor senimin arqalağanym – men ūşın eñ biik mārtebe. Keingi ūrpaqqa kemel Qazaqstandy tabystau – barşamyzğa ortağ paryz. Jaña ğasyrdyñ syn - qaterlerine tötöp berip, damyğan elderdiñ qataryna qosylu – ortağ

jauapkerşılık. Bız ūrpaqqa körkeigen eldı, nyğaiğan birlıktı, myzğymas tūraqtylyq pen eselengen bailyqty miras etemiz.

Bügin – Qazaqstan tarihynyñ jaña betı aşyldy. Bız damudyñ dañğylına tyñ qarqynmen aiaq basamyz. “5 halyqtyq reformany” tabysty jüzege asyryp, bolaşağy birtūtas elge ainalamyz. XXI ġasyr – birlık pen dostyqtyñ quatymen ozatyn ġasyr. Bız beibitşılık pen kelisimge, tatulyq pen tūraqtylyqqa täu etıp, täube deimiz. Osy qūndylyqtarymyzdyñ qadırına jetu arqyly Mäñgılık El bolamyz. Sol jolda talmai eñbek eteik, qadırlı halqym!

Qazaqstannyñ jūldyzy joğary, joly nūrly bolsyn! Eldiktıñ tuy biikte jelibirep, abyroiymyz asqaqtai bersin! Elimız aman, jūrtymyz tynyş bolsyn!

Inaugural Address  
of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan  
Kassym-Jomart Tokayev

June 12, 2019

Astana

Asa qadırlı Elbasy!  
Qūrmetti otandastar!

Eñ aldymen, mağan zor senim artyp, qoldau körsetken barşa Qazaqstan halqyna alğys aitamyn!

Bül sailau, şyn mäninde, demokratia talaptaryna sai ötti. Sailau alańynda, nağyz aşyq bāsekege tüsu mümkindıǵı boldy.

Barlyq saiasi küş ökilderi qatysty. Saiasi baǵdarlamalar saıysqa tüsken ädil doda boldy.

“Sailau – bül qatysuşılyardyñ pikirı ğana jeñiske jetetin jarys” – deidi. Rasynda, ädil pikir.

Osy öte mañyzdy saiasi bāsekede bızdıñ halqymyzdyñ danalyǵy, parasaty jeñdi. Sondyqtan, bül jeñis – halqymyzdyñ jeñisi!

Bız bir el bolyp, halyq bolyp Qazaqstannyñ aldaǵy damu jolyn birge aiqyndadyq. 9 mausymda Qazaqstannyñ jarqyn bolaşaǵy üşin dauys bergen Ärbir azamattyñ pikirı – Bız üşin öte mañyzdy! Öitkeni, halqymyzdyñ tatulyǵy, yntymaǵy, birlıǵı – bızdıñ eñ basty qūndylyǵymyz.

Osy qūndylyqty közdıñ qaraşyǵyndai saqtau – barşamyzǵa orta qaryz. Sondyqtan, Prezident retinde halqymyzǵa mynany aitqym keledi: Elimızdıñ är azamatynyñ müddesin qorǵau – meniñ basty maqsatym. Olardy saiasi közqarastary men üstanymdaryna qarai böluge jol bermeimin! Türlı saiasi jāne qoǵam qairatkerlerinen kelip tüsken qūndy üsynystardy, bastamalary men öz jūmysymda mindetti türde eskeremin.

Aşyq jāne ädil jūmys isteimiz. Bız üşin eñ mañyzdy mindet – zañǵa sai adal qyzmet etu. Bızdıñ bir ğana Otanymyz bar! Taǵdyrymyz – bir! Bız halqymyzdyñ jarqyn bolaşaǵy üşin bārimız birge eñbek etemiz!

Aqiqatyn aituymyz kerek, bül sailauda bızdıñ azamattarymyz Elbasynyñ strategialyq baǵdaryn qoldap dauys berdı! Nürsültan Äbişüly Nazarbaev бүкіл әлем мойындаған damu modelin jasady. Qazaqstannyñ kök tuyn dünıe jüziniñ tükpır-tükpırinde jelibiretti.

Osy künderi meniñ atyma azamattarymyzdan köptegen ötiniş-tilekter kelip tüsude. Olardyñ bārine orta q bir ğana tilek bar: Elbasymyzdyñ jolyn, Strategiasyn saqtau jāne ony odan ārı nyǵaitu. Şyn mäninde, halyqtyñ Dāl osyndai ötiniş-tilek aituy – zañdy, oryndy. Sebebi, qazırgı damyǵan Qazaqstan – bül, eñ aldymen, Elbasynyñ arqasy. Elbasy – qazaq memleketiniñ negizin qalauşy üly tūlǵa. Ol jahandyq deñgeideǵı memleket qairatkeri. Älem tarihyna dāl osylai jazylady. Elbasynyñ halqymyz üşin jāne әлем qauymdastyǵy üşin sıñırǵan orasan zor eñbegin Ärqaşan qūrmetteu – bārimızge orta q paryz.



Dorogie sograzhdane!

V hode vybornej kampanii ja posetil bol'shinstvo regionov strany.

Moja politicheskaja platforma – jeto otvet na glavnye zaprosy nashih grazhdan.

Prezhde vsego, ja budu rabotat' nad realizaciej Tret'ej modernizacii Kazahstana, pretvorenijem v zhizn' Pjati institucional'nyh reform i drugih vazhnejshih strategicheskikh dokumentov nashego gosudarstva. Drugimi slovami, ja budu rabotat' nad realizaciej Strategii Elbasy.

Chtoby strana smogla vyjti na novyj uroven' ustojchivogo razvitija, nuzhny novye podhody i novye reshenija. Oni v skorom vremeni budut obnarodovany.

Vo-vtoryh, planiruju konkretno zanjat'sja resheniem ostryh social'nyh problem, okazaniem pomoshhi naibolee nuzhdajushhimsja.

Pravitel'stvu porucheno podgotovit' mery dlja dostizhenija oshhutimyh rezul'tatov v jetoj sfere. Nam nuzhno ser'ezno obnovit' social'nuju politiku.

V-tret'ih. Budu podderzhivat' kazahstanskih predprinimatelej, privlekat' i zashhishhat' investicii, stimulirovat' delovuju aktivnost', formirovat' shirokij srednij klass.

V-chetvertyh. Moja cel' – obespechit' edinstvo obshhestva i zashhishhat' prava kazhdogo grazhdanina.

I, nakonec, glavnoe. Vsegda i vezde budu otstaivat' nacional'nye interesy Kazahstana.

Segodnja mir vstupil v jepohu stremitel'nyh peremen.

Menjajutsja tehnologii, jekonomika i social'nyj porjadok. Menjaetsja mirovozzrenie ljudej, osobenno molodezhi.

Pered Kazahstanom vstajut novye vyzovy i ugrozy. Mnogie gody zanimajas' mezhdunarodnoj politikoj, ja oshhushhaju nastuplenie novoj jepohi.

Torgovyje vojny, naprjazhenie v mezhdunarodnyh otnoshenijah, slom prezhnih mehanizmov bezopasnosti, rost regional'nyh konfliktov – vse jeto novaja geopoliticheskaja real'nost'.

V predstojashhie neskol'ko let budet reshen glavnyj vopros sovremennosti: kakie strany sumejut vstroit'sja v progress, a kto okazhetsja na obochine mirovogo razvitija.

Jekonomicheskij, social'nyj i politicheskij progress – jeto nash edinstvenno pravil'nyj otvet na vyzovy sovremennosti.

My otkryty miru, stremimsja k luchshim dostizhenijam, peredovym tehnologijam. Sozidatel'nye peremeny na blago ljudej – vot moe ponimanie progressa.

Pri jetom, vlast' objazana slyshat' zaprosy ljudej, reshat' problemy na mestah, reguljarno otchityvat'sja pered grazhdanami.

Ne obeshhat', a delat'! Takogo pravila dolzhny priderzhivat'sja vse chleny Pravitel'stva i akimy.

Dlja menja kak Prezidenta samym vazhnym javljajutsja ne obshhie cifry jekonomicheskogo razvitija, a real'noe blagosostojanie vseh nashih grazhdan.

Pojetomu pri prinjatii reshenij po strategicheskim voprosam pozicija bol'shinstva naselenija budet bezuslovno uchityvat'sja.

Nasha formula gosudarstvennoj

vlasti: sil'nyj, polnomochnyj Prezident – vlijatel'nyj, deesposobnyj Parlament – podotchetnoe narodu Pravitel'stvo.

Imenno takaja politicheskaja sistema naibolee polno sootvetstvuet potrebnostjam nashego gosudarstva v slozhnyh geopoliticheskikh realijah, sposobstvuet vypolneniju stojashhih pered nami strategicheskikh zadach.

V to zhe vremja process politicheskoy transformacii obshhestva budet prodolzhat'sja.

Politicheskaja nadstrojka dolzhna sootvetstvovat' glubokim jekonomicheskim preobrazovanijam, v protivnom sluchae mozhet proizoiti tormozhenie reform.

Ob jetom ubeditel'no govorit mirovoj opyt.

V sistemu gosudarstvennogo upravlenija dolzhny prihodit' tol'ko dostojnye, obrazovannye ljudi na osnove meritokratii. Drugogo principa podbora kadrov byt' ne mozhet.

V celom, nam predstoit povysit' otvetstvennost' vlasti pered narodom. Osoboe vnimanie budet udeleno razvitiju grazhdanskogo obshhestva.

Qadırlı qauym! Meniñ sailaualdy ügit-nasihat jümystarym – bül ülken mindettiñ aldyndağy halyqpen keñesu boldy. 2019 jyldyñ 13 mamyrynda #BIRGE jalpyhalyqtyq aksiasy bastaldy.

Onyñ basty maqsaty – el damuyndağy eñ mañyzdy mindetterdi anyqtau. Qazaqstannyñ barlyq aimaqtarynan türlı üsynystar jinaldy. Büginge deim 540 myñğa juyq üsynys-tilek kelip tüsti. #BIRGE aksiasyna qatysyp, azamattyq belsendilik tanytqan barşa halyqqa şyn jürekten alğysymdy bildiremın. Endi biz qoğamdağy özekti мәselelerdi aiqyn körıp otyrmыз. Onyñ şeşu joldaryn білеміз.

Bügin halyqty, eñ aldymen, ne mazalaıdy? Eñ birinşı, azamattar barlyq jerde ädildik ornauyn qalaıdy. Äleumettik saiasattan bastap memlekettik organdardyñ halyqqa ädil qyzmet körsetuin talap etedi. Halyqty tolğandyryp otyrğan basty мәsele – tabys köleminiñ azaiuy. Halyqaralyq qarjy naryqtarynyñ тұraqsyzdanuy, teñgeniñ devälvasiasy halyqtyñ tabysyna kerı äser etti. Millionnan astam azamattarymyz bankten nesie aluğa мәjbür boldy. Tabysy joğary және төмен azamattardyñ arasyndağy alshaqtyq – bızdın qoğamdy mazalaıtyn tağy bir özekti мәsele. Ärine, mündai qūbylystar бүкіл әлемde bar, degenmen toqmeılsıp otyra beruge bolmaıdy. Sondyqtan, дәл osy ötkir әleumettik-ekonomikalyq және saiasi мәseleni şeşu üşin ortamerzımdı keşendi şaralar qabyldau qajet. Qorşağan ortanyñ qazırğı müşkil häli – köpşiliktin kökeindegi мәsele.

Sondyqtan elimızge bıryñğai ekologialyq saiasat qajet.

Qorşağan ortany qorğau jüiesine serpin беретin jaña Ekologialyq kodeks qabyldau kerek. Kelesı özekti мәsele – halyqty sumen qamtamasyz etu. Taza auyz su әrbir üide, әrbir otbasynda boluy mindet. Tağy bir mañyzdy, halyqty mazalaıtyn мәsele. Bül – joldardyñ sapasy. Sol sebepti avtojoldardyñ jağdaiyn jaqsartu – bızdın negizgi maqsattarymyzdyñ bırı.

Masshtabnoj zadachej v realijah XXI veka javljaetsja cifrovizacija.

Ona dolzhna zatronut' vse sfery zhizni: ot okazaniya gosudarstvennyh uslug do sozdaniya novykh otraslej jekonomiki budushhego.

Razvitie strany, vkluchaja politicheskij progress, prjamo svjazan s cifrovizaciej. Ona kachestvenno izmenit soderzhanie otnoshenij mezhdru gosudarstvom i obshhestvom.

Pojetomu utverzhennaja Elbasy gosudarstvennaja programma “Cifrovoj Kazahstan” dolzhna byt’ ispolnena.

Nashih grazhdan sil’no volnuet razvitie dialoga vlasti i obshhestva.

Takoj dialog dolzhen stroit’sja na priznanii pljuralizma mnenij. Raznye mnenija, no edinaja nacija. Vot glavnyj orientir.

Pojetomu ja reshil sozdat’ Nacional’nyj Sovet obshhestvennogo doverija.

V Sovet vojdu predstaviteli vsego obshhestva, vkluchaja molodezh’.

Pervoe soveshhanie Nacional’nogo Soveta obshhestvennogo doverija budet provedeno v avguste jetogo goda.

Vlast’ objazana vypolnjat’ svoi obeshhanija pered narodom. V jetom zakljuchaetsja ee glavnaja missija. Tol’ko tak mozjno ukrepit’ edinstvo nacji i stabil’nost’ v strane.

Pojetomu budet razrabotan predmetnyj Plan realizacii moej predvybornoj Platformy.

Luchshie idei, predlozhenija ot naroda najdu svoe otrazhenie v jetom dokumente.

Kelesı mañyzdy bağyttaǵa basa mán beruımız kerek.

Bırınşı bağyt. Halyqtyñ tabysyn arttyru. Tūraqty jáne qarqyndy ekonomikalyq ósım arqyly ğana bұл мәselenı şeşuge bolady. Eñ aldymen, ósım bızge ne úşın qajet ekenin tereñ túsınuımız kerek. Azamattarymyz öz elinde alańsyz ómir sürıp, eńbek etıp, úrpağyn tárbielep, halqymyzdyñ jetistikterine birge quanyp, maqtan tútu úşın Ekonomikalyq ósım boluy tıs. Taiau arada Úkimettiñ keñeıtılgen otyrysynda bız elimızdın áleumettık-ekonomikalyq damuyna arnalğan naqty mindetterdi aiqyndaimyz.

Ekınşı bağyt. Sybailas jemqorlyqty joıu. Bırınşı qyrküiekke deın jemqorlyqtyñ deñgeın meılınşe tömendetuge bağyttalğan reformalar toptamasy daiyndalady. Jemqorlyq – memlekettiñ damuyn tejeıtın kesel. Bұл qoğamdağy özara senımge, jalpy memleketımızdın qauıpsızdıǵına qater tóndıretın qúbylys. Sybailas jemqorlyqqa qarsy júıelı jumys júrgızemiz.

Úşınşı bağyt. Sot jáne qúqyq qorğau júıesın reformalau. Sot – zañ üstemdıǵınıñ kepılı. Sondyqtan súdalar joğary kásıbi jáne adamgerşılık talaptaryna saı boluy – bұл úlken mindet. Súdalar men osy qyzmetke úmitkerlerdi bağalau jáne ırıkteu júıesın qatañdatu kerek. Sot – ádıldıktıñ soñğy şeǵı boluy tıs. Qúqyq qorğau júıesınıñ basty mindeti – halyqtyñ senımına ie bolu.

Tórtınşı bağyt. Jaña jumys oryndaryn aşı jáne halyqty laıqty jalaqymen qamtu. Últtyq tabysty ádil bölü мәselesı bұл – strategialyq mañyzdy dúnie. Memlekettik búdjettiñ qarajatyn, eñ aldymen keleşeǵı zor maqsattarǵa jáne jaña jumys oryndaryn aşıǵa bölü qajet.

Besınşı bağyt. Túrğyn úi мәselesın şeşu. Túrli sanattağy azamattardyñ qoljetımdı baspanaǵa ie boluyna airyqsa nazar audaramyn. Bızdın aldymyzda Bıryñǵai túrğyn úi saiasatyn jasaqtau mindeti túr. Úkimet osy bağytta naqty şaralar qabyldaidy.

Altynşy baǵyt. Ädiletli äleumettik saiasat. Bız adam kapitalyn damytu saiasatyn jalǵastyramyz. Bül baǵytta, eñ aldymen, ne isteıımız qajet? Jappai bilim berudi qoldau. Barlyq tūrǵyndarǵa sapaly medisinalyq qyzmet körsetu. Bül мәseleler boıynsa bızdın tutas baǵyt-baǵdarymyz bar. Bız mūǵalımderdın jäne dārıgerlerdın мәrtebesin köteretin jaña zañdar qabyldaimyz. Olardyñ qūqyǵyn qorǵap, materialdyq jaǵdaiyn jaqsartu üsin tiıstı jaǵdai jasaimyz.

Jetınshı baǵyt. Öñirlerdi damytudyñ jaña baǵdary. Bızdın qaǵıdamyz barşañyzǵa mälım: Quatty aimaqtar – Quatty Qazaqstan. Azamattarymyzdy tolǵandyrgan naqty мәseleler jergilikti deñgeide şeşılu tiıs. Jergilikti özın-özi basqaru júiesin nyǵaitamyz. Aimaqtaǵy qordalanǵan мәselelerdi şeşuge halyq belsene aralasatyn bolady.

Segızınshı baǵyt. “Ruhani jañǵyru” qūndylyqtary bızdın basty ruhani baǵdarymyz bolyp qala beredi. Tarihqa qūrmetpen qarau, Otanǵa adal bolu, ğylym-bılınge degen ümtılys – mūnyñ barlyǵy bızdın halqymyzdyñ boıyndaǵy asyl qasietter. Bül qasietter bızdın halqymyzdyñ birlıǵın jäne ultymyzdyñ jasampazdyǵyn nyǵaitady, bәsekege qabiletti el boluǵa jol ašady.

Qazaqstandy bolaşaqqa bastaityn - jastar. Sondyqtan bül baǵdarlamany jas ұrpaqty tәрбиеleuge baǵyttauyмыз qajet.

Devjatoe.

Vneshnjaja politika. Kazahstan zavoeval bol'shoj avtoritet v mire, utverdil sebja kak miroljubivaja, otkrytaja strana, nadezhnyj i otvetstvennyj partner v mezhdunarodnyh delah. My prodolzhim konstruktivnyj, sbalansirovannyj, mnogovektornyj vneshnepoliticheskij kurs. Budem tverdo prodvigat' i otstaivat' nacional'nye interesy na mirovoj arene. Vneshnepoliticheskaja dejatel'nost' strany budet prinosit' konkretnye vygody strane, nacional'nomu biznesu, kazhdomu grazhdaninu.

Desjatoe. Osobo hochu obratit'sja k molodomu pokoleniju. Vam predstoit sygrat' reshajushhuju rol' v razvitii Kazahstana, stat' dvizhushhej siloj progressa. Elbasy ob#javil 2019 god Godom molodezhi. Nachal rabotat' special'nyj proekt “Zhastar – el tiregi”. My realizuem programmu razvitija biznes-iniciativ molodezhi “Zhas käsipker”, budem podderzhivat' molodezhnye startapy. Vnedrim programmy trudoustrojstva molodezhi. Moja zadacha – sozdat' vse vozmozhnosti, chtoby vy realizovali svoju samuju bol'shuju mechtu i sozdali svoju lichnuju “istoriju uspeha”.

Dlja prodvizhenija molodyh talantlivyh upravlencev na vse urovni gosudarstvennoj sluzhby budet sformirovan “Prezidentskij kadrovyj rezerv”. Nasha molodezh' celeustremlennaja, trudoljubivaja, kreativnaja, pojetomu budushhee Kazahstana v nadezhnyh rukah.

Qymbatty otandastar!

Aldymyzda auqymdy jalpyhalyqtyq mindetter tūr.

Maqsatymyz – aıqyn, jolymyz – aşıyq! Qazaqstan jaña mümkindikter men perspektivalar eline ainaldy. Onyñ igılıǵın jastar men keleşek ұrpaq köredi. Bız babalar дәstürin qasterleitın, jahannyñ ozyq jetistikterine ümtılatyn halyqpyz. Bül – bızdın küş-quatymyzdyñ dıñgegi. Bız aldymyzdaǵy barlyq qıyndyqtardy birge eñseremiz. Bız quatty әri güldengen Qazaqstannyñ örkendeui üsin Birge eñbek etemiz.

Antqa adal bolu, sertke berik bolu – meniñ halyq aldyndaǵy paryzym.  
Qazaqstannyñ jarqyn bolaşaǵy üşin, halyq üşin aianbai eñbek etuge sert beremin.  
Barşańyzǵa amandyq, qūt-bereke tileimin.

Qasietti Otanymyz – Qazaqstan Respublikasy jasai bersin!

Inaugural Address  
of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan  
Kassym-Jomart Tokayev

November 22, 2022

Astana

Qürmetti Otandastar!  
Hanymdar men myrzalar!  
Qadırlı qonaqtar!

Biyl halqymyz üşin airyqşa mañyzdy jyl boldy. Qazaqstan damudyñ jaña дәuіrine qadam basty. Bız tübegeili betbұrysqa jol aşqan auqymdy özgerister jasadyq. Konstitusialyq reformany jüzege asyrdyq. Memleketimizdiñ eñ basty salalaryn jan-jaqty jañğyrttyq. Sonyñ arqasynda halyqtyñ bolaşaqqa degen ümiti artyp, senimi nyğaia tüsti.

Men aimaqtardy aralap, tūrğyndarmen kezdeskende bұğan aiqyn köz jetkızdım. Sondai-aq ötken referendum tyñ bastamalarydy jūrtymyzdyñ jappai qoldaitynyn körsetti. Halyqtyñ dұrys bağyttağy өзgeriske ümtylisy jūmysqa zor serpin berdı. Bız reformalarydy soñyna deiin mindetti türde jetkızuımız qajet.

Konstitusianyñ jaña talabyna säikes bұdan bylai Prezident jetı jyldyq bir merzımge ғana sailanady. Osylaişa, saiasatkerlerdiñ jaña buyny bilik basyna kele bastaidy. Men osy şeşimniñ dұrys bolğanyna kāmıl senemin.

Konstitusiağa säikes bilik tarmaqtary tügel jañğyrtylady. Osyndai jaña saiasi mausymdy Prezident sailauy bastap berdı. Sailau nauqany 3 aiğa juyq uaqtqa sozylady. Osy kezeñde elimizdiñ bolaşağy turaly tūrlı mazmūndy pıkırtalastar boldy. Jūrtymyz öz bolaşağyna bei-jai qaramaitynyn körsetti. Azamattyq qoғamnyñ kemel institutqa ainalğany aiqyn añğaryldy. Saiasi alańğa jaña tūlgalar шықты. Osylaişa, halqymyz 20 qaraşada өз tañdaуyn jasady.

Sailau әділ әрі ашық өтті. Bұл – baiqauşylardyñ, sarapşylar men jurnalisterdiñ bergen baғasy. El-jūrtyñ belsendiligi erekşe joғary boldy. Keibir azamattar бүкіл otbasymen kelip, dauys berdı. Bұл nauqan el мүддесі үшін ұлт болып бiрге alatynymyzdy körsetti.

Babalarymyz qai zamanda da birlіgin bәrinen biik qoiған. Bız ata jolyn saqtai bilgen, zamanauı jәne örkenietti el ekenimizdi бүкіл дүние жүзine paş ettik. Birlіgimizdiñ bekemdіgin tağy da дәleldei aldyq.

Osy sailauda jūrtymyz mağan zor senim bildirdi. Şyn mäninde, el senimin eş nәрsemen olşeu мүmkin emes. Halyqtyñ senimi – eñ qūndy nәрse. Sailau nәtijesin halqymyzdyñ saiasi baғdarıma – baғasy, aldağy josparyma – batasy dep qabyldaimyn.

Halqynyñ qoldauyna ie bolyp, el tızgının ұstau – eñ biik мәртебе әрі orasan zor jauapкершілік. Aldağy 7 jyldy бүgingi buynnyñ jәne keleşek ұrpaқтыñ aldyndağy boryşymdy öteuge berilgen biregei мүmkindik dep bilemin.

Qazaqta “amanat” degen asyl üğym bar. Halqymnyñ senımı – mağan amanat. Osy amanatqa adal bolu – men üşin qasietti paryz. El ümitin aqta, Qazaqstandy örkendegen, baquatty memleketke ainaldyru üşin qolymnan kelgenniñ bärin jasaimyn.

Sailauğa qatysqan barşa jürtqa rizaşylyğymdy bildiremın. Nauqanğa atsalysqan qauymğa, baiqauşylar men jurnalisterge zor alğys aitamyn. Prezidenttikke kandidattarğa da qūrmetımdı bildiremın. Sailauda saiasi partialar jäne qoğamdyq üiymdar mañyzdy sätte jūdyryqtai jūmyla alatynyn körsetti. Osy rette meni prezidenttikke ortaқ kandidat retinde üsynğan halyq koalisiasy müşelerine rahmetımdı aitqym keledi.

Men özıme dauys bergen azamattardyñ ğana emes, бүкіл Qazaqstan halqynyñ aldynda esep beretin boldym. Qazaqta “Bailyq ne kerek, adaldan jımasañ, bilik ne kerek, ädildik qūrmasañ” degen söz bar. Bül – büljytpai üstanatyn ömirlik qağidatym.

Men бүгін kök tudy süiip, dana halqymnyñ aldynda bas idım. Azattyq jolynda qūrban bolğan babalar ruhyna tağzym ettim. Elimniñ arman-mūratyna ömir-baqı adal boluğa sert berdım. Eşqaşan adaldyqtan attamauğa jäne el müddesine qianat jasamauğa ant ettim. Ata zañğa qolymdy qoiyp, onyñ är sözın mültiksiz oryndaimyn. Halqymnyñ aldyndağy osy antym alağy qyzmetimde Men üşin aınymas temırqazyq bolady.

Uvazhaemye sootchestvenniki!

Proshedshie prezidentskie vybory stali podlinnym patrioticheskim aktom. Vybory podtverdili iskrennee neravnodushie grazhdan k sud’be Rodiny. Oni stali olicetvorenıem torzhestva ideı spravedlivosti, triumfa narodnoj voli, nachala vsestoronnego obnovleniya nashej strany.

Vybory ustanovili novuju planku otkrytosti i prozrachnosti jelektoral’nogo processa v Kazahstane. Oni prodemonstrovali vysokij uroven’ politicheskoy kul’tury i zrelost’ nashego obshhestva.

Na izbiratel’nyh uchastkah narod dal polozhitel’nuju ocenku programmy razvitija gosudarstva na blizhajshie sem’ let. Bezmerno blagodaren vsem za okazannoe doverie, gotov veroj i pravdoj sluzhit’ nashej strane na postu Prezidenta. Jeto vysochajshaja chest’ i ogromnaja otvetstvennost’.

Dlja menja interesy gosudarstva prevyshe vsego. Sdelaju vse, chtoby v predstojashhie sem’ let opravdat’ vysokoe doverie naroda.

Teper’ nasha obshhaja cel’ – postroit’ Spravedlivyj Kazahstan, gde carit zakon i sobljudaetsja porjadok, gde projavljaetsja dolzhnoe uvazhenie k pravam grazhdan. Nam predstoit prodelat’ bol’shuju rabotu po transformacii obshhestva i prevrashheniju Kazahstana v razvituju stranu s podlinno demokraticeskimi institutami. Tol’ko tak my sformiruem novoe kachestvo nacii i ukrepim nashu svjashhennuju Nezavisimost’.

Sejchas my nahodimsja v samom nachale ternistogo puti. Vperedı ochen’ mnogo raboty. Kazhdyj grazhdanin dolzhen osoznavat’ svoju otvetstvennost’ za budushhee strany. Krasnoj nit’ju skvoz’ nashu gosudarstvennuju politiku budet prohodit’ modernizacija vseh sfer zhizni – ot obrazovaniya do industrializacii.

Osnovu dolgosrochnogo jekonomicheskogo rosta nashej strany sostavjat novye tehnologii, vysokaja proizvoditel’nost’ truda, tvorcheskaja iniciativa grazhdan.

Prioritetnaja zadacha – ustranit' vse iskusstvennye bar'ery i ogranichenija, sderzhivajushhie predprinimatel'skij duh nashih dejatel'nyh grazhdan.

Predprinimateli dolzhny navsegda zabyt' o besprichinnyh proverkah ih biznesa, oni budut imet' delo tol'ko s nalogovymi revizijami. Gosudarstvo i biznes – jeto estestvennye partnery. Vse, kto nezakonno prepjatstvujut razvitiyu malogo i srednego biznesa, budut privlekat'sja k strogomu nakazaniyu soglasno zakonu. Nam predstoit zanjat'sja real'noj industrializaciej, stroitel'stvom i modernizaciej infrastruktury.

Vazhno, chtoby kazhdyj region nashej ogromnoj strany poluchil novyj impul's k razvitiyu. Postroenie spravedливой rynochnoj jekonomiki, zashhita chastnoj sobstvennosti, razvitie konkurencii, iskorenenie korruptcii nevozmozhny bez obespechenija podlinnogo verhovenstva prava.

Pojetomu ravenstvo vseh pered zakonom – kljuchevoe uslovie dolgosrochnogo progressa nashego gosudarstva.

Vse voprosy, osobenno problemnye i spornye, dolzhny reshat'sja tol'ko cherez konstruktivnyj dialog, cherez diskussii, prezhde vsego, v Parlamente. Predstojashhie vybory v Senat i Mazhilis predostavljajut takuju vozmozhnost'. My budem neizmenno sledovat' principu “raznye mnenija, no edinaja nacija”.

My dolzhny vsjacheski ukrepljat' istoricheskij aktiv nashego naroda, vyrazhennyj v formule “edinstvo v mnogoobrazii”.

Provokacii, sejushhie razdor v obshhestve, podryvajushhie edinstvo nacji i, v konechnom schete, napravlennye protiv nashego gosudarstva, budut zhestko presekatsja.

My objazany postroit' jeffektivnoe gosudarstvo, otvechajushhee zaprosam grazhdan i trebovanijam vremeni. Jeto istoricheskaja po svoemu masshtabu zadacha.

Na gosudarstvennuju sluzhbu privlechem novyh upravlencev iz real'nogo sektora, proshedshih otbor v sootvetstvii s principami meritokratii i otkrytoj konkurencii. Aktivno zadejstvuem chlenov Prezidentskogo kadrovogo rezerva.

Nashe glavnoe bogatstvo – jeto ljudi. Pojetomu krajne vazhno sozdavat' vse uslovija dlja blagopoluchija grazhdan.

V svoem razvitii nasha strana budet v osnovnom rasschityvat' na sobstvennye sily, no v to zhe vremja aktivno razvivat' mezhdunarodnoe sotrudnichestvo v razlichnyh oblastjah, vkljuchaja privlechenie prjamyh inostrannyh investicij.

Kazahstan prodolzhit osushhestvlenie sbalansirovannoj, konstruktivnoj vneshnej politiki, napravlennoj na zashhitu nacional'nyh interesov.

V fokuse prioritetnogo vnimanija budut nahodit'sja voprosy vzaimovыgodnogo sotrudnichestva i strategicheskogo partnerstva s sosednimi gosudarstvami –Rossiej, Kitaem i bratskimi stranami Central'noj Azii, s partnerami po integracionnym ob#edinenijam.

Budem prilagat' vse usilija s cel'ju razvitija mnogogrannogo sotrudnichestva s SShA, Evropejskim Sojuzom, gosudarstvami Azii, Blizhnego Vostoka i Zakavkaz'ja, a takzhe so vseimi zainteresovannymi stranami.

Kazahstan ostaetsja priverzhennym sovremennomu mezhdunarodnomu pravu i Ustavu OON.



Qymbatty otandastar!

Bız ädiletli memleket, ädiletli ekonomika jäne ädiletli qoğam qūramyz. Osy qağidattar meniñ sailau aldyndağy tūğyrnamamda naqty körinis taptı. Men onyñ är sözine, är söylemine tereñ män berdım. Sailaualdy bağdarlamam – bül ūzaq oi-tolğau men izdenistiñ nätijesi. Tıptı, jüregimnen şyqty desem, artyq aitqandyq emes. Halyqtyñ bastamalarğa qoldau bildirip, ūlken ümit kütıp otyrğanyñ bilemin. Tūğyrnamanyñ ärbır tarmağy tolyq oryndaluğa tiis. Men ol ūşın barlyq küş-jigerimdi jūmsaimyn. Osyğan bailanysty arnaiy Jarlyqqa qol qoiamyn. Bül Jarlyq naqty ıssaralardyñ jüzege asuyn qamtamasyz etedi. Bağdarlamanyñ mültıksız oryndaluyn jeke baqylauma alamyn.

Qazır – sailaудаğy jeñisti toilaityn kez emes, aianbai eñbek etetin kez. Sol sebepti arqany keñge salmai, birden ıske kırısumız kerek, bosañsuğa bolmaidy. Osy oraida eñ aldymen, qolğa alatyn birneşe мәselege arnaiy toqtalğym keledi.

Men sailaualdy sözderimde auyldy örkendetu ısine basa nazar audardym. Büginde Qazaqstan halqynyñ 40 paıyzğa juyğy auylda tūrady. “Auy – el besigi” dep halqymyz beker aitqan joq. Sondyqtan auyldağy jağdaidy jaqsarta almasaq – bärımızge syn. Sol ūşın men bugün auyldy damytu мәselesi turaly Jarlyqqa qol qoiamyn. Osy qūjat arqyly Ūkimetke auyldy damytudyñ 5 jylğa arnalğan naqty josparyn äzirleudi tapsyramyn. Bül meniñ jaña prezidenttik merzimdegi birinşi Jarlyğym bolady. Ūkimet auyldy damytuğa arnalğan barlyq jobany jüieli türde rettep, jinaqtauğa tiis. Sodan kein maqsatty türde tiimdi jūmys jürgizemiz.

Другое важное направление. Мы должны восстановить справедливость и вернуть все неlegal’но выведенные из страны активы. Для этого Правительством бюджет подготовлен законопроект, который регламентирует необходимые процедуры для возврата незаконно вывезенных капиталов.

Законопроект также бюджет направлен на устранение причин и условий, способствовавших несправедливому обогашению и незаконному выводу активов.

Все вооруженные средства должны работать на благо граждан. Их следует инвестировать в открытие высокотехнологичных производств, строительство школ и больниц, реализацию социальных проектов. Сопоставляя указ и подписи сегодня.

Полагая, что состоятельные предприниматели в самом скором времени откликнутся на призыв активизировать свою социальную деятельность на благо граждан.

В государственном строительстве мы четко следуем формуле “сил’ный Президент – влиятельный Парламент – подотчетное Правитель’ство”.

Выборы Президента запустят процесс последовательной перегрузки всех основных институтов власти.

Они стали первым этапом большого электорального цикла. Мы продолжим планомерный процесс политической модернизации.

Сегодня же также подписи указ “О назначении выборных депутатов Сената Парламента Республики Казахстан”.

Таким образом, очередные выборы депутатов верхней палаты станут продолжением практической реализации конституционной реформы.

Po ih itogam na osnove principov konkurencii i otkrytosti obnovitsja chast' deputatskogo korpusa Senata.

Krome togo, segodnja mnoju v kachestve ocherednogo shaga po realizacii konstitucionnoj reformy budet podpisan Ukaz "O nekotoryh voprosah Vysshej auditorskoj palaty Respubliki Kazahstan". Sledujushhim jetapom stanet ee polnocennaja transformacija.

Basqa maңызdy әrı özekti мәseleler boıynsha şeşımderdı keınırek jarıalaimyn. Taғы da qaitalap aitamyn, alda atqaratyn шарua көp. Bұл – jeңıl jумыs emes, bıraq elge paidasy tietin qyzmet. Men бүкіл мемлекеттік aparattan osy mindetti abyroimen oryndaudy talap etemin.

Qolynan is keletin және elge berile qyzmet jasaityn azamattarğa ғana ortamyzda oryn bar. Olarға qoldau көrsetemiz, al qoғam құrmetin bildiredi. Halqymyzdyñ naqyl sözın sәl түrlendirip aitsaq: "Bailyq pen mansap – qolға ұstaған мұз, eridi de ketedi. Al elge jasaған qyzmet – artta qalған ız, ol ұrpaqtan ұrpaqqa jetedi". Osyny әr azamat түsinui kerek.

El мүдdesi – bәrinen биік. Men барlyq мемлекеттік qyzmetshiden өз jумыsyn adal atqarudy talap etemin. Бір sözben aitsam, käsibilik, adaldyq және qarapaiymdylyq bızdın basty qaғidattarmyz boluға тиis. Qoғamda jaña құндыlyqtar орнықтыryp, jaqsy qasietterge ie bola almasaq, reformanyñ bәri beker.

Kök bairaғymyz, tölқұjatymyz және мемлекеттік тılımız bızdın birtұtas halyq ekenimizdi bildiredi. Babalarymız birtұtas el bolyp, Eurazia törinde dañqty şejiressin at тұiaғymen jazған Altyn orda men Qazaq handyғы siaqty мемлекеттер құрған. Sondai-aq halqymyz el basyna күn tuған күрdeli sәtterde azattyғы ұşın arpalysty. Äigili handarmyzdyñ, batyrlarmyzdyñ және ұlt qairatkerleriniñ erligi – osynyñ aiqyn көrinisi.

Ұlttyñ bostandyq jolyndaғы tabandy күресiniñ arqasynda Qazaq eli täuelsizdigin aldy. Egemen мемлекетtiñ құрылуyna, onyñ ırgesin bekitu jolynda orasan zor еңбек siңirgen tarihi түлғalarymızға әdil baға беруimiz kerek.

Tabystardy және olqylyqtardy ajyratatyn bұл – uaqyt және tarih. Uaqyt – еñ әdil qazy, al tarih – bәrine tarazy. Sondyqtan saiası nauqanşyldyqqa jol bermeuimiz qajet. Bız bolaşaqta әdiletti мемлекет bolamyз desek, ötkenge әdildikpen qarap, odan taғыlym ala biluimiz kerek. Jaqsydan üirenip, jamannan jirenu – ösetin eldin belgisi. Otanşyldyq, еңбекqorlyq, bilimpazdyq, jañaşyldyq, jasampazdyq, janaşyrlyq, meirimdilik siaqty asyl qasietterdi boıға siңiruimiz qajet. Men bұл турaly jii aityp жүrimin.

Әdiletti Qazaqstanda еңбек adamyna erekşe құrmet көrsetiluge тиis. Äsirese ұstaz, дәрігер, тәrtip saqşysy, құtqарушы, jумыssy, шарua siaqty mamandardyñ мәртеbesin odan әri arttyra түsuimiz qajet. Olar elimizdegі еñ syily azamattarға ainaluy kerek. Osy käsip ieleri tiisti құrmet pen syıға ie болғанда ғana, qoғamymyz şynymen jañardy dep aita alamyз.

Mnogie setujut na nedostatok istinnyh geroev v nashe vremja. No nastojashhie geroi ne tam, gde jarkie sofity i gde zvuchat prodolzhitel'nye aplodismenty. Geroi nahodjatsja sredi nas.

Kazhdyj den' geroi vstajut u zavodskogo stanka, upravljajut obshhestvennym transportom, sadjatsja za shturvaly samoletov, nadevajut zashhitnuju formu spasatelja, speshat na jekstrennye vyzovy pacientov, osvajaajut voennuju tehniku.

Podlinnye geroi prosypajutsja rano utrom v selah, chtoby na nashih stolah bylo dostatochno edy, i my mogli by nakormit' svoih malen'kih detej i prestarelyh roditel'ej.

Nashi geroi – jeto predprinimateli, nachinajushhie svoe sobstvennoe delo, otkryvajushhie rabochie mesta, sozdajushhie novye vozmozhnosti dlja svoih sotrudnikov i ih semej.

Nashi geroi – jeto volonterj i blagotvoriteli, kotorye bezvozmezdno darjat obshhestvu svoju ljubov' i jenergiju, opyt i znanija, imushhestvo i finansy.

Vse oni javljajutsja gordost'ju i nadezhdoj naroda. Imenno na ljudej truda opiraetsja nasha strana.

Bız örkeniettiñ alğy şebindegı memleketke ainalu üşin tek üirenetin emes, özgege üiretetin ültqa ainaluymyz qajet. Sondai-aq tek tütynuşy emes, jaña dünienı öndiruşı ült atanuymyz kerek. Oğan halqymyzdyñ äleuetı, daryny, qarym-qabiletı jetedı.

Men bızdıñ jastarymyzdyñ üşqyr jäne ozyq oily ekenin maqtan etemin. Sol sebepti Mağjan aqynnyñ “Men jastarğa senemin” degen sözın ünemi aitamyn. Şyn mäninde, bärımız jastarymyzdy qoldauymyz kerek. Öitkeni öskeleñ ürpaq qana elimızdı jarqyn bolaşaqqabastaidy. Bıraq jastar jetistikke jetu üşin köp eñbektenui kerek. Jaña bilim aluğa, tyñ täjiribe jinauğa ümtylğan jön. Sonda jastarymyz öz käsibiniñ has şeberı atanady. Ärdaiym sūranysqa ie bolady, qoğamda syily bolady. Mine, osylai ömir sürgen adam eşqaşan, eşteñeden ütylmaidy.

Sovremennaja jepoha uskorjaet vremja, spressovyvaet proishodjashhie sobytija. Istinnuju cennost' nashih slov i del mogut opredelit' tol'ko vesy istorii.

Nagradoj dlja vseh budet chistaja sovest' i priznanie naroda. Jetu formulu otnoshu prezhdje vsego k samomu sebe.

My sil'naja i samodostatochnaja nacija, obladaajushhaja bogatym duhovnym naslediem i ogromnym sozidatel'nym potencialom dlja postupatel'nogo progressa.

Velikij ucitel' Vostoka al'-Farabi prizyval ljudej byt' spravedlivymi, ljubit' pravdu i dorozhit' chest'ju, byt' umerennymi v svoih zhelanijah i vseгда stremit'sja k znaniyam.

Uveren, u nas est' horoshij shans vojti v istoriju kak pokolenie, kotoroe sumelo osushhestvit' moshhnyj proryv v razvitii nashej gosudarstvennosti.

Vse zavisit ot nas samih, ot togo, kak uporno my budem rabotat'.

Täuelsız elimızdı quatty memleket retinde ürpaqqa amanattau – bızdıñ boryşymyz. Alda talai synaqtar, kürdeli kezeñder boluy mümkin. Degenmen yrysty yntymağymyzdy saqtai bilsek, alynbaityn asu joq. Men bugün halqymnyñ aldynda türyp, bastağan ısımız berekeli bolsyn dep tileimin.

Qazaq – yrymşyl halyq. Men biyl qasietti Mekkege barğan kezde Qağba törinde ata-baba ruhyna qūran bağyştap, Alladan bir-aq nārse sūradym. Ol – eldiñ amandyğy. Şyn mäninde, elimız aman bolsa, jerımız bütin, birligımız bekem, memlekettigımız мәңгі bolady. Osy qūndylyqtardy myzğymastai etip bekıtu – qazaqtyñ perzentı,

Qazaqstannyń Prezidentı retindegi meniń qasietti paryzym. Aşyğyn aitqanda, qyzmet – uaqytşa, al halyq – мәñgi.

Men prezidenttik misiämды halqymmen birge aldağy jeti jylda abyroimen atqaryp şyğamyn dep senemın. Bızdın Otanymyz – bir, memleketımız – bir, halqymyz – bir! Sondyqtan ärqaşan birge bolaiyq, aғaiyn!

Elimız örkendei bersın!

Da zdravstvuet naša Rodina – Respublika Kazahstan!

Da zdravstvuet nash narod!

Halqymyz ärqaşan aman bolsyn!

Täuelsız Qazaqstanymyz jasasyn!