

Fazliddin Djamalov
student of the University of World Economy and Diplomacy,
Faculty «International Relations», Major «Political Science»
Tashkent, Uzbekistan

CONSERVATISM AS A POLITICAL THOUGHT

Abstract: *Conservatism occupies a prominent place in the development of the world political process. This word comes from the French «conservatisme», which means "keep", "protect". Conservatism is a socio-political trend characterized by a tendency to established social orders, social and political stability, a zealous attitude to traditions and customs, a system of spiritual and political values, rationality, restraint in the implementation of numerous social changes, opposition to hasty decisions and radical changes, the approval of gradual development so that the future does not destroy the past. The political ideology of conservatism is in some sense secondary, since it is derived from other ideological forms.*

Key words: *conservatism, political thought, concept, property, rights, authoritarian.*

Фазлиддин Джамалов
Студент Университета мировой экономики и дипломатии,
Факультет «Международные отношения», направление «Политология»
Ташкент, Узбекистан

КОНСЕРВАТИЗМ КАК ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ МЫСЛЬ

Аннотация: *консерватизм занимает видное место в развитии мирового политического процесса. Это слово происходит от французского «conservatisme», что означает «хранить», «защищать». Консерватизм-это*

общественно-политическое течение, характеризующееся стремлением к установившимся общественным порядкам, общественно-политической стабильности, ревностным отношением к традициям и обычаям, системе духовных и политических ценностей, рациональностью, сдержанностью в осуществлении многочисленных социальных преобразований, противодействием поспешным решениям и радикальным изменениям, одобрением постепенного развития с тем, чтобы будущее не разрушало прошлое. Политическая идеология консерватизма в некотором смысле вторична, поскольку она происходит от других идеологических форм.

Ключевые слова: консерватизм, политическая мысль, концепция, собственность, права, авторитарность.

General characteristics of the doctrine of conservatism

The Concept of “conservatism” originates from the Latin term “conservare” – preservation, state without changes. As a set of conceptual provisions, conservatism was formed in the context of public reaction to the act and results of the great French revolution and the spread of modernization processes in European countries. In the modern format, the term was first used in France in 1820 in a magazine published by F. R. Chateaubriand. The General focus of the magazine’s publications was to promote the restoration of the monarchy and the restoration of the role of the church. In Great Britain, a similar context for this term was applied in 1833, when the “Tory” party, which was interpreted as the party of order, was called the conservative party. Conservatives opposed the policy of industrialization, which led to the decline of agricultural production (the agricultural sector was dominated by the aristocracy). Thus, the conservatives were the main opponents of liberalism in theory and practice. The emergence and rapid spread of Marxism/socialism contributed to the fact that conservatism from the end of the XIX century. The presence of a common enemy with liberalism led to a significant convergence of conservatism and right-wing liberalism and the beginning of a long process of

overcoming the contradiction between conservatism and liberalism, moreover, this process was characterized by the gradual acquisition of many provisions of liberalism by conservatives (traditionalism; law and order; organicism; hierarchy and power; property). Traditionalism is most adequately revealed as the opposite of change. The latter are considered a priori harmful, painful, especially if they are significant. Conservatism defends the need to respect traditions, customs, and preserve institutions that have existed historically and have passed the test of time. Respect for traditions is also based on the belief that traditions themselves form a sense of identity, both in relation to the individual and the community. The traditionalism does not deny change, but they must be a response to changes in society and to be a response to the perceived need for these changes in society must happen at a pre-defined and approved procedure. The changes themselves must be gradual in order to prevent possible negative consequences that may arise as a result of the implemented changes. Conservatism treats a person as a dependent being who is afraid of isolation, uncertainty, and lack of stability. First of all, a person strives for security, which is directly related to the awareness of their place in society. In these circumstances, the proper order ensures the stability and predictability of human life. Freedom always puts a person in a situation of choice, when the alternative is often a choice between the known and the unknown, and this latter can lead to changes in the human situation and instability. At the same time, a person is inherently selfish and seeks to defend his own interests by all means. The only restriction and deterrent for a person is the right. The role of law in conservatism is to preserve order. It is the right that conservatives see as part of customs that have passed the test of time and received public recognition. Of all the varieties of law, the Constitution is the most valuable. The law should develop through the accumulation of norms and should be stable, the least of all changes should concern the Constitution. Traditionally, conservatives favor a strong government that establishes and maintains order, applying harsh punishments for criminals, including the death penalty. The human being is constantly in organic relations with the

communities to which he belongs (family, group of friends, local community, people, etc.). Conservatism views society itself as an organism in which parts cooperate with each other like the organs of the human body. Like the human body, social institutions are designed to perform clearly defined vital functions, as a result of which, in the conditions of a certain incapacity of a particular part of society, it should not be changed, but create conditions for this body to restore its functional ability. In this context, conservatism attaches great importance to the family and the people. The family is interpreted as the most natural social institution, it is responsible for the socialization of the younger generation, should provide children with a sense of security, and is responsible for accepting the moral values existing in society. As a result, society must protect and protect the family and take care of a full and healthy family. The institution of the family is interpreted as the main stabilizer of the whole society. A nation like a family is a natural formation and is formed from people who share a common language, culture, traditions, etc. Conservatism stands for a single, common culture and a common system of values, while at the same time it has a negative attitude to cultural pluralism, considering that the field of cultural society is unstable. In this context, the conservatives are nationalists, but they focus exclusively on the development of their own people and do not have an imperialist component. Quite often, conservative political parties use the term “people’s party” in their names. In particular, in the European Parliament, deputies from various countries representing national conservative political forces are United in the People’s party. Society by its nature is hierarchical, it is always inherent in a certain system of social division. Since the division of property, power, and status can never be equal, equality is generally denied. Inequality is a sign of an organic society, just as the human body in which the heart, lungs, and muscles perform important but distinct functions, so the social groups that make up society have their own distinct tasks. Power has a natural origin and is in no way a product of social agreement. Power comes from above, not from below: parents have power over children, teachers have power over students, and owners have power over

workers in the workplace. Society in the format of all its components requires the implementation of the functions of organization, direction, leadership, etc. Power implies obedience, discipline, which should not be an instinctive submission, but a conscious, voluntary respect for power. Property is also a basic sign of conservatism. Guarantees security from threats to the person, family, allows you to ensure health, get proper education, increases the level of independence and contributes to a more complete self-realization. Property must be protected by the state. However, in contrast to liberalism, conservatism believes that the state should have the right to tax property in order for the state to perform the functions necessary for the entire society. In particular, we are talking about protecting the people from external and internal threats, and maintaining order. In other words, conservatives traditionally support a strong, well-funded state. For a considerable period of time (the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century), conservatism actively supported the public role of religion, respectively the church, as a public institution. The church was considered as a basic component of the social system, since it performed important functions to ensure public order and stability of the main groups, and protected the family. As a result of the historical evolution of the church during the twentieth century, the assessment of its role in public life in conservatism has changed. However, even today conservatism supports the role of religion in preserving national identity, the moral health of society and the family, which is clearly evident in the activities of European Christian-democratic and conservative political parties. In the development of conservatism during the XX century we can distinguish two main stages: authoritarian conservatism of the first half of the XX century and conservatism of the second half of the XX century.

Authoritarian conservatism of the half of the XX century.

For the majority of European countries in which political forces of the conservative direction operated, it was characterized by a continuation, a kind of inertia of trends and positions that were inherent at the conceptual level of aristocratic conservatism of the second half of the XIX century. A common

characteristic of a large part of these political forces was the attraction to a strong state power, a significant restriction of democracy in favor of the ruling elite, for the sake of establishing and maintaining order and ensuring public security, which allowed researchers to speak about the authoritarian nature of conservatism at this stage. Theoretical constructions of the authoritarian format were developed in the most complete and complete form in Germany. The formation of a new collectivity should take place at the expense of historical continuity and class structure. A necessary element in this construction should be a national leader who should be personally responsible to the nation and guide the activities of all citizens to national greatness. The representatives of this direction should include Arthur Moeller van den Broek (1876-1925), the main work – “The Third Reich” (1923), was one of the founders of the “June club” in Berlin and its ideological leader for 1915 – 1925 years. In his opinion, conservatism is the main principle of the organization of the world and nature, since the world is governed by unchanging principles designed to ensure balance. According to the organic paradigm, van den Broek put the nation at the head, as the most important form of human existence, followed by the family in its structure. The company was expected to adhere to the class hierarchy. The government must ensure order and security for the population. According to him, the “conservative revolution” was intended to eliminate the results materialized in the institutions and orders of the Weimar Republic. First of all, this concerned the principles of liberalism that were introduced and developed in Germany. It should also be noted that the ideas of the “conservative revolution,” or “third way” were fully inherent in Italian fascism at an early stage of its functioning and Rene Guenon and Julius Evol, who are representatives of integral traditionalism. It is believed that the foundations of this direction were laid by Rene Jean Marie Jozef Guenon (1886-1951), a French thinker and writer who later converted to Islam and moved permanently to Egypt. In his writings after the end of the First world war, he began to actively criticize Western civilization for the loss of spirituality, turning to Islam, which in his opinion still retained spiritual values. Integral traditionalism was critical

of democracy, liberalism, and modernism. The goal of the society is to return to the ideal society that took place in Europe before the French revolution. The transition could be made by another, already conservative revolution. Great importance was attached to religion, but in contrast to most trends of conservatism, supporters of integral traditionalism tried to combine the position of Catholicism with elements of occultism, Islam, Hinduism and the principles of Freemasonry. Julius Evola (1898-1974) – Baron, Italian philosopher, poet. In 1934, his work “Revolt against the modern world” was published, which set out the main provisions of integral traditionalism. He was dissatisfied with the modern world, which was dominated by democratic values and principles of humanism, and contrasted it with the world of tradition, which was based on hierarchy, honor, loyalty, service, and recognition of the value of war. The conservative revolution, in his opinion, had a spiritual dimension and should have been based on traditional values. At the same time, he considered the unification of Austria, Italy and Germany as a return to the Roman-German world of traditional values and classical culture as a movement in its direction. Thus, in the first half of the XX century. Conservatism continued to develop traditional questions formulated at the previous stage of development. The General characteristic of conservatism was the authoritarianism of power, equally monarchical and Republican, when there should be a strong power and state. This was reflected in practice when a number of States with authoritarian political regimes rose up in Europe: Italy, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Romania.

Conservatism of the second half of the XX century.

The end of the Second World War marked the collapse not only of the national socialist and fascist systems, sharp criticism of real socialism as a totalitarian formation, but also the victory in most European countries of the principles of liberal democracy. The evaluation further development of conservatism during the second half of the XX century there is a certain discrepancy which appears in the formulation of neo-conservatism. There are two approaches at the same time. According to the first, all theoretical concepts that were developed during this period

by representatives of conservative political forces should be attributed to neoconservatism. Accordingly, this term is considered universal and integral like neoliberalism. Representatives of the second approach believe that after the end of the Second world war, within the framework of conservatism, close to each other, at the same time, separate theoretical directions are formed, one of which is neoconservatism. Accordingly, relative to the second half of the XX century, the following independent trends can be distinguished: libertarianism; paternalistic, or pragmatic; neoconservatism or radical. After the war, the diffusion of ideas of liberalism and conservatism increased, but it occurred simultaneously in two directions. The first was characterized by an appeal to the views of classical liberalism and was called libertarianism in the literature, the second was characterized by the adoption of the principles of Keynesianism and certain provisions of social liberalism, which was mainly inherent in paternalistic or pragmatic conservatism. In institutional terms, the principles were put into practice by the governments of Margaret Thatcher, who carried out a successful denationalization program, treating public ownership as effective, and during the presidency of Ronald Reagan, whose policy on the economy was called “Reaganomics”. Paternalistic or pragmatic conservatism gradually became dominant in the postwar period. The term “paternalism” refers to actions similar to those of a parent aimed at doing good or preventing negative consequences. The founder of this direction is considered to be Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881)-former Prime Minister of Great Britain. In this country, the direction is still the name of “charisma” from the previous name of the Conservative party.

A common characteristic was the recognition of political democracy as the optimal form of government. Basic provisions: tradition, order, power and property can only be adequately implemented if policies are implemented in accordance with actual conditions and practices. Representatives of this direction did not recognize radical changes, although they are ready to support changes that will be aimed at preserving the established forms of public life. The market was recognized as a

means of social development. The result obtained through market relations should be used to achieve public goals. They advocated a state that should set a certain standard of living for all citizens without exception. In the economic sphere, the goal should be economic growth, which should lead to the elimination of unemployment and the provision of adequate incomes for average citizens. In public matters, they advocated national consensus and placed great importance on moral values that should be directly related to religious teachings. The radical trend of conservatism after world war II was largely characterized by anti-communism. In their opinion, under the conditions of the “cold war”, liberalism was not able to effectively and effectively resist communism, due to its compromise’s nature. The main initiator and symbol in the United States was Republican Senator Joseph Raymond McCarthy (1908-1957), who claimed to have lists of government officials who supported Communist ideology. This provoked checks on the loyalty of not only government employees, but also journalists, artists, scientists, and so on. His personal activities and the actions of his supporters have been called “witch hunts” in the literature. For neoconservatism recent decades is typical: In the economy-replacing the reformist model of development with a monetarist model focused on freeing private business from excessive state interference, comprehensive promotion of market relations and private entrepreneurship; In the social sphere-the existing flexible liberal-reformist course is giving way to “austerity”, “economic realism”, anti-egalitarian tendencies, and social spending is being reduced. . In the political sphere, there is a reorientation on the problems of political power, democracy, the functions and prerogatives of the state, and bureaucracy in the direction of strengthening elitist tendencies and anti-bureaucratic moods. The goal is to functionally strengthen the political system, search for ideas and approaches to creating flexible power structures, and strengthen law and order. The success of neoconservatives is largely due to their awareness of the need for socio-economic and political changes in society, which are caused by the technological revolution and the contradictions of modern civilization. Neoconservatism is a powerful intellectual force in most Western countries. They

are Tories in the UK, Tories in France, Republicans in the US, and Christian Democrats in many European countries. Conservatism is spreading from the United States and Canada to Australia and Japan.

Knowledge of the essence and features of conservatism allows us to understand the European and world political processes, gives an idea of the international political experience, the place in it of the domestic political situation and the need for structural changes in it. Thus, it can be argued that conservatism would be correctly considered as: a psychological attitude or an inertial style of thinking; a special ideological position that is based on a certain "protective" philosophy; a certain model of existence and political behavior. So, we can conclude that conservatism focuses on preserving traditional rules, norms of behavior, hierarchy of power, social and political structures and institutions. However, this does not mean that this political doctrine excludes the possibility and necessity of taking into account changes and adapting existing structures and institutions to them. Over time, this political doctrine turned essentially from conservative to evolutionary, and experienced a kind of conservative Renaissance in the second half of the twentieth century. Conservatism in life and politics is a necessary moment on the way to becoming a democracy.

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