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SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONSERVATIVE IDEAS IN THE UNITED STATES

Turaev Abrar Salokhiddinovich

Senior teacher of Jizzakh State Pedagogical Institute, Uzbekistan

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1741-6857>

Abdusamadov Farrukh

Teacher of Jizzakh State Pedagogical Institute, Uzbekistan

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the general content of the political ideology of conservatism, conservative ideologies in the United States, their peculiarities and features of development. Attention is also paid to the impact of conservatism on US domestic and foreign policy and its role in the modern system of international relations.

KEYWORDS: *conservatism, the political ideology of conservatism, U.S., domestic and foreign policy, ideological evolution, ideology of neoconservatism.*

INTRODUCTION

Socio-political and ideological processes in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, in particular, the end of the bipolar world order, the trend towards multipolarity, the acceleration of trade, economic and integration processes have led to radical changes in the ideological landscape. By this time, concerns about the negative impact of certain political ideologies were growing.

This is certainly not in vain. Because ideas and ideologies that have the power to influence the whole world, in terms of their power and scale, often play a leading role in the ideological landscape of the world. Ideological processes specific to a particular region or individual state also play a role in this. In this regard, special attention should be paid to the political and ideological doctrines of the world's leading countries in terms of economic potential and political influence. In many regions and territories of the world, the influence of these countries is clearly felt and is clearly reflected in the ideological landscape of today's world.

In this regard, in the context of changing global impact, there is a comparison of different political concepts, doctrines that represent the content of international relations and foreign policy of states, theories that have not been sufficiently studied by one or another national, scientific schools as a complex scientific problem. Until the last decades of

the twentieth century, in the system of world politics and international relations, ideological currents such as realism, Marxism, liberalism, scientific schools and forms of worldview have been in the spotlight of the scientific community.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

By the post-1990s, interest in the ideology of conservatism had increased. That is, the role of conservative ideas in the new world order is growing, and the influence of certain states in the development of domestic and foreign policy strategies is growing. In particular, one of the largest ideological currents that has its place in the ideological landscape of the modern world is conservatism. In the lexical sense, "conservatism" (latin *conservatisme*) means "preservation", "protection". Conservatism emerged in the eighteenth century as an ideology that secular and ecclesiastical feudal lords descended from the stage of history, representing the interests of various social strata who feared the future, condemned liberalism, and advanced the idea of the inviolability of divinely established orders. Its basic rules were laid by the English thinker and politician E. Burke (1729-1797), the French public figure J. de Mestr (1753-1821) and L. de Bonald (1754-1840). Underlying these rules is the idea of preserving traditional values associated with the order of things that are naturally decided, family, nation, religion,



class division. That is why conservatives advocate the priority of succession over innovation in social development. In their opinion, political principles should be adapted to customs, national traditions, established socio-economic and political institutions. There is no doubt in them that the hierarchical social structure is established from above, and therefore it cannot be arbitrarily changed by man. According to traditional views, the stratum of people who suffered from the unrest in society during the great French Revolution were regarded as conservatives. Conservatism is a system of views, cognitions, and political-ideological systems of attitudes toward the world around us. But it is not always associated with specific political parties such as liberalism, social democracy, marxism. Conservatism encompasses a variety of sometimes conflicting ideas, concepts, doctrines, and traditions[2].

As a rule, the starting point of modern conservatism is the publication in 1790 of E. Burke's famous essay "Reflections on the Revolution in France"[11]. It is clear from this that conservatism as a modern political ideology dates back to the time of the great French Revolution, and that historical diversity has the character of diversity. But their main views are close to each other.

The term "conservatism" was first used and popularized in 1815 by the French writer Francois Rene de Chateaubriand in his articles published in the Conservative magazine. The development of the ideas of conservatism has never been smooth and smooth.

E. Burke writes about this in "Reflections on the Revolution in France " (1790): 1) religion is the basis of civil society and is superior to political and social activity; 2) society is a product of historical development. If society needs change, these changes must be made gradually; 3) people's feelings are of great importance in social life; 4) society should be superior to the individual. The rights of the individual are therefore related to his duties; 5) any society consists, first of all, of a hierarchy of different strata, groups and individuals; 6) the existing methods of governing society and the state are preferable to new, unused methods. One can observe in his approach that conservative views are mixed with liberal ideas.

The positivism of O. Conte, which began to take shape in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the socialism of A. C. Saint-Simon, manifested itself as a reaction to the ideas of social atomism, enlightened individualism, and the results of the great French Revolution. In their search for an organic basis for the organization of society, they found the founders of the traditions of continental conservatism, J.S. de Mestr and L. were very close to de Bonald. Explaining power and society as the will of the Creator, L.A. de Bonald saw power as a living being aimed at preserving society. He asserts that the will of this being is the law, and its action is the

authority[3].

According to the priests of conservatism, the implementation of the ideas of education and the French Revolution can lead to the devaluation of ancestral traditions, the violation of the spiritual and material dignity of society.

In his research, the Russian researcher V. Gusev states that "Conservatism is an important systematic principle that manifests itself in the form of a type of political thinking, a political idea, the principle of adherence to social traditions" [5].

In general, the idea that the real world has some kind of vital beginning prevails among theorists with conservative views. The central point of the philosophy of conservatism is the belief in the sinful nature of man. In the opinion of the founders of conservatism, only a society based on a hierarchical system was considered natural and legitimate. If liberalism and socialism emerged as a class ideological and political current of the bourgeoisie and the working class, it is very difficult to express a single and clear opinion on conservatism. In general, conservatism reflects the ideas, ideals, behaviors, goals and values of social groups at risk of objective trends in socio-historical and socio-economic development. It has also reflected the ideas of social groups that are being felt and felt by growing difficulties and pressure by democratic forces.

At the same time, the concept of "conservative" includes a set of socially accepted and accepted values that define a particular behavior and way of thinking of individuals.

From an epistemological point of view, conservatism reveals two different essences of the socio-political process. It is, on the one hand, evolution, development, the rejection of the past, and the discovery of novelty, while, on the other hand, it is a formed state that embraces all the vital, continuous, and universal features of the past. In other words, conservatism reflects the fact that it is possible to talk about history and the socio-historical process only in the interdependence of concepts such as development and innovation on the one hand, and the preservation of the legacy of the past on the other. Hence, conservatism emphasizes the need to preserve traditional rules, norms, hierarchical power, social and political systems and institutions.

As the world is multifaceted and constantly changing, conservatism cannot deny all of change. As a result of historical development, conservatism has undergone as important changes as liberalism. It became an idea that defended the interests of big capital as bourgeois relations settled. Conservatives, like liberals, demanded that the market ensure freedom of competition, limiting state intervention in the economy. As an example, since the second half of the nineteenth century, and especially in the twentieth century (mainly after World War II), as conservatives have adapted to socio-economic and socio-political



changes, they have adopted many important ideas and principles that were previously rejected. For example, free market relations, constitutionalism, representation of government and the electoral system, parliamentarism, political and ideological pluralism. Conservatism underwent profound changes in this direction in the 1970s and 1980s. In this regard, even in the history of conservative ideas in the United States, one can see complementary, sometimes contradictory aspects.

The role of "republicanism" in the American system of political ideas was important and had a strong influence on the formation of liberal and conservative ideas. President Abraham Lincoln described conservatism as based on antiquity and tradition and opposed to innovation. At the end of the 19th century, the Democrats, led by President Grover Cleveland, campaigned against high taxes, corruption, and imperialism, advocating business interests. In general, conservative ideas were supported during this period by separate groups of Democratic and Republican parties.

The rise of the Conservative wave in the United States in the 1930s is also reflected in President Roosevelt's policy of expanding state control. Although the United States entered the twentieth century with old liberal approaches, conservative principles began to determine the political course of the state. If after World War I American conservatism was divided in accordance with the return of U.S. foreign policy to traditional isolationism, after World War II the main foreign policy priority was taken over by liberals. The Conservatives had to reckon with the Marshall Plan, the creation of NATO, and US international military involvement. Because without them, the Cold War would not have been possible[7]. At the same time, the influence of conservative views was felt. Calls to not retreat from traditional approaches have been regular. In this regard, Plekhanov, a Russian researcher, argues that "liberals' foreign policy strategies, which ensure the unimpeded expansion of American capital to all corners of the world, called for conservative isolationism and a tradition of non-interference against the creation of an international economic and political order"[9]. However, it should be noted that the idea of isolationism of U.S. conservatives after World War II was not seen as a barrier to America from the world, but as a barrier to international organizations and clear foreign policy commitments. That is, the U.S. does not need to understand limiting its "free" hand on the world stage. Researcher Melville acknowledged that this was the case in keeping with the one-sided principle[8].

After the 1950s, one of the new directions of conservatism emerged in the United States as neoconservatism as a political-philosophical view. Its main feature in international relations is that

neoconservatives supported an interventionist approach to the protection of national interests.

The decision of neoconservatism is not accidental. It was formed in order to oppose neoliberalism and socialism. Neoliberalism recognizes the need for state intervention in economic activity and supports the development of state social programs. Neoconservatism, on the other hand, requires limiting state intervention in the economy. Antitatism - the limitation of the social functions of the state - neoconservatism is a defining feature of the terms of the ideological-political course. According to neoconservatives, "a less governing government is the best government."

Neoconservatives oppose taxes on large capital in order to redistribute resources in favor of the poor. They demand the reduction of the state's social programs as a fierce enemy of equal distribution. According to neoconservatives, the current state should create equality of opportunity, not equality of results, for the people. The transformation of the state into a "milking cow" destroys and fires people. Everyone should rely not only on the state, but also on their own strength and those of their loved ones.

The formation of a new American conservatism began to emerge in the harmony of the traditional foundations of conservatism and liberal ideas. That is, it is necessary to acknowledge the change in the original conservative ideas. Clark argues that modern American conservatism arose from the alliance of classical liberalism and social conservatism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries[1].

One of the distinctive features of American conservatism is its theoretically diverse district and lack of internal unity [4]. Therefore, it is somewhat difficult to type it. Nevertheless, research has tried to divide American conservatism into different groups and types. In particular, A.Galkin divides the right into radical and moderate conservatism, A.Yu.Melville into traditional, libertarianism and neoconservatism, and Sogrin into social (new) conservatism and neoconservatism.

The diversity of conservative rules has led to a change in attitudes towards conservatism, which was built as an ideological phenomenon in the 1970s and 1980s. Initially, the term "conservatism" was less popular, but in the late 1970s it became popular again. In a number of European countries, political parties have emerged under the name of "conservatives". The arrival of Reagan in the U.S. government in 1980 and his re-election in 1984 would give the Thatcher-led Conservative Party three victories in Britain. At the same time, the results of the parliamentary and local elections in Germany, Italy, and France indicated that the ideas and principles pursued by these forces were in line with the majority of the population.



The peculiarity of conservatism in the 1970s and 1980s was that the conservatives themselves, who opposed scientific and technological progress, turned out to be supporters of this development.

When it comes to the place and nature of U.S. conservative ideas on the foreign policy agenda, one can see that the competition between the level of development of conservative ideas and the liberal current observed over the last century has continued unabated. In particular, for liberals, international law, international organizations, and universal morality played a key role in defending American national interests, while for conservatives, the first priority for the U.S. was to balance the forces of its close allies in the international arena and protect American business. Hence, American conservative foreign policy traditions have emphasized the distrust of these multilateral international institutions and the predominance of unilateral actions by the United States and its allies. Adherence to tradition has led to increased focus on military capabilities and increased defense spending. Such features of American conservatism can also be seen in today's foreign policy strategies. There have also been a number of "corrections" to conservative approaches and a combination of liberal ideas without changing the fundamental ideological foundations. For example, the conservative presidents R. Nixon and R. Reagan, who have achieved a number of successes in the international arena, have achieved great success as a result of its modernization, moving away from the original conservative ideas. For example, we can see that the Nixon government stopped the Vietnam War, and relations with the USSR and China stabilized. Kissinger described the situation as "... a combination of conservative White House strategies with liberal tactics"[6].

We can also see the disarmament agreements signed by the Reagan government with the USSR. Throughout the Cold War, American conservative foreign policy views led to a tendency to adapt to the innovations promoted by the liberals - the UN, NATO, arms control, the struggle for human rights. However, measures taken by the Republican government in the late 1980s and early 1990s led to increased confidence in conservative methods, including support for business investment, a reduction in the budget deficit and falling inflation, and the rejection of liberal models in managing the American economy.

In the early 1990s, the U.S. began to rank high among the major capitalist countries in terms of economic growth.

The wave of conservatives in the 1980s and 1990s was much higher than the Liberals expected, which was seen as a severe blow to liberal internationalism. Russian American scholar T.A. Shackleina admits that in a 1992 poll, Americans did not support the idea of American world leadership. They cite financial costs as the reason. So

the country needs a president who needs to focus more on domestic issues. President George W. Bush has focused more on foreign policy [10].

During the 1990s, U.S. conservatives set themselves the goal of removing the remnants of liberal internationalism from American foreign policy practice and gaining military-political supremacy in putting and safeguarding national interests at the heart of American foreign policy. In addition, at the threshold of the 21st century, a number of ideas and concepts related to U.S. foreign policy have been put forward by conservative circles. Examples include the Rumsfeld Commission Report (1998) and the US National Security Report (2001).

CONCLUSIONS

From the point of view of the scientific schools that underpin the theory of world politics and international relations, American conservatives are generally seen as supporters of the "realistic paradigm" (school of political realism), while liberals are seen as "idealists". In politics, conservatives are supporters of elite governance, and power should be run by a group of people with the best professional training. It is merocracy, that is, the power of those who deserve to be ruled.

In the United States today, the term "conservative" is interpreted differently than it was originally used. While the original conservative idea was based on the strong connection between the state and the church and adherence to tradition, later conservatism-based views also changed as a result of industrial coups. Nevertheless, the influence of currents that interpret conservative ideas differently remains.

Демак, қуйидаги умумий хулосаларни илгари суриш мумкин:

The main features of conservative ideas in the United States are related to the evolution of conservatism;

The idea of U.S. conservatism has a three-century history, changing and becoming more complex at different times;

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, the rise of public interest in conservative ideas in the United States led to an increase in its place in socio-political life;

The influence of liberal ideas and views can also be seen in modern interpretations of the doctrine of conservatism. Representatives of this movement, which for almost two centuries has denied the idea of socio-economic equality, today have to recognize the principles of universal suffrage, social protection of citizens, individual rights and freedoms, formed on the basis of liberalism. For example, the "new right" movement that emerged at the heart of conservatism in the second half of the twentieth century also advocated a free market economy, social and political freedoms;



After the end of the Cold War, conservative ideas became more active in U.S. foreign policy strategies, and efforts to remove the remnants of liberal internationalism intensified. In addition, conservative strategies were combined with liberal tactics;

The peculiarity of the conservatism of the 70s and 80s is that the conservatives themselves, who opposed scientific and technological progress, turned out to be supporters of this development;

One of the directions of conservatism in the United States, neoconservatism, was formed as an ideological movement that embodied principles such as sharp political decision-making, strengthening the armed forces, and putting national interests first, and began to be seen as an ideological source for shaping U.S. foreign policy strategies.

Thus, in the ideology of conservatism, the preconceived notions of the family, religion, morality, the privileged role of certain social groups are closely linked with new views and values, individualism and market freedom. This ideology, in contrast to liberalism, has a profound effect on the public consciousness of Western countries. Types of modern conservatism at the national and international levels consist of a clear set of complex concepts, ideas, principles, ideologies. At the same time, when comparing and analyzing individual national variants of conservatism, such as conservative currents in the United States, it is observed that each of them has its own diversity and contradictions.

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