

The Ideology of Neoconservatism: Theoretical and Political-Categorical Analysis

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Annotation: This article analyzes the ideology of U.S. neoconservatism, one of the modern political ideologies, focusing on the theoretical and political-categorical issues of ideology.

Keywords: USA, neoconservatism, ideology, political ideology, ideological category, national interests.

Introduction

The end of the twentieth century - the beginning of the twenty-first century concerns about the negative impact of ideologies are growing.

The role of ideologies in the history of human society is great and is recognized as a factor influencing everything from socio-political stability to the issues of everyday life.

Main part: resource analysis

The concept of "ideology" is one of the most studied categories in the social sciences as an object of study. This concept was first introduced into scientific use in the XVIII century by the French thinker Antoine Destutt de Tracy. Tracy interpreted the term as a doctrine of ideas derived from human emotional experience. He believed that "ideology, like natural data, must be clearly scientific"[1].

Ideology manifests itself as a form of social consciousness based on stable values decided under certain conditions. Often it exists in secret. Political ideology, on the other hand, is one of the forms of existence of political consciousness, which can be broadly defined as a set of ideas about the field of politics. In this context, political ideology emerges as one of the most influential forms of political consciousness. Political ideology is interpreted as a specific doctrine that justifies the claims of this or that group to power or its use, and serves to achieve the subordination of public opinion to their ideas based on these goals.

In the field of ideology, certain analyzes are also carried out on the structure of ideology. In particular, according to D.M.Mamatkulov, one of the researchers of our country, "When studying the ideology from a scientific point of view, it becomes clear that it consists mainly of three components. Its components are:

the first, a set of ideas, categories, principles, systematized (based on science, philosophy, religion, etc.);
second, the subjective factors (ideological institutions and ideological individuals) that apply the ideas, categories and principles of ideology to society;

and third, the ways, methods, and tools used in the process of applying ideas and categories to society.

Although ideology consists of three components, in fact it is an indivisible, integral mechanism. The role of these components of ideology in the achievement of the goals of society is incomparable. Only their equal action in ideological practice will lead society towards the goal. On the contrary, this ideology is flawed and loses its leadership in society" [2].

The first component of ideology is the theoretical and fundamental basis of ideology. The process of formation of ideology begins with this first component. The ideas, categories and principles embedded in a particular system in the first component are the main elements that reveal the essence of this ideology, and the essence (creation or destruction) of this ideology is reflected in real life.

To date, the effectiveness of the ideological factor and the use of its influence for various purposes are becoming clear. In particular, the influence of ideologies formed on the basis of a system of destructive ideas of various kinds is growing and serves as an ideological program for some political forces. At the same time, under the influence of globalization, certain changes are taking place in the system of traditional ideological views.

New trends in the development of conservatism began to manifest themselves in the United States after the 1950s with the emergence of a new direction of conservatism - neoconservatism as a political-

philosophical view. Its characteristic feature in the development of political views is that neoconservatism supported an interventionist approach aimed at protecting national interests. This ideological current was formed in response to the economic crisis of 1973-1974, the youth protests in Western Europe, and the growing influence of John Keynes' ideas.

The formation of neoconservatism in the United States began to occur in a combination of the foundations of traditional conservatism and liberal ideas. That is, changes in original conservative ideas must be acknowledged. Therefore, "modern American conservatism arose from the merger of classical liberalism and social conservatism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries"[3], B.Clark noted.

The last two centuries, from conservatism to neoconservatism, have been a series of "defensive" responses to the rise of revolutionary and radical movements.

To date, in the analysis of modern ideological currents, there have been various interpretations of the content and ideological basis of neoconservatism. Significantly, much of the research on this trend is directly related to U.S. neoconservatism. This is because, as a political ideology, it has influenced the formation of political systems and power structures around the world, but in recent decades the U.S. public administration has stood out for its influence and role in shaping domestic and foreign policy in particular. In other words, the notion of "U.S. neoconservatism" as a political ideological current has become commonplace.

The term "neoconservatism" was first used in 1973 in an article by Democrat-Socialist M.Harrington in the journal "Dissent" on welfare policy[4].

Although the ideas of neoconservatism, based on conservatism, emerged in the 60s and 70s of the twentieth century, it is still difficult to give a clear definition of neoconservatism.

In explaining the content and essence of the political ideology of neoconservatism, Irving Kristol, known as the main founder of this movement, uses the concept of "persuasion". In the 50s and 60s of the last century, I.Kristol, together with Norman Podgorets, formed his own views in the magazine "Commentary". According to I. Kristol, neoconservatism was a sufficiently legitimate phenomenon that it had to replace traditional conservatism, which had lost its meaning. In his neoconservative views, he pays special attention to historical experiences. In particular, in his works, he focused on the main priorities of the nature and direction of U.S. policy. In particular, he acknowledged, "First of all, the strengthening of patriotism, private and public influence should be encouraged. Second, there must be a strong distrust of international institutions, an understanding of the dangers of international tyranny, and, finally, the ability of public leaders to distinguish friends from enemies in the international political arena"[5].

R.Kagan and W.Kristol, neoconservative theorists, state that "one of the aspects of neoconservatism in the formation and support of national interests is the focus on patriotism and nationalism in society"[6].

According to the research of neoconservatives on the socio-economic problems of the 1960s, the central idea of the neoconservative worldview was to justify the unsystematic nature of liberal politics, to decide the idea of a united America. In particular, American researcher Etzioni argues that the causes of the crisis of conservative traditions and the formation of a new ideological current: It is only in recent years that the conservative school has resumed its history. "In order to distinguish the new conservative spark from the previous ones, we will introduce the concept of "neoconservatism"[7], he said.

Explaining the new ideological processes in the United States, I. Kristol puts forward the following eight main theses in substantiating the formation and content of neoconservatism: "1.Neoconservatism arose out of despair in modern liberalism; 2.Contrary to his earlier views, there is no romance based on neoconservatism; 3.The philosophical roots of neoconservatism lie mainly in classical political philosophy; 4. Neoconservative thinking does not feel dependent on bourgeois society. In line with A.Tocqueville's opinion, neoconservatives prefer liberal-democratic capitalism; 5.A market economy is an important condition for a liberal society. Moreover, they see exactly the means of economic growth in the market; 6. Proponents of neoconservatism believe in the importance of economic growth not only because of the production of material wealth, but also because of its positive impact on social and political life. It is only the above indicators that allow us to speak about the role and vitality of democracy as a socio-political system; 7.While neoconservatives welcome the market as an effective economic mechanism, they are not considered liberals like Friedman or von Hayek; 8.Neoconservatives see the family and religion as an important foundation of civilized society"[8].

In general, neoconservatism has attempted to adapt the traditional values of conservatism to the realities

of industrialized societies. The diversity of lifestyles and the growing dependence of man on the technical environment, the acceleration of the pace of life and the disruption of the spiritual and ecological balance - all this has led to a socio-cultural crisis in Western countries, calling into question many basic values of Western culture. In this context, neoconservatism offered society a social balance based on the spiritual supremacy of family and religion, mutual responsibility of citizen and state, respect for the rule of law, a strong state order, and stability. At first glance, while maintaining a tendency to market economy, privileges of individual strata and groups, these trends were aimed at preserving human qualities in society and citizens, general spiritual laws that no economic and technical development can fill the spiritual void in people's hearts. In such circumstances, the primary responsibility for maintaining humanity rests with the individual. He stressed that he must first and foremost rely on his own strength and the solidarity of his compatriots. This model differed from the liberal model, which was only self-confident, had an independent understanding of the essence of existence, and had to "agree" with the state itself. "The new conservative state should be based on moral principles and maintaining the integrity of society, provide living conditions for the individual on the basis of law and order, create opportunities for political associations through the development of civil society institutions, maintain balance in society and nature"[9].

In the 1970s and 1990s, there were significant shifts in this direction. Evaluating the place of ideas and ideology in the life of society, I.Kristol states: "Non-ideological politics is unarmed politics"[10]. That is, this approach expresses the claim that neoconservatism should be the ideological basis that supports the pragmatic policy of the state. Because, as noted, the ideology of neoconservatism was formed as a movement opposed to neoliberalism and socialism. But the neo-conservative idea of the period was only aimed at preserving the solidarity of American society, ensuring the priority of U.S. political and cultural identity. In this regard, in the struggle with the existing dominant ideological rivals revealed the characteristics and requirements of the period.

According to modern neoconservatism, an "informed society" needs obedience and the state has the right to take the necessary measures to achieve these goals. Reliance on the principles of classical conservatism, recognition of the defining role of the state, reliance on historically formed political values are considered as important factors in this regard. At the same time, it was acknowledged that "an important aspect of neoconservative reforms is the formation of a civil society that embodies the continuity of the historical past and the present".

Analyzes show that neoconservatism, along with the principles of traditional conservatism, also reflected the ideas and theories specific to liberalism, which are an integral part of Western cultural heritage. It can therefore be said that sometimes neoconservatism also manifests itself as a modified liberalism that has emerged in response to the shortcomings of traditional liberalism.

The manifestation of American neoconservatism as a political ideology that integrates classical conservatism and liberal ideas, strengthens the spiritual superiority of family and religion, patriotism and national responsibility, civic and state responsibility, political morality in the development of political culture, elitism, respect for law approaches such as meritocracy, strong state order and stability-based social balance, limiting the social functions of the state, recognizing the privileges of certain strata and groups, negative attitude to state social programs, ensuring liberal market and competition, limiting state intervention in the economy, free market relations, constitutionalism, representation and electoral system of government, parliamentarism, political and ideological pluralism, inviolability of private property, respect for human rights, recognition of democratic institutions, rationalism and technocratism, in harmony with principles such as the promotion of liberal-democratic ideas. In our opinion, it is more expedient to interpret the political ideology of neo-conservatism not as an entirely newly formed ideology, but as a renewed conservatism.

As noted above, in the first component of an ideology, along with ideas, there will also be ideological categories. Ideological categories are one of the topics that have not been sufficiently studied in science. In recent years, researchers in our country have begun to pay attention to this issue. In particular, according to the researcher D.Mamatkulov, "Ideological categories are the basic concepts that have methodological and ideological content, are formed as a result of ideological knowledge and ideological practice, have an ideological character and are legally interconnected. These concepts differ from ordinary concepts in that they are not the result of everyday consciousness, but of theoretical consciousness[2].

Evaluating this approach, E.Mallayeva comments: "By this definition, the researcher proposes to name in a single term the concepts that currently affect the human worldview in ideological practice, helping people to understand the essence of existence"[11].

Indeed, it can be said that this approach plays an important role in the development of research in the field of ideology, strengthening the basis of theoretical analysis. In particular, the development of the classification of ideological categories allows to understand the essence of modern ideologies and systematic analysis. In this regard, the researchers believe, "Ideological categories are figurative symbols that indicate the criteria for people to know, evaluate and act.

There are three main types of ideological categories that meet these criteria:

- Categories representing ideal images;
- Categories representing hostile images;
- Categories representing the state and process.

These categories will be present in every ideology that maintains its place in practice. Categories that represent ideal images in ideologies, mainly in harmony with the set ideological goal, reflect the ideal person and the ideal space (society) in bright "colors". These categories direct the human mind to the pattern and require "absolute belief" in the chosen pattern and pattern. Thus, on the basis of the categories that represent the ideal images, there is an "absolute confidence" in the mind-oriented reality, pattern or pattern[2].

Categories representing ideal images represent two main types of ideals in socio-political life: the ideal person needed for society and the ideal space that is the future goal of society. This category plays a key role in people's understanding of personal and social goals. It is well known that political culture is not formed in citizens who have no purpose in life. Categories that represent the ideal images that exist in the ideology form in practice the individual and public purpose necessary for political culture in citizens[11].

Categories of enemy images represent people, forces, and space (society, state, and various groups) who are outside the ideologically defined "norms" and "norms" and oppose them in black[2].

This means that the political ideologies that have been formed to date, and in general every ideology, will have these categories. In particular, in the ideologies of conservatism and neoconservatism.

In general, the analysis of the ideology of conservatism and its manifestation as an important category of political science is important at a time when radical changes are taking place in the ideological landscape of today's world. The growing interest in conservatism in the world is characterized by the appeal to thinkers of the past as a solution to the current problems of today, as well as the high appreciation of the potential of conservative ideology to modernize society.

The general conclusion of the considered issues is as follows:

- At the present stage, the tendency to resort to the principles of conservative ideology is growing, characterized by the fact that its main principles are, first of all, social stability, respect for traditional state institutions, recognition of private property, adherence to traditional values, national unity and patriotism, religion and family. together the practice of social reform, which contradicts drastic revolutionary movements, is encouraged;

- The influence of liberal ideas and views can be seen in modern interpretations of the doctrine of conservatism. For almost two centuries, members of this movement, which has denied the idea of socio-economic equality, have adopted the principles of universal suffrage, social protection, individual rights and freedoms, formed on the basis of liberalism;

- neoconservatism was formed as an ideological and political movement based on the idea of preserving the integrity of the United States and the supremacy of American socio-political traditions, embodying the principles of sharp political decision-making and the priority of national interests;

- neoconservatism was seen as a system of ideological programs that could bring society out of crisis, and it sought to combine the ideas of several doctrines, such as traditional conservatism, liberalism and socialism;

- neoconservatism as a renewed conservatism manifested itself as an ideology that stabilizes the system of socio-political, economic and spiritual-moral relations in society;

- Democracy, "national interests," "elected," "patriotic," "religious," "religious," "family and morality," "harmony of person and society," "armed forces of the nation," and "armed forces of the nation" ideological

categories such as the “global democratic revolution”. At the same time, they represent hostile images such as "Islamofascism", "terrorism", "threat of global power", "rough states", "threat of powers", "authoritarianism" and "export of democracy", "benevolent hegemony", "color revolutions". It is known that ideological categories have been formed, such as "anarchy of international relations", "withdrawal from international order", "humanitarian intervention", "the role of the US international police".

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