The author investigates the stages of development and formation of conservatism as a multifaceted socio-political phenomenon, which was emerged and developed in Europe against the background of Christian civilization. The historical sources of conservatism, their transformation from thinking style of Medieval Europe into the ideology of political parties of the XVIII – XIX th centuries are analyzes also. The author studies in detail the process of establishing political doctrine of conservatism, its Anglo-Saxon origin and German philosophical rationale in particular. The investigator consider such modern scientific approaches to understanding conservatism as ideological and situational approaches, revealing their essence, basic principles and claims as well as analyzing their advantages and disadvantages. He substantiates the idea of usefulness and sustainability of the ideological core of political conservatism. The author also evaluates the approaches of American scientists to understanding of conservatism and making an attempt to show its effectiveness in the sphere of public administration and politics relying on R. Reagan and M. Thatcher’s examples of political democracies.

Key words: conservatism, state, the ideology of public administration, the conservative method of politics.

Ukraine, as the nation with its own longstanding history, traditions and culture, faces today some fundamental internal and geopolitical challenges. Numerous reforms that have been proclaimed in various life spheres often encounter resentment and misunderstanding of society, which leads to increased social tensions. In this context, a golden mean policy is much needed, that would base on unique historical background and sociocultural certainty and, at the same time, take into account the global tendencies.
The abovementioned and recent heighten scientific interest in the ideas of political conservatism account for the rationale of the study. However, there is an evident lack of fundamental research works devoted to the specifics of public administration within the framework of the conservative political doctrine. This is due to the fact that over the years of Ukrainian independence research works on conservatism usually focused on highlighting the historical and sociocultural aspects of Ukrainian conservatism.

Among the researchers of conservatism are renowned thinkers and scholars, such as N. Averyanova, O. Holubutsky, V. Kulyk, R. Kirk, K. Mannheim, S. Huntington, R. Schuettinger, F. Kyrylyuk, E. Popov etc.

The aim of the article is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the stages of conservatism as an ideology of state building, examine the crystallization process of the conservative political doctrine and specify the nature and basic principles of ideological and situational approaches to understanding conservatism.

Best practices during R. Reagan’s presidency in the USA and Margaret Thatcher’s leadership in Great Britain prove that conservative approach to politics and state management at the time, when society experiences the crisis in values and cultural guidelines, when there is an evident disbalance in powers and lack of organization among political and administrative elite, when the national economy requires deregulation, creation of conditions for unrestricted competition and protection of its interests at domestic and foreign markets.

The policy of «Reaganomics» in the United States and «Thatcherism» in the UK back in the day provided these countries with the ideas, approaches and social conservatism practices for organizing political process in line with the national consolidation on the basis of traditional cultural values.

«Reaganomics» and «Thatcherism» covered different areas of public policy and state management, from social and humanitarian spheres to foreign economic policy. Generally speaking, they aimed at developing and strengthening principles and priorities of national culture and traditions in politics and state management. This enabled to form national models of socio-political development which met requirements of the time.

Thus, conservatism (from lat. conservare – keep, guard) is the classic political ideology and thinking style of social groups that in public life prefer traditional values as well as moral and legal principles that form the basis of the Christian understanding of the family, political understanding of the nation, historical and idealistic understanding of the state, creative and
irrational understanding of the political elite, market understanding of the economy and ownership.

The term «conservatism» in its modern sense was introduced into political usage by French royalist and father of European literature Francois Rene de Chateaubriand, who in the late 1810s was issuing in France during the Restoration period the weekly journal «Conservateur», which promoted the idea of restoration of the monarchical system of government. This term acquires a broader sense in the mid-30s of the XIX century and it refers to the political position of the British Conservatives – tories. The first attempts to determine the boundaries of the phenomenon were actually made at the same time.

Nowadays, in the scholarly literature there are two basic approaches to defining conservatism, namely, ideological and situational.

At the heart of the ideological (substantive) approach is the concept of conservatism as one of the main ideological-political movements of modern age along with liberalism and socialism. Conservatism is equal to these ideological systems. However, unlike liberalism and socialism, its core idea is to preserve and strengthen universal, eternal human values. Within the framework of the ideological (substantive) approach transitionary approaches are singled out to define conservatism. In particular, sociological aspect in defining conservatism was emphasized by one of the pioneers of scientific study of conservatism German scientist Karl Mannheim in his work «Conservative Thought». He defines conservatism as a special, historically and sociologically established belief system, «style of thinking». According to the sociologist, conservatism is an ideology that emerged as a reaction to the French Revolution of 1789. However, the causes of this phenomenon lie deeper. Events of 1789 were just a catalyst for putting together conservative forces of society. Being embodied by these forces, conservatism became spiritual and intellectual ideological counterweight to the ideology of bourgeois society that was represented by liberalism, rationalism, individualism and educational philosophy.

The second approach to defining conservatism is called situational, wishing to preserve the status quo. According to supporters of the situational approach, as opposed to liberalism and socialism, conservatism does not have a stable ideological core and takes different forms at different historical periods. It should be perceived as a situational phenomenon that cannot be considered in isolation from the civilizational context and particular historical epoch.
Conservatism from the perspective of the situational approach is defined as a political ideology aimed at the substantiation, preservation, strengthening and development of the existing social system, while not excluding the possibility of reforming (sometimes quite radically) political, legal, social and other relations, and conservatism per se is not synonymous of immovability. Among the researchers who have made outstanding contributions to the study of situational aspect of conservatism Samuel Huntington should be mentioned. In his work «Conservatism as an Ideology» the scholar specifies the situational nature of the origin of conservatism, emphasizing that conservatism is a specific historical phenomenon, with the inherent features of a particular period of civilized society. In this context, conservatism does not rely on a specific social stratum, which serves as conservative outlook representative. Besides, this approach denies the existence of any ideological core.

Analyzing the advantages and disadvantages of the abovementioned approaches to understanding conservatism, more holistic and scientifically substantiated seems ideological approach. As a matter of fact, conservative ideology experiences significant pressure of the past and political present, which leads to the transformation of ideological core. However, despite this, some distinctive features are inherent to conservatism. Unlike the other two major ideological systems of today – liberalism and socialism – conservatism is an anti-progressive philosophy, the methodology of which is not one or another form of rationalism and philosophical theism. Conservatism is viewed as a phenomenon of Christian socio-cultural worlds. As the phenomenon of political life of society, conservatism enables to engage in the process of state building the potential of the masses through public awareness of their own cultural identity and historical path of political development.

Thus, conservatism is a multifaceted and multi-structured phenomenon of modern scientific and socio-political reality. It has proved and still proves its effectiveness as a state building ideology, as the doctrine and practice of socio-political development of such developed countries as the USA, UK, Germany and other European countries. These states are nationally oriented in their internal and foreign policy, with a high priority on their own political, economic and cultural interests. Ukraine, as a multi-million European country with great economic potential, can become a respected international policy coordinator only if it creates and implements its own national model of socio-political and economic development, taking into account its previous experience of state building, national administrative culture and traditions, specific internal and external conditions and requirements of the time.
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Michael Oakshott described conservatism as a non-ideological preference for the familiar, tried, actual, limited, near, sufficient, convenient and present. Historically, conservatives have been associated with attempts to sustain social harmony between classes and groups within an organic, hierarchical order grounded in collective history and cultural values. Yet, in recent decades, conservatism throughout the English-speaking world has been associated with radical social and economic policy, often championing free-market models which substitute the free movement of labour and forms of competition and social mobility for organic hierarchy and noblesse oblige.

REFORMED TORYISM AND THE EARLY FORMATION OF CONSERVATIVISM

Edward Smith-Stanley and the Knowsley Creed. The Conservative party prior to the Corn Law crisis had struggled with the ideas of reform and how to maintain institutions of the state (the church, the aristocracy, the economy, and the Monarchy) in this new industrial age. The Conservatives and, to a greater extent, the Tories, were often criticized for their support of an unpopular series of laws. Libertarian conservatism describes certain political ideologies most prominently within the United States which combine libertarian economic issues with aspects of conservatism. Its four main branches are constitutionalism, paleolibertarianism, small government conservatism and Christian libertarianism.

In the United States, the term "cultural conservative" may imply a conservative position in the culture war. Conservatism, political doctrine that emphasizes the value of traditional institutions and practices and their gradual evolution under conditions of continuity and stability. They generally believe that government should be the servant, not the master, of existing ways of life.

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Ideology: 'An ideology is a view about what ought to be thought, said and done about politics in terms of a sole criterion, where that sole criterion is a suggestion about to what or whom a fundamental debt is owed; and where this view is contested by views dependent on rival criteria within a situation which is constituted by the continual contestation of criteria.' (Alexander 2015).

Such theory is preoccupied with how the state justifies itself to its subjects, viewing them as having some fundamental normative (as opposed to practical) veto power over the rules by which they are governed. The liberal conception of the self is simple. It views the self as an isolated, atomistic, individual.

Conservatism = The view that the fundamental debt is owed to the self as constituted by...