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## THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND ITS INTERPRETATION IN THE TEACHINGS OF EASTERN AND WESTERN THINKERS

The essence of the concept of political ideology, its role in the development of society, and the interpretation of ideology in the teachings of Eastern and Western thinkers are studied. A comparative analysis of the political doctrines of Eastern thinkers such as Abu Nasr Farabi, Amir Timur, Western scholars Destut de Tracy, Mannheim, Gramshi, Gouldner, Voloshinov on political ideology is carried out. In the course of the research, the role of ideology in the management of society, ensuring social stability, and the formation of state and civil relations is analyzed. The main goal of the research is to illuminate the theoretical foundations of the concept of political ideology, to reveal how the issue of ideology was interpreted in the views of Eastern and Western thinkers, and to analyze the influence of these views on modern political processes. The methodological basis of the research is historical-comparative analysis, a systematic approach, the logical-analytical method – a comparative study of the views of Eastern and Western thinkers, an analysis of the role of ideology in the political system as a whole, a logical interpretation of the concept of political ideology and its elements. The research results will serve as additional educational material for students studying political science, philosophy, history, and social sciences. Ideological aspects of the teachings of Eastern thinkers – although there are commonalities between Eastern and Western political thought, their ideological foundations differ significantly. In the East, politics is harmonized with spiritual and moral values, while in the West, emphasis is placed on the political system, law, and civil rights. At the same time, the common goal of both schools is the formation of a just society and ensuring the stability of society. Thus, by identifying the commonalities and differences in the views of Eastern and Western thinkers, it is possible to determine which ideas are of priority importance in modern political processes. It will also be possible to determine the influence of various political ideologies on public consciousness, their role in the formation of management systems, and their contribution to the development of political culture.

**Keywords:** idea, ideology, political ideology, western ideology, eastern ideology.

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### Саяси идеология ұғымы және оның шығыс пен батыс ойшылдарының ілімдеріндегі түсіндірілуі

Саяси идеология ұғымының мәні, оның қоғам дамуындағы рөлі және Шығыс пен Батыс ойшылдарының ілімдеріндегі идеологияның түсіндірілуі зерттеледі. Шығыс ойшылдарынан Әбу Насыр Фараби, Әмір Темір, Батыс ғалымдарынан Дестут де Траси, Маннгейм, Грамши, Гольднер, Волошинов сияқты ойшылдардың саяси идеологияға қатысты саяси ілімдері салыстырмалы түрде талданады. Зерттеу барысында идеологияның қоғамды басқарудағы, әлеуметтік тұрақтылықты қамтамасыз етудегі, мемлекет пен азаматтық қатынастарды қалыптастырудағы рөлі талданады. Зерттеудің негізгі мақсаты – саяси идеология ұғымының теориялық негіздерін ашып көрсету, Шығыс және Батыс ойшылдарының көзқарастарындағы идеология мәселесінің қалай түсіндірілгенін ашып көрсету және осы көзқарастардың қазіргі саяси үдерістерге әсерін талдау. Зерттеудің әдіснамалық негізін тарихи-салыстырмалы талдау, жүйелік тәсіл, логикалық-аналитикалық әдіс – Шығыс пен Батыс ойшылдарының көзқарастарын салыстырмалы зерттеу, идеологияның саяси жүйедегі орнын тұтас жүйе ретінде талдау, саяси идеология ұғымы мен оның элементтерін логикалық түсіндіру құрайды. Зерттеу нәтижелері саясаттану, философия, тарих және әлеуметтік ғылымдар бағытында оқитын студенттер үшін қосымша оқу материалы ретінде қызмет етеді. Шығыс ойшылдарының ілімінің идеологиялық аспектілері – Шығыс пен Батыстың саяси ойлары арасында ортақтық болғанымен, олардың идеологиялық негіздері айтарлықтай ерекшеленеді. Шығыста саясат рухани-адамгершілік құндылықтармен үйлескен болса, Батыста саяси жүйеге, заңға және азаматтық құқыққа баса назар аударылады. Сонымен қатар екі

тептің ортақ мақсаты – әділетті қоғамды қалыптастыру және қоғамның тұрақтылығын қамтамасыз ету. Осылайша, Шығыс пен Батыс ойшылдарының көзқарастарындағы ұқсастықтар мен айырмашылықтарды анықтау арқылы қазіргі саяси процестерде қандай идеялар басымдыққа ие екенін анықтауға мүмкіндік береді. Сондай-ақ әртүрлі саяси идеологиялардың қоғам санасына әсерін, басқару жүйелерін қалыптастырудағы ролін және саяси мәдениеттің дамуына қосқан үлесін анықтау мүмкіндігі болады.

**Түйін сөздер:** идея, идеология, саясий идеология, батыс идеологиясы, шығыс идеологиясы.

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### **Понятие политической идеологии и его интерпретация в учениях восточных и западных мыслителей**

Изучается сущность понятия политической идеологии, ее роль в развитии общества и интерпретация идеологии в учениях восточных и западных мыслителей. Сравнительно анализируются политические учения таких мыслителей Востока, как Абу Наср Фараби, Амир Темур, западные ученые Дестут де Траси, Маннгейм, Грамши, Гольднер, Волошинов о политической идеологии. В ходе исследования анализируется роль идеологии в управлении обществом, обеспечении социальной стабильности, формировании государственных и гражданских отношений. Основная цель исследования заключается в освещении теоретических основ понятия политической идеологии, раскрытии толкования вопроса идеологии во взглядах мыслителей Востока и Запада и анализе влияния этих взглядов на современные политические процессы. Методологическую основу исследования составляют историко-сравнительный анализ, системный подход, логико-аналитический метод – сравнительное изучение взглядов мыслителей Востока и Запада, анализ места идеологии в политической системе как целостной системы, логическое объяснение понятия политической идеологии и ее элементов. Результаты исследования служат дополнительным учебным материалом для студентов, обучающихся по направлениям политологии, философии, истории и социальных наук. Хотя идеологические аспекты учения восточных мыслителей имеют общие черты с политической мыслью Востока и Запада, их идеологические основы значительно различаются. Если на Востоке политика сочетается с духовно-нравственными ценностями, то на Западе акцент делается на политической системе, законе и гражданских правах. При этом общая цель обеих школ – формирование справедливого общества и обеспечение стабильности общества. Таким образом, выявление общности и различий во взглядах мыслителей Востока и Запада позволяет определить, какие идеи имеют приоритетное значение в современных политических процессах. Также будет возможность определить влияние различных политических идеологий на общественное сознание, их роль в формировании систем управления и их вклад в развитие политической культуры.

**Ключевые слова:** идея, идеология, политическая идеология, западная идеология, восточная идеология.

## **Introduction**

Ideology is one of the concepts that is described and interpreted differently among all social sciences. The first problem we face when discussing the essence of ideology is the lack of a mutually agreed definition among scholars. According to the English scholar Andrew Haywood, one of the reasons for this is: “Firstly, since all concepts of ideology accept the existence of a connection between theory and practice, this term creates a rather tense relationship between, on the one hand, the role of ideas in politics and the relationship between faith and theories, and on the other hand, between material life and political relations. Secondly, the concept of ideology could not remain outside the ongoing struggle between

political ideologies. In most of his historical adventures, the concept of ideology was used as a weapon or tool to attack rival ideas or belief systems. Until the second half of the 20th century, the concept of an objective and clearly expressed ideology was not widely used” (Хейвуд, Э. 2005 : 544).

In the study of the formation and development of political ideology, the teachings of our great ancestor, statesman and political figure Abu Nasr Farabi, known in the West as the “Aristotle of the East” and in the East as the “Second Teacher,” also played an invaluable role. “Among the scientists of Uzbekistan, Academician M. Khairullaev was one of the first to achieve good results in analyzing the issue of the methodological influence of the Eastern Renaissance on the formation of political ideology in the West and

was able to give a complete and theoretically substantiated answer to many ambiguities of Western scientists". (Хайруллаев М.М., 1971:10-48).

Most Western research on the term "ideology" emphasizes that this word, in its modern sense, was introduced to science by a group of thinkers during the French Revolution. "Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy first mentioned this term at the Institut de France in Paris between 1796 and 1798 in an article entitled "Memories of Pencey". Later, a group of people who called themselves ideologues, including Cabanis, Condorcet, Constant, Daunou, Tsai, Madame de Staël, and others, acted as thinking representatives of the French Revolution. Their goal was the practical realization of freedom of speech and thought in society. The term "ideology" is a combination of the Greek words *eidos* – idea and *logos* – doctrine, and it can be considered the science of ideas. This word was included in the dictionary of the French Academy of Sciences in 1835" (*Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*: 1932-1935).

In our opinion, the first use of the concept of ideology dates back to the French Revolution. Destutt de Tracy used this phrase in its first use in 1797 in the sense of "the science of ideas that must be applied to enable everyone to think correctly". Enlightenment philosophers believed that ideology "contributes to the bright light of reason". In their opinion, ideology performs a positive function "against passions, prejudices, and dirty interests that block consciousness".

Therefore, a detailed study of the concept of ideology helps to better understand it and determine its impact on people. Scientists studied the connection of ideology with science, philosophy, and religion, and it turned out that it differs from all three. It was understood that ideology presents itself as absolute truth in the face of the falsification of science, and unlike the method of philosophy based on question, ideology does not tolerate criticism. Ideology is the closest concept to religion.

Considering that ideology also has the power to shape false consciousness, it is important to remember that a person's relationship with ideology is of great importance. The approach of modernity and rationality, based on absolute ownership of human consciousness, laid the foundation for the emergence of great ideologies built on reason. In our opinion, postmodern criticism of the human mind may have the opportunity to protect people from the destructive influence of ideologies in the coming centuries. The study of ideology also presents many difficulties. Firstly, as mentioned above, there

is no agreed general definition of the ideological concept. The second difficulty is that the concept was developed not only on the basis of scientific, but also on the basis of political approaches. The author of the first negative views and attitudes towards the concept of ideology is Napoleon. Initially giving ideologues the opportunity to spread their ideas and supporting them, Napoleon later changed this attitude. When he was criticized by ideologues for lifting the ban on education by religious institutions, he accused them of "metaphysizing". Many scholars call ideology "the most difficult concept in all social sciences" (Mc Lellan D., 1986). We choose the simple, general, and not controversial definition of political ideology proposed by Erikson and Tedin, that is, "a set of beliefs about the correct order of society and how it can be achieved" (Erikson R.S., Tedin K.L., 2003).

### Literature review

Philosophers and social scientists have long debated whether to adopt a critical or alternative neutral position with more value in describing and analyzing ideologies. Denzau and Norz, who previously viewed ideology in the critical tradition as a potentially dangerous form of fantasy and mystification, which usually serves to conceal and maintain social relations, also propose a similar quality, only emphasizing the role of social groups or communities in this process: "Ideologies are groups of individuals, common mental models that provide an interpretation of the environment and an understanding of how this environment should be structured". (Denzau AD, North DC. 2020:23-46) "If someone accepts that ideology is universal, that it helps to interpret the social world, and that it normally defines (or requires) good and correct ways to solve life's problems, then it is easy to understand how ideology reflects and amplifies things as attitudes, epistemic and existential needs, or motives that psychologists can refer to". (Jost JT, Ledgerwood.A, Hardin CD, 2018, 23:77-83.). "Some ideologies crystallize and embody the widespread beliefs, views, and values of a defined group, class, constituency, or society" (KnightK, 2006.100: 619-26.)

"Ideologies also strive to describe or interpret the world as it is and to imagine the world as it should be, by making claims or assumptions about human nature, historical events, current realities, and future possibilities, determining acceptable ways to achieve social, economic goals, and political ideals. Since different ideologies express socially com-

mon but competitive philosophies of life and how to live, they should generate and express strong social ideologies based on the motivational styles or tendencies of their supporters". (John T Jost , Sander van der Linden, 2018, 23:77–83.) Another scholar, Mannheim, described certain ideologies as "a form of more or less conscious concealment of the true essence of the situation". (Mannheim K, 1936:55). Habermas also viewed ideology "as a systematically distorted form of communication, and this description is widespread in certain circles of social theorists". (Habermas J, 1989. ) .

However, according to many empirical studies in sociology, psychology, and political science, ideology belongs to any belief system, that is, "any configuration of ideas and relations in which there are elements connected to each other by some limitation or functional interdependence". From this point of view, ideology is considered as a relatively good organizational tool, and its cognitive function of forming political knowledge and experience is emphasized. "Researchers conclude that members of society are ideological only if they have stable, logical, consistent, and relatively broad thinking or knowledge-based relationships". (Converse PE, 2000: 331-53.) Consequently, opinions derived from critical and neutral surveys were often placed side by side and presumed to be incompatible with each other, and scholars belonging to the two traditions appeared to have communicated with each other in rare cases (if any). However, we suggest that these two approaches are not mutually exclusive, since the same belief systems can perform several functions simultaneously. That is, we suggest that a particular ideology may reflect real attempts to understand, interpret, and regulate information about the political world, as well as conscious or unconscious tendencies to rationalize the existence of things.

"While introducing the concepts of utopia and ideology into science, Mannheim characterized ideology as a set of outdated beliefs, outdated myths, norms, and ideals detached from reality. He called Utopia a concept that is confirmed as meaning, although it is considered unreal because it appeared before its time". (Манхейм Карл., 2010:744). In Amir Timur's "Temur's Code", it is written: "I conquered and ruled countries with people of twelve classes and categories. Strengthening the pillars of the state and kingdom with them, I adorned my assemblies with them" ( А. Согуний ва Ҳ. Кароматов, 1991:53), he emphasized the successful formation of political ideology in the country.

## Methodology

The methodological basis of this research consists of modern and classical approaches to political science, philosophy, history, and pedagogy. The following scientific methods are used in the work: The method of historical-comparative analysis compares the political views of Eastern and Western thinkers, identifying commonalities and differences in their views on ideology. Through this method, the teachings of Abu Nasr Farabi, Amir Timur, and Western scholars Destut de Tracy, Mannheim, Gramsci, Gouldner, and Voloshinov are comparatively studied. The method of textology (textual analysis) analyzes how political ideas are illuminated in the works of Eastern and Western thinkers based on their texts. The systematic approach considers ideology as a part of the political system, and its interrelationship with the state, society, political institutions, ideological bodies, and civil society is analyzed as a system.

## Debate

Gramscie introduced the concept of hegemony to science and used this concept in his analysis. Contrary to his view that the ruling bourgeois state in the West oppressed the workers, he highlighted the differences in ideology by combining the concepts of power and consent. According to him, along with the oppressive aspect of the bourgeois state, ensured by force, there is also a convincing aspect. According to Gramsci, the state can use two tools to keep society under control: coercion and consent. (Антонио Грамши, 1991:127). The means of obtaining the acceptance and consent of the ruling class by society without the use of force and open pressure is the ideology, which the scholar called hegemony. The concept of hegemony between the state and society encompasses all intermediary institutions, such as schools, the army, the press, the family, and religious institutions.

Althusser introduced to science the concept of "the ideological apparatus of the state". In his opinion, there is no contradiction in the formation of the social formation in the economic, political, and ideological spheres. Through schools, mass media, and other ideological means, the state reproduces social relations and strengthens its dominance". ( Atkinson, D, 1984: T.1. 13, No 2. – S.1-19.) Althusser put forward a strong ideological thesis, that is, it is possible to clearly distinguish between science and ideology. Accordingly, "unlike the open and revolu-

tionary nature of science, ideology is closed, cyclical, and self-affirmative". According to Althusser, "Ideology is neither scientific, nor rational, nor unconscious relations. It reminds us of pre-planned methods of connecting with social reality".

Another thinker who advocated for the unification of ideology by force is Habermas. According to the scientist, "ideology, which is a form of communication systematically disrupted by the authorities, becomes a tool of dominance and serves to legitimize power relations. Another important finding of Habermas is that he pays special attention to the communicative structure of language. The scholar emphasized the need to pay more attention to the speech aspect of ideology. (Хабермас Ю 1997: №2, 3, 4.)

According to Gouldner, ideology "requires separation from religious beliefs or mythological concepts. According to this, ideology is connected not with the metaphysical field, but with the physical sphere. Unlike Hegel's rationalism, Schopenhauer, with his view that there is no place for reason in reality, that being conscious means being deceived, elevates ideology to the level of false consciousness or a false idea. (Terry Eagleton, 1991:131) Nietzsche gives ideology two meanings: "First; This is the view that ideas are merely the imaginary rationalization of passions and interests. The second, on the other hand, corresponds to a stationary field of abstracted metaphysical values from history. One of the latest and most important innovations in the concept of ideology is the disclosure of its connection with signs in language and speech. Voloshinov emphasizes the material notation of speech, stating that "the main element of language articulation is a sign, and signs are material notations of meaning". The scientist stated that there would be no ideologies without writing, that signs and the sphere of influence of ideology occupy the same place and time, and came to the conclusion that speech is the same as ideology. According to Voloshinov, signs are not the reflection of reality, but an integral part of it. (Голднер А. 2003:578). Thus, the semiotic definition of ideology takes its place as "the struggle of opposing social interests".

### Results and analysis

Based on the foregoing, it can be said that ideology is an example of symbolically loaded belief and expression that presents, interprets, and evaluates the world in a certain way. Ideologies are designed to shape certain directions of action and refute oth-

ers. In our view, ideologies can be divided into four main types: conservative, reformist (liberal), revolutionary, and opposition. Conservative ideologies are generally believed to protect the existing order. Since, according to the definition, the issue of "preserving existing rules and procedures" is a priority for conservatives, this argument is not so incorrect. However, conservatism here is important insofar as it aims to protect the system of religion, culture, and morality, or the current political system that dominates the state. On the other hand, reformist ideologies aim to renew the existing system in new conditions. They are not against the order, but advocate for improving the existing order and implementing the necessary reforms. And revolutionary ideologies are based on a radical change in the existing system of values. They aimed to abolish the old system and replace it with a new one, which they themselves defended. As the final category, opposing ideologies strive to support and justify attitudes and actions that contradict the established system of values. According to another classification, ideologies can be considered modern and traditional. In the modern sense, ideology claims to encompass time and space through general and systematic thinking methods. Modern ideologies such as nationalism, fascism, Nazism, liberalism, and Marxism can be considered to have emerged with the French Revolution. Traditional ideologies are ideologies that emerged before the modern era. Ideologies in traditional societies are ideologies consisting of a limited and vague set of ideas that are widespread among the governed and have certain directions. If we characterize the functions of ideology, then ideologies are used as a tool serving various purposes. An ideologically thinking person, that is, one who bases their thinking on ideology, at first glance seems to have adopted ideology as their ultimate goal. On the other hand, ideology is seen as a "means of achieving other goals". Reflecting on ideology, Freud emphasizes that the main goal is "not to interpret the world, but to change it". Like Gramsci and Althusser, Sorel argues that ideology is not a matter of judging whether it is right or wrong. According to him, we can use the concept of truth for ideologies: "As living, organizing principles, they reveal noble and deeply rooted feelings in the working class, prompting them to revolutionary action". Here, it is understood that there is an approach where ideology is accepted as correct only if it serves the socialist government, which is defined as the "dictatorship of the working class". We believe that this view has nothing to do with scientific truth.

Sorel's such inner vision of ideology is excessively wrong even for Eagleton, who thinks like himself: he describes Sorel's statement that "no rational induction destroys the cloud of mystery surrounding socialism" as typical foolish behavior. (Eagleton, T, 1996:261-262). "How does an ideology, the essence of which is the pursuit of a goal, mobilize people for this? To act, one must believe that he is right. Ideology provides the consciousness necessary for action by pushing facts into the subconscious or supernatural consciousness, the recognition of which is not expedient" (Lapierre, J., 1981, p. 18).

### Conclusion

In conclusion, the ideological aspects of political ideology in the teachings of Eastern thinkers are closely connected with the ideas of spirituality, morality, justice, and honesty. He emphasized the importance of building a just society, the wisdom of a leader, and the priority of the people's interests. In Eastern political thought, state governance is strengthened not only by political mechanisms, but also by the moral purity and spiritual maturity of the leader. Thus, the ideological aspects of the teachings of Eastern thinkers consist of ideas aimed at justice, spirituality, patriotism, and the internal harmony of society.

Western thinkers, however, interpreted political ideology more in connection with the state structure, the rule of law, and individual freedom. He paid great attention to explaining the nature of power, the role of individual rights, freedoms, and politi-

cal institutions. The ideological aspects of Western doctrines are based on the rule of law, freedom, democratic principles, civil rights, and the effective functioning of political mechanisms.

Although there are commonalities between Eastern and Western political thought, their ideological foundations differ significantly. In the East, politics is harmonized with spiritual and moral values, while in the West, emphasis is placed on the political system, law, and civil rights. At the same time, the common goal of both schools is the formation of a just society and ensuring the stability of society.

The research results will serve as additional educational material for students studying political science, philosophy, history, and social sciences. It also has practical significance in understanding political processes, ensuring ideological stability, and forming political culture in the minds of young people. In addition, research can be used to analyze various ideological currents, to explain the role of political ideas in the construction of a national state.

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