



HISTORICAL REALITIES AND PHILOSOPHICAL IDEALS: DIALOGUES ACROSS DISCIPLINES

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**RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF EASTERN
CULTURE AND HERITAGE**

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KONFUTSIY QADRIYATLARI VA DEMOKRATIYA SINTEZI: FUQAROLIK JAMIYATINING IDENTIKLIGI

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Kalit soʻzlar: fuqarolik jamiyati, konfutsiylik, Janubiy Koreya, davlat, demokratiya, anʼanalar.

Annotatsiya: Maqolada Janubiy Koreyada fuqarolik jamiyatining shakllanish jarayoni konfutsiy anʼanalari va gʻarb demokratiyasi taʼsirida tahlil qilingan. Muallif konfutsiylikning jamiyatda vertikal munosabatlarni mustahkamlagani, davlatning kuchli nazoratchi sifatidagi rolini belgilagani va bunday tizim gʻarbcha gorizontaal ijtimoiy tuzilmalardan farq qilishini koʻrsatadi. Shu bilan birga, demokratik institutlarning bosqichma-bosqich kirib kelishi milliy madaniy anʼanalar bilan uygʻunlashib, zamonaviy fuqarolik jamiyati shakllanishiga olib kelgan. Maqola Janubiy Koreya tajribasini milliy madaniy qadriyatlar va demokratiya sintezi namunasi sifatida talqin qiladi.

CONFUCIAN VALUES AND THE SYNTHESIS OF DEMOCRACY: THE IDENTITY OF CIVIL SOCIETY

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Key words: civil society, Confucianism, South Korea, state, democracy, traditions.

Abstract: The article analyzes the process of the formation of civil society in South Korea under the influence of Confucian traditions and Western democracy. The author shows that Confucianism has strengthened vertical relations in society, defined the role of the state as a strong controller, and that such a system differs from Western horizontal social structures. At the same time, the gradual introduction of democratic institutions, harmonizing with national cultural traditions, led to the formation of a modern civil society. The article interprets South Korea's experience as an example of the synthesis of national cultural values and democracy.

KIRISH

Fuqarolik jamiyati zamonaviy siyosiy tizimlarning ajralmas instituti sifatida davlat va jamiyat oʻrtasida muvozanatni taʼminlovchi, siyosiy ishtirokni kengaytiruvchi va ijtimoiy nazorat mexanizmlarini

shakllantiruvchi muhim omildir. U nafaqat fuqarolarning siyosiy qarorlar qabul qilish jarayoniga bevosita ta'sirini ta'minlaydi, balki davlat hokimiyatining legitimligini mustahkamlashga, siyosiy tizimning barqaror rivojlanishiga ham xizmat qiladi.

Janubiy Koreya tajribasi fuqarolik jamiyatining shakllanish jarayoni g'arb mamlakatlariga xos liberal-demokratik modeldan sezilarli darajada farq qilishini ko'rsatadi. u milliy madaniy an'analar, ayniqsa konfutsiylik qadriyatlari bilan uzviy bog'liq holda rivojlanishi bu jarayonning asosiy xususiyati hisoblanadi. Konfutsiylik paradigmasi jamiyatda iyerarxik munosabatlarni, jamoaviy birdamlikni va davlatning markaziy boshqaruvchi sifatidagi rolini mustahkamlab, ijtimoiy tuzumning asosiy tayanchiga aylandi.

Shu sababli, Janubiy Koreyada fuqarolik jamiyati g'arb tajribasidagi kabi faqat erkinlik va gorizontal aloqalar modeliga tayanmadi. Aksincha, u davlat va jamoa manfaatlarini uyg'unlashtiruvchi vertikal munosabatlar tizimi asosida shakllandi. Bu yondashuv fuqarolik jamiyatini davlatning qarama-qarshi kuchi emas, balki hamkoriga aylantirdi. Natijada, siyosiy institutlar va fuqarolik jamiyati o'rtasida o'ziga xos sintez yuzaga kelib, ijtimoiy barqarorlikni saqlash bilan birga, iqtisodiy modernizatsiya va demokratik islohotlar uchun mustahkam zamin yaratildi.

Bunday modelning yana bir muhim jihati shundaki, u jamiyatning turli qatlamlarini siyosiy ishtirokga jalb etish va davlatning strategik qarorlarini qo'llab-quvvatlashga undadi. Shu bilan birga, bu jarayon bosqichma-bosqich rivojlandi va 1987-yildan keyingi demokratik konsolidatsiya davrida yanada mustahkamlandi. Bu model fuqarolik jamiyatini davlatning raqibi emas, balki uning hamkori sifatida namoyon etadi. Natijada, fuqarolik institutlari siyosiy modernizatsiya jarayonining faol ishtirokchisiga, davlat esa jamiyatni rivojlantirishni boshqaruvchi hamda koordinatsiya qiluvchi markaziy kuchga aylandi. Bu o'ziga xos yondashuv Janubiy Koreyada iqtisodiy taraqqiyot va siyosiy barqarorlikning muvozanatli rivojlanishini ta'minladi. Biroq jahon siyosiy tajribasi va g'arb demokratik institutlarining bosqichma-bosqich kirib kelishi natijasida Janubiy Koreyada an'anaviy konfutsiylik paradigmasi asta-sekin yangi demokratik tuzum bilan uyg'unlashdi. Bu jarayon milliy madaniy qadriyatlar va g'arbcha liberal demokratiya elementlarining sinteziga olib keldi va zamonaviy fuqarolik jamiyati shakllanishining noyob modelini yuzaga chiqardi. Ushbu model o'ziga xosligi bilan g'arb tajribasidan farq qiladi. Unda kollektivism va iyerarxik tartib saqlangan holda, fuqarolarning siyosiy ishtirokini

oshiruvchi, davlat va jamiyat o'rtasidagi muvozanatni ta'minlovchi mexanizmlar shakllandi.

Konfutsiylik qadriyatlari ustuvor bo'lgan ijtimoiy muhitda Janubiy Koreyada fuqarolik jamiyati siyosiy partiyalar va davlat institutlarining demokratlashuv jarayoniga ta'sirini o'rganish muhim ahamiyat kasb etadi. Mazkur masalani tadqiq etish Janubiy Koreyada fuqarolik jamiyati va davlat o'rtasidagi o'zaro aloqalarning o'ziga xos xususiyatlarini, demokratik rivojlanishning ichki mexanizmlarini va milliy madaniyatning siyosiy tizimga integratsiyalashuv darajasini chuqur anglash uchun muhim ilmiy ahamiyat kasb etadi. Bu tahlil, shuningdek, boshqa Sharqiy Osiyo mamlakatlari uchun ham foydali bo'lib, milliy an'analar va global demokratik tendensiyalar uyg'unligi orqali modernizatsiya jarayonlarini tushuntirishga yordam beradi. Ilmiy nuqtai nazardan qaraganda, fuqarolik jamiyatini anglash va uning mazmunini talqin qilish masalasi turli sivilizatsion muhitlarda turlicha ko'rinishga ega. G'arb siyosiy tafakkurida fuqarolik jamiyati demokratiyaning ajralmas sharti sifatida ko'rilsa, J. Koreya singari konfutsiylik asosida shakllangan jamiyatlarda bu tushuncha mutlaqo boshqacha ma'noga ega. Ko'plab koreys mualliflari g'arbcha yondashuvni rad etadi va tarixiy jihatdan konfutsiylik qoidalariga tayangan jamiyatni allaqachon fuqarolik jamiyati sifatida baholaydi. Bu qarashning asosi konfutsiylik boshidanok shaxs va jamiyat, inson va davlat o'rtasidagi munosabatlarni tartibga solishga yo'naltirilganligidadir. Shu bois Cho Xe In ta'kidlaganidek, "Ko'pchilik g'arb tadqiqotchilari fuqarolik jamiyatini Osiyo davlatlaridagi avtoritar rejimlarga qarshi qo'yib xato qiladi"¹. Demak, g'arbdagi fuqarolik jamiyati va konfutsiy an'analariga asoslangan jamiyatlardagi fuqarolik jamiyati o'rtasida prinsipial farq mavjud.

G'arb siyosatshunoslari uchun fuqarolik jamiyati bu gorizontalar tarmoqlar majmuasi, ya'ni erkin fuqarolar tashkil qilgan turli ijtimoiy, iqtisodiy, siyosiy va kasaba uyushmalari birgalikdagi hamkorligi². Janubiy Koreyalik olimlar esa uni jamiyatdagi vertikal munosabatlarni belgilovchi umumiy me'yor va qoidalar tizimi sifatida ko'radilar³. Shu ma'noda g'arb uchun fuqarolik jamiyati - gorizontalar tarmoqlar, konfutsiylik jamiyati uchun esa "patron - shogird" asosidagi vertikal munosabatlar tizimidir.

¹ Cho Hein. The Historical Origin of Civil Society in Korea//Korea Journal. Vol. 37, № 2, summer 1997. - p. 24

² Putman r. Making Democracy Work: Civil Traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. P. 12.

³ Kwon Tai-hwan, Cho Hein. Confucianism and Korean Society: A Historical Basis of Korean Democratization//Democracy in Asia. Ed. by M.Schmiegelow. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1997. - p.110

G'arbda fuqarolik jamiyatining asosiy maqsadi ijtimoiy kapital yaratish va umumiy farovonlikka erishish bo'lib, bu keng hamkorlik va teng huquqli ishtirok orqali amalga oshiriladi. Konfutsiylik muhitida esa maqsad barqarorlikni ta'minlash bo'lib, davlat barcha sohalarda nazoratchi va muvofiqlashtiruvchi sifatida ustuvor o'rin egallaydi. Shu nuqtai nazardan, "Janubiy Koreyada fuqarolik jamiyatining yagona manbai konfutsiy an'analari hisoblanadi"¹ degan fikr ham o'rinli. Biroq, g'arb demokratik institutlari va qadriyatlari ta'sirida J.Koreyada ijtimoiy institutlarni modernizatsiya qilish jarayoni boshlandi va zamonaviy fuqarolik jamiyatining asoslari paydo bo'ldi.

Hozirgi bosqichda fuqarolik jamiyati quyidagi qator vazifalarni bajaradi:

- jamoaviy hamkorlik normalarini shakllantirish;
- mustaqil fuqarolik faoliyatini rivojlantirish;
- siyosiy partiyalardan mustaqillikni ta'minlash;
- fuqarolarning ijtimoiy maqomi va kelib chiqishidan qat'i nazar manfaatlarini himoya qilish;
- davlat bosimiga qarshi turish.²

Ayniqsa, davlat bosimiga qarshi turish va shaxsiy manfaatlarini himoya qilish konfutsiy an'analari ga zid hisoblanadi.

Konfutsiylik qadriyatlari Sharqiy Osiyo sivilizatsiyasining eng muhim poydevorlaridan biri sifatida bugungi kunda ham o'z dolzarbligini saqlab kelmoqda. Siyosatshunoslik nuqtayi nazardan, ushbu qadriyatlar jamiyat tuzilishida kollektivism va individualizmning o'ziga xos uyg'unlashuvini aks ettiradi. Sharqiy Osiyo jamiyatida ijtimoiy hayot na faqat jamoaviy qadriyatlarning mutlaq ustuvorligi, na shaxs erkinligining cheksiz hukmronligi bilan belgilanadi; balki ushbu ikki omilning muvozanatlashgan ko'rinishi siyosiy va ijtimoiy jarayonlarga bevosita ta'sir ko'rsatadi. Demokratik tizimning asosiy vazifalaridan biri ham ana shu nisbiy muvozanatni shakllantirish va saqlab qolishga qaratilgani bilan ahamiyatlidir.

Janubiy Koreya tajribasi ushbu jarayonning yorqin namunasi bo'lib, unda milliy an'analar, konfutsiylikka xos ijtimoiy me'yorlar va g'arbcha demokratik qadriyatlar o'zaro uyg'unlashib, zamonaviy fuqarolik jamiyatining shakllanishiga zamin yaratdi. Konfutsiylik etikasi mehnatsevarlik, tejamkorlik, intizom va fidoyilikni targ'ib etadi

¹ Ким Сон Гук. Нонпхёнг: Куккароньро путхо симин сахвероньро (Davlat qurilishi muammolari bo'yicha munozaralar Fuqarolik jamiyati bo'yicha munozaraga) // Хангук сахвёй пипханёк инсик (Koreya jamiyatiga tanqidiy qarash). Сеул, Нонам, 1990 – С. 110

² Fouly M., Edvards B. Paradoxs of the Civil Society. Journal of Democracy. 1996. Vol. 7, № 3. P. 48.

- bu jihatlari protestantlik axloqi bilan ma'lum darajada o'xshash bo'lib, Janubiy Koreyada 1960-1970-yillarda yuz bergan "iqtisodiy mo'jiza"ning asosiy omillaridan biriga aylandi. Konfutsiylikning inson qadr-qimmat, ijtimoiy uyg'unlik va shaxsning jamiyatdagi roliga oid g'oyalari g'arb shaxs erkinligi tushunchalari bilan moslashdi va shu orqali ijtimoiy uyg'unlik hamda rivojlanishning mustahkam ideologik poydevori yaratildi.

Bundan tashqari, konfutsiylikning ochiq va moslashuvchan tabiati Janubiy Koreya jamiyatiga g'arb madaniyati va institutlarining ko'plab elementlarini milliy sharoitga moslashtirish imkonini berdi. Bu jarayon bir tomonlama bo'lib qolmadi - Sharq sivilizatsiyasining g'arbga teskari ta'siri ham kuzatildi. Masalan, Yaponiya boshqaruv modeli va "kaizen" tamoyillari g'arb kompaniyalari tomonidan keng qo'llanila boshladi. Janubiy Koreyada esa zamonaviy fuqarolik jamiyati hanuzgacha "yagona oila" paradigmasi asosida rivojlanmoqda. Ya'ni, davlat va jamiyat o'rtasidagi ierarxik aloqalar saqlangan holda, fuqarolarning siyosiy ishtiroki oshib bormoqda. Bu jarayon saylov tajribalarida yaqqol namoyon bo'ladi. Bunda saylovlar siyosiy raqobat maydoni, ijtimoiy birdamlik va kollektiv mas'uliyatni ifodalovchi institut sifatida qaraladi. Biroq g'arb demokratiyasidagi shaxsiy erkinlik ustuvorligiga nisbatan Janubiy Koreyada fuqarolik jamiyati davlat va jamoa manfaatlari bilan uyg'unlikda ko'riladi. Shu bois J. Koreyada demokratiya shaxsiy erkinliklar tantanasi sifatida emas, davlat va millat maqsadlariga xizmat qiluvchi tizim sifatida tan olinadi¹. Liberalizm esa shaxsiy huquq va erkinliklarni himoya qilishga yo'naltirilgan alohida siyosiy tashkiliy forma sifatida talqin etiladi.

Koreya Respublikasi iqtisodiy taraqqiyotga erkin bozor tamoyillari yordamida emas, davlat proteksionizmi va qat'iy nazorat siyosati orqali erishdi. Bu jarayonni prezident Pak Chjon Xi davridagi "kuchli davlat" modeli yaqqol ifodaladi. Avtoritar boshqaruv usuli konfutsiylikka xos an'anaviy paternalizm bilan uyg'unlashib, milliy taraqqiyot uchun asos bo'lib xizmat qildi. Li Sin Manning g'arbcha liberal demokratiyani tatbiq qilish urinishlari muvaffaqiyatsizlikka uchragan bo'lsa, Pak Chjon Xining an'anaviy davlatchilik tamoyillariga tayangan siyosati iqtisodiy va ijtimoiy modernizatsiya uchun poydevor yaratdi. Shu tariqa, 1980-90-yillarda demokratik islohotlarning amalga oshishi ta'minlandi.

¹ Kwon Tai-hwan, Cho Hein. Confucianism and Korean Society: A Historical Basis of Korean Democratization//Democracy in Asia. Ed. by M.Schmiegelow. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1997. - p.112

Ko'plab koreys mualliflari qayd etishicha, Pak Chjon Xi aslida an'anaviy konfutsiylik asosidagi fuqarolik jamiyatini qayta tikladi¹. Bu jarayon keyingi davrda umumiy modernizatsiya va demokratik o'zgarishlar uchun asos bo'lib xizmat qildi.

Shu bilan birga, J. Koreya jamiyati g'arbcha liberal demokratiyani to'liq qo'llamaydi, balki milliy madaniy an'analarni saqlab qolgan holda modernizatsiyani amalga oshirdi. Bu esa uning global jarayonlarda ham milliy madaniy o'zligini yo'qotmagan holda ishtirok etish imkonini yaratdi.

XULOSA

Janubiy Koreyada fuqarolik jamiyatining shakllanishi g'arb demokratik modellaridan sezilarli darajada farq qiladi. Asosiy farq shundaki, konfutsiylik an'analari ta'sirida jamiyat vertikal iyerarxiya asosida qurilgan bo'lib, davlat kuchli markazlashgan boshqaruvchi sifatida faoliyat yuritgan. Agar g'arb mamlakatlarida fuqarolik jamiyati erkin fuqarolarning gorizontallik tarmoqlari sifatida qaralsa, Janubiy Koreya tajribasida u davlat va jamiyat manfaatlarini uyg'unlashtiruvchi ijtimoiy mexanizmga aylandi.

Konfutsiylik qadriyatlari, mehnatsevarlik, intizom, tejamkorlik, shaxsiy mas'uliyat va ierarxik tartibga hurmat, mamlakatning iqtisodiy modernizatsiyasi hamda ijtimoiy barqarorligi uchun mustahkam poydevor vazifasini o'tadi. Pak Chjon Xi davridagi «kuchli davlat» modeli aynan shu an'anaviy me'yorlarga tayanib, milliy taraqqiyotning asosiy drayveriga aylandi. Mazkur model davlatni faqat nazoratchi va resurslarni taqsimlovchi emas, balki iqtisodiy rivojlanishning bosh strategik boshqaruvchisi sifatida namoyon etdi. Natijada davlat sanoatlashtirish, eksportga yo'naltirilgan iqtisodiyot yaratish, infratuzilmani rivojlantirish va xususiy sektorni rag'batlantirish orqali modernizatsiya jarayonining bosh koordinatori bo'lib chiqdi.

Shu bilan birga, iqtisodiy o'sish va kuchli markazlashgan boshqaruv bilan yonma-yon fuqarolik jamiyatining vazifalari va davlatning nazoratchi roli o'rtasida muayyan qarama-qarshiliklar paydo bo'ldi. Konfutsiylik davlat ustuvorligini mutlaq qadriyat sifatida belgilagan bo'lsa-da, g'arb demokratik qadriyatlarining bosqichma-bosqich kirib kelishi natijasida sintez jarayoni yuz berdi. Milliy an'analardan va zamonaviy demokratik institutlar o'zaro uyg'unlashib, ijtimoiy ishtirokchilik, siyosiy mas'uliyat va qonun ustuvorligini mustahkamlovchi yangi tamoyillar shakllandi.

¹ Cho Hein. The Historical Origin of Civil Society in Korea//Korea Journal. Vol. 37, № 2, summer 1997. – p. 38

Natijada Janubiy Koreyada zamonaviy fuqarolik jamiyati - davlat bilan muvozanatli hamkorlik qiluvchi, fuqarolarning huquq va erkinliklarini himoya qiluvchi va demokratik institutlarning barqaror ishlashini ta'minlovchi ijtimoiy tizim sifatida shakllandi. Bu tajriba demokratik rivojlanish har doim ham g'arbcha liberal demokratiya modelining to'liq ko'chirib olinishi orqali emas, balki milliy madaniyat va tarixiy xususiyatlarni hisobga olgan holda amalga oshishi mumkinligini ko'rsatadi. Janubiy Koreya bu milliy an'analar bilan uyg'unlashtirilgan modernizatsiya va bosqichma-bosqich demokratik islohotlarning samarali misolidir.

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