

THE THEORY OF REVOLUTIONS AND THE MAIN FACTORS IN THE EMERGENCE OF REVOLUTIONS

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Annotation: *If we consider the revolution as a phenomenon, its historicity, importance, and place in the historical process are taken into account. The phenomenon of the revolution is the perception of the revolution as a whole, which includes some details: pre-revolutionary, post-revolutionary, and some political, economic, and cultural revolutionary events, and sometimes implies rejection. In this article, the characteristic features of the revolution as a historical event are presented, which allows us to compare it with other historical events of the same scale, and based on this, the phenomenon of the emergence of revolutions is studied.*

Keywords: *revolution, theory of revolution, revolutionary changes, political phenomenon, revolutionary programs, counter-revolution.*

"The history of all existing societies has been the history of class struggles. Free and slave, patrician and plebeian, landowner and serf, master and worker, oppressor and oppressed were in eternal opposition to each other, engaged in a continuous, sometimes secret, sometimes open struggle, which always resulted in revolutionary reorganization. In previous historical periods, almost, everywhere we find the division of society into different classes, a whole system of different social positions. In ancient Rome we meet with patricians, horsemen, plebeians, and slaves; In the Middle Ages - feudal lords, vassals, guild masters, apprentices, serfs, and in almost every one of these classes - there were still special gradations.

The revolution can be seen as a significant socioeconomic and political-cultural event. The revolution as an event is the most important event in the life of the state and society, it is an event that fundamentally changes both of them, and fundamentally rebuilds all political, social, economic, and cultural institutions, the entire political system, and political and social life.

As a historical event, revolutions end the old and start a new historical period and new reforms, limit historical periods, end some, and initiate other historical events and processes. In the historical sense, revolutions are, on the one hand, the boundaries that mark the end of the old era and the beginning of the new era, a new account of new, revolutionary changes, and on the other hand, they are stages that define the historical

era. The direction of these changes, on the third hand, are symbols that indicate the inevitability and necessity of social changes, renewal of human relations, social, political, economic, and cultural institutions, values, and norms.

Relevance of the topic. As a political phenomenon, revolutions end and begin the rule of dynasties and political regimes, destroy outdated political institutions and systems and create new political institutions and systems, stop and resume, but another, qualitatively renewed political process, popular mood, and election serve as an important indicator in the process. As a political phenomenon, revolutions change the entire quality of political life, cancel or reduce the importance of old ones and introduce new ideologies into it, disorganize some counter-revolutionary parties and movements, and open the way for other political forces that propose new, revolutionary programs.

As a social phenomenon, revolutions destroy old social relations and the old social system, create a new social structure of society, new social relations, and affect the formation of new political, economic, and cultural institutions and norms. At the top of the social pyramid, revolutions change old elites and make way for new ones. Revolutions shake the entire social structure of society, overthrow counter-revolutionary, outdated social groups and classes, and open the way for social development, and new social groups, and movements.

In a political context, the term "revolution" was first used in Great Britain to refer to the restoration of the monarchy and referred to the fact of a cyclical change of forms of government, a return to a previously existing but later rejected order. After the fall of Oliver Cromwell's dictatorship and the dissolution of the Long Parliament, the Stuart monarchy and the reign of James II were restored, which in turn ended in a bloodless coup led by William of Orange, ruler of the Netherlands in 1688. The coup was called the "Glorious Revolution" and meant the restoration of the monarchy. Thus, revolution means a return to the original order, which was later lost or deformed by the despotism of absolutist power.

Later, over time, the meaning of the term changed and began to mean the complete opposite - a coup aimed at overthrowing the existing regime, i.e. against the current legitimate political authority. This is how the term is understood today. As a socio-political phenomenon, a revolution is always a radical, fundamental, and therefore very painful change in social consciousness and structure, accompanied by the disruption of social foundations, a fundamental change in the vector and paradigm of socio-economic development.

The approach to the analysis and assessment of the revolution as a social phenomenon initially had a clear ideological color in political science, which was reflected in the absolute views of representatives of conservatism and liberalism. One of the founders of conservatism, Edmund Burke, in his work "Reflections on the Revolution in France" (1790), describes the revolution as a social evil that reveals the worst, most

fundamental features of human nature. Conservatives see the causes of revolution in the emergence and spread of harmful and false ideas in society.

On the contrary, according to the supporters of early liberalism, revolution is justified if the government violates the terms of the social contract. Many classics of liberalism have included the right to revolt as a basic human right. However, the observations and understanding of the consequences of real revolutionary events led to a revision of their views and a much stricter assessment of revolutions by the representatives of liberalism in practice.

The founder of sociology and founder of positivism, the French scientist August Comte and the ideology of evolutionism, the English scientist Herbert Spencer opposed the idea of revolution to the idea of evolution, i.e. progressive changes (improvement) that occur as a result of balanced and balanced social, economic and political reforms in society) is implied in this.

At the end of the XIX century. Revolutionary processes become the object of study of social philosophy, which is actively developing under the influence of political science and sociology at that time. Gabriel Tarde and Gustave Le Bon were carriers of revolutionary ideas and saw revolutions as a very negative socio-political phenomenon.

Thus, Gustave Le Bon, in his "Peoples and Mass Psychology" (1895), studied the periods of "crowd power" as an example of the French Revolution, and formed a concept according to which the intellectual development of the great mass of people and their strong will At a very low level, the crowd is guided by unconscious instincts. A person's behavior alone or in a small social group is fundamentally different from behavior in a crowd: he loses the objectivity of perception of the surrounding reality, and critical thinking and responsibility for decisions and actions decrease. A person who "dissolves" in a revolutionary crowd, is easily exposed to any provocations and suggestions, including the most absurd ones. A process of mass "manipulation" of consciousness occurs.

Among the activists of the revolutionary-minded crowd are completely helpless, burdened by many complexes, unable to realize themselves professionally, angry at what is happening, actively criticizing the current government, as well as with serious mental illnesses themselves and the world around you can see people suffering from internal conflicts. Often such individuals become "leaders of the crowd". The revolutionary time gives them a unique opportunity to "take revenge", prove their superiority over others and immediately compensate for their failures of the past years. It is these motives that motivate these individuals to seek political leadership and political power.

The first thing that a researcher dealing with the problem of revolutions faces is the uncertainty of the topic. It is difficult for experts to come to a clear conclusion not only on the definition of the concept of revolution but also on the question of whether revolution can be considered an independent object of analysis. In general, this is not surprising. There are very few events that can be classified as revolutionary. Various researchers count three or four dozen "undoubted" revolutions in the history of the world. Moreover,

these events took place in such different periods, in different economic, political, and cultural conditions that the similarity of the processes that took place caused surprise rather than a basis for scientific analysis. At the same time, many events are known that are close to revolutions, but differ from "classical" cases in several respects, and such events are more than "undeniable" revolutions.

Researchers often try to get out of this situation, or replace revolution with more general concepts, for example, collective violence, the collapse of the state; or distinguish between revolutionary situations and consequential revolutions; or, finally, limit their study to the comparison of a few specific revolutions and denying the possibility of more global generalizations. Currently, such trends are prevailing, they put the search for universal approaches to the study of revolutions in second place.

However, the difference between the "classic" or "great" revolutions in terms of radicality and impact on world history from all the events close to them is so great and obvious that the mitigation of these differences, attempts to reduce them to only quantitative parameters, fails in p cases. If we look at the comparative works of several revolutions, it is clear that no one seriously compares the Russian Revolution of 1917 with the French Revolution of 1830 or with the uprisings in the Spanish provinces in the 1740s. On the other hand, the comparison with the English Revolution of the 17th century, the Great French Revolution, as well as the Chinese and Mexican revolutions seems very relative, and researchers often refer to it.

The question of the role of "classical" revolutions in world history, especially in recent years, when the collapse of the world communist system took place - national-liberation movements, political uprisings, and radical social and economic changes took place complex and became especially relevant during the multifaceted historical event. changes are linked. Can all these processes be classified as revolutionary? There is no consensus on this issue, but some researchers, for example, have equated events in Russia at the end of the 20th century with the Great French Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. (Moreover, with the development of the Russian Revolution, the number of supporters of such a position constantly increased).

Among the early studies of revolutions, for example, Ted Robert Gurr distinguishes theories of "social change" ("social change"), which cause political violence due to the failure of social and political institutions, customs, and norms. According to this theory, the end of adaptation is the beginning of revolution.

J. Goldstone, one of the modern researchers, consistently uses this approach: in the final analysis, he connects revolutionary upheavals with cyclical waves of population growth. Over the centuries, these waves were repeated from time to time, but the interval between them was so great that in each case completely new problems appeared in front of the authorities and society, which violated the foundations of the traditional order. Population growth has led to an increase in the demand for goods and, therefore, an inevitable increase in prices in the face of inelasticity of supply. The increase in prices led

to the destruction of public finances and reduced the purchasing power of the population. As a result of increased competition among workers, wages fell, and the increase in the number of peasants led to the irrational fragmentation of land plots. Competition for public office among the elite increased. New pockets of discontent have emerged in fast-growing cities, particularly due to demographic shifts that have increased the share of youth in the population. As a result, the pre-revolutionary situation is characterized by a crisis of state finances, an increase in conflicts between elites, and a sharp increase in the potential for mass disobedience. However, according to Goldstone, population growth does not always have to be disastrous. "What matters is whether existing social and political institutions are flexible enough to easily respond to these pressures?" Where institutions are flexible, as in modern democracies, re-elections and policy changes usually relieve pressure. Where institutions are relatively inflexible—in hereditary monarchies or empires with traditional systems of taxation, elite recruitment, and economic organization—revolution or rebellion is more likely to occur.

In other approaches, new problems and society's inability to adapt to them are also shown among the causes of revolution, although not in a systematic form, as in J. Goldstone. Marxist studies, as a rule, emphasize the impossibility of making room for new economic processes within the established structure of the old society when the existing relations of production become shackles for the development of productive forces. What we are interested in here is to focus primarily on economic processes that are neglected by researchers of other, non-Marxist schools.

Among the economic problems that intensified in the pre-revolutionary period, the growth of cities and its influence on the development of market relations stand out. As Barrington Moore observed concerning pre-Revolutionary England and pre-Revolutionary France, "the chief problem of agriculture was how to supply the classes which ate bread but lacked wheat with grain." He saw the growth of urban commodity markets as one of the main indicators of the "bourgeois commercial impulse". The need to supply cities with food and other goods created challenges that required a move beyond established local markets and the use of market relations on a larger scale. The structure of society that existed at that time could not adapt to the new situation without pain.

Arguing from a Marxist point of view, T. Skokpol and E. Trimberger play a decisive role in the emergence of crisis revolutionary events, not internal, but external factors, which include "military-political pressure from the economic side. developed foreign countries." For them, the objective contradictions within the framework of the old system are, first of all, "on the one hand, political contradictions in the structure and position of states under mutual pressure from military competitors in the international arena, and the limitations of the existing economic system. and (in some cases) the resistance of politically significant class forces within the country to the state's attempts to mobilize resources to meet international competition, on the other.

Finally, many researchers pay attention to the role of social obstacles in the maturation of the revolutionary situation. The traditional mechanisms of vertical mobility, which prevent the "career opening for talent", did not satisfy the new elite groups that appeared in the rapidly developing society. Thus, one of the common features of the Russian, Iranian, Mexican, and Chinese revolutions that took place (or at least began) between 1905 and 1911 was "the emergence of new social groups in which economic growth was more important than economic growth." and the technological point of view. see, but do not have access to power.

Thus, the study of revolutions provides us with rich material that allows us to show the formation of revolutionary situations: the emergence of fundamentally new problems that put pressure on the existing system of relations in society in general and the state structure in particular; Due to the inflexibility of the existing institutions, the ability of the society and the state to adapt to the changed situation is limited. However, the mosaic does not add up to the whole picture, because these problems are considered in an unsystematic way, with an emphasis on one of the types of problems or constraints, and also on a limited historical period.

First, for the emergence of tension in society that can lead to a revolutionary explosion, it is important not only the emergence of new problems but also the presence of obstacles that prevent institutional and psychological adaptation to these problems. As for the specific content and new challenges and existing obstacles, it can change significantly over time. The trends that caused crisis events in the 17th and 18th centuries are not necessarily relevant today. The role of the "problem" played by population growth in pre-industrial countries is related to the scientific and technological revolution and intense international competition in the modern context.

Secondly, the peculiarity of the crisis in the pre-revolutionary society is that this society faces not one, but a whole set of insoluble problems - internal and external. Internal difficulties may be the result of new demographic, technological, economic, and social processes affecting the functioning mechanisms of society and the sphere of public administration. The influence of external factors is not bad, it can be related not only to the immediate military threat, but also to international competition, and also to the external "shock" - sudden fluctuations in demand and foreign markets, regional and world economic crises, and global military conflicts. In each case, the ratio of internal and external factors may be different. Therefore, it is futile to look for a single universal factor explaining the pre-revolutionary crisis. On the contrary, the fact requires an explanation, but at certain moments society faces many problems that require a fundamental change in its working mechanisms. In addition, we show that it is no coincidence that the revolutionary situation in any country is caused by crises of economic growth that occur at certain stages of its development.

Third, the options for built-in limiters are just as diverse. They can be divided into internal and external types. Internal constraints include economic, social, political, and psychological.

Economic restrictions - economic forms and relations that cannot fully respond to changes in economic conditions or respond to them completely inadequately. The most obvious example of this is the medieval guild system in the cities and communal relations in the countryside. The highly monopolized economy characteristic of developed countries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is also a structure with limited flexibility. the flexibility of the above centrally planned system.

Political constraints are mainly manifested in two forms. On the one hand, it is impossible to change the ruling system and its political direction within the framework of legal and political mechanisms when it cannot adequately respond to changes in internal and external conditions. On the other hand, it is impossible to ensure political representation of the new economically influential circles and to give them institutional opportunities to protect their interests. To one degree or another, these restrictions exist in any non-democratic society.

The personal relationships of traditional society, the warm and strong family ties, were largely evaluated by the performance of specialized functions in society and must give way to new, impersonal systems of evaluation. Obstacles to such adaptation are psychological stereotypes left over from traditional society in the economic, political, cultural, and religious spheres.

Socio-cultural constraints not only significantly affect society's ability to adapt to change, but can also play a negative role in overcoming institutional constraints. For example, popular ideas about the divine origin of the monarchy can prevent the removal of political restrictions and the democratization of society.

External restrictions are characteristic, first of all, for colonial and semi-colonial countries, as well as formally independent states under external control. Such countries are forced to think not of their interests in economics and politics but of the goals set for them by other countries. Naturally, this does not help society to adapt to solving new problems and sharply increases the problems associated with it. Such factors played a major role in the maturation of the causes of the American War of Independence, the Mexican Revolution, and other revolutions that took place in the Third World.

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