

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT THE FORMATION OF THE GENERAL WELFARE STATE THEORY

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Abstract: The article discusses the formation and stages of development of the theory of the state with general welfare. First of all, the theories of ideal state projects and social utopia, the emergence of theories of collective agreement as an alternative, the role of collective agreement theory in the origin of the social state, the tasks of the social state are described.

Keywords: general welfare state, ideal state projects, social utopia, collective agreement, social state.

Introduction

During the period of liberalization of reforms, measures are being taken in the country to improve the welfare of the population and the development of the social sphere. Today, on the basis of the principle of public service of governmental organizations, public receptions are organized, in which appeals from the population by public service agencies are studied in depth and comprehensively, and resolved at the place.

Reforms in the field of social support of all segments of the population, especially youth and women, training them in professions that are in high demand in the labor market, employment on the basis of microcredits, involvement in family business are bearing their fruits.

In today's pandemic, many researchers, along with the idea that a social welfare society and a common welfare state would end soon, put forward by Western European countries, it is proposed to further develop these ideas through more integrated activities through various integration groups and international organizations, and through the provision of social assistance to many developing countries.

Therefore, in this article, we aim to explore to a certain extent all the assumptions that comprise from ideal state projects and ideas of social utopia to the formation of a social state. It is well known that in Western Europe, through the development of private property and commodity-money relations based on the selfish interests of the individual, an unprecedented stage of development in society and the economy was reached, and only after certain stages did the ideas of the welfare state emerge.

In the East, on the other hand, the buds of civil society, dominated by the natural economy, have developed on the basis of the priority of the interests of society, relying on community property.

In the twentieth century, the social state (also known as the state of general well-being, a little differently) became the embodiment of dreams of an ideal social order. This model, which combines the principles of a market economy with the participation of the state in solving social problems, has been implemented in economically developed western countries. Researchers point out that the foundations of a common welfare state policy are reflected in the works of New Age Enlightenment thinkers.

According to K. Hübner, this was done by J.J. Russo in his theory of collective bargaining. "The Declaration of Human Rights of 1789, a legacy of the Great French Revolution," writes K. Hubner, "is the result of the harmonization of the basic principles of the policy of the common welfare state and the collective agreement of Russo." ¹ This rule sparked a debate in November 2012 at a conference dedicated to the 300th anniversary of the birth of JJ Russo at the National Research University "School of Economics".

Conference participants argued that the origins of the common welfare state (or welfare state) policy could be traced more to the works of more British philosophers than to Russo's collective agreement.

Analysis of the literature on the subject

Ideal government projects and social utopia

We find the first description of a just social life in the famous works of ancient Greek thinkers. In the Middle Ages, the question of an optimal social system during the Renaissance was combined with the concept of utopia in various social projects. At the heart of Thomas More's Utopia (1516) is man's quest for another, "perfected" (in his view) reality. It is well known that Thomas Morning's project was largely irrigated with Platonic state ideas.

Therefore, both T. More's "Utopia" and similar works of his followers are considered to be based on the abolition of private property, equal use and equal distribution of benefits, that is, based on egalitarianism. An order with a sufficiently correct system of social measures is the basis of an optimal society in this system.

In the genre of utopia, Tommaso Campanella's "City of the Sun or the Ideal Republic. Political Conversation" (1602), Johann Valentin Andrei's The Fortress of Christ or the Statement of the Christian Republic (1619), Francis Bacon's The New Atlantis (1627), and Denis Veras's History of the Sevaramb (1675).

The idea of creating an ideal state developed considerably during the New and Renaissance. In the first half of the nineteenth century, representatives of utopian socialism led the movement to implement social ideas. In the matter of reforming society, the creation of large-scale social production using the latest achievements of science and technology has been given priority.

Utopians advocated the principle of distribution according to "abilities", describing the future society as a society of abundance, which provides for the satisfaction of human needs, the infinite growth of productive forces and the growth of the human personality. Utopian-socialists thought in the future to eliminate the

inequality between mental and physical labor, to transform the state from a governing body to a governing body of production.

The social experience of Robert Owen (1771–1858) called for the establishment of cooperative towns for the poor who could work together without the capitalists who hired them. The task of these production associations, according to R. Owen, is "to organize common happiness through a system of cooperation and solidarity based on a common love for one's relatives and a true understanding of human nature."

The project of Charles Fure, another representative of utopian socialism, envisages the creation of a separate type of palace, the phalanx, a self-sufficient commune of 1600-1800 people working together for mutual benefit².

Claude Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825) believed that only the comprehensive development of production through the effective use of the scientific principles of the organization of society could save workers from poverty. Such principles may include the introduction of universal compulsory productive labor, the creation of equal opportunities for all to use their abilities, and the systematic organization of production, which must meet all the needs of society. Society must become a large production association, and the whole world must gradually become a universal association of nations. In such a situation, the main social goal is productive labor, a practical science of developing political power carried out by educated administrators³.

The authors who were for the Thomas More utopia, a project of a just social structure, approached the ideal state model, discovering the secret of a "good society". In the twentieth century, in response to the works of utopian thinkers, the idea of anti-utopia emerged, which lost the notion of creating an earthly paradise under administrative rule.

The origins of modern anti-utopia can be traced back to earlier works, such as I.G. Fichte's "Closed Trade State" and I. Bentham's "Panopticum", which included harsh criticism of utopian projects. The general labor obligation and order based on vigilant control underlies them.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) addressed the question of the optimal state system and the role of labor in his work *The Closed Trade State* (1800). According to the author, such a state should be based primarily on the ideas of the mind and not for the personal benefit of some of its "privileged" population. Like John Locke, Fichte states that the state grants man three basic "innate" rights: property, life, and liberty, in such a way that the right to property must include the next two rights.

Later, however, philosophers began to differ, and I.G. Fichte concluded that the goal of the state was to "introduce the ownership of property by each of its citizens, and then its protection." Thus, I.G. Fichte sees the main task of the state as a means of exercising the rights of its citizens. "Every nation has the right to increase its well-being," Fichte wrote. - This can be achieved only through the division of labor. Therefore, the people have the right to set the goal of such distribution. It is up to the government, which is the institution responsible for fulfilling the will of the people, to be able to exercise and preserve all their rights"⁴.

Ensuring equality is an important element of such public policy, as its absence cuts off all other positive aspects. According to I.G. Fichte, equality should be ensured not only legally but also economically. The state emphasizes that while everyone is legally entitled, they should also be equal in terms of the amount of property they belong to.

It should be noted that I.G. Fichte renounces the notion of some materiality, property. The basis of property is activity, and property itself is not the possession of something, but their right to self-improvement or processing. Another important aspect of I.G. Fichte's theory is the attitude to its condition, not to the result of the activity, as it is to property. Therefore, ownership must ensure future activity.

Fichte believes that labor is the main source of the rise and wealth of such a state. "We have to earn it (prosperity) through hard work. And there is no other means for this than art and technology, with the help of which the smallest force becomes a thousand times greater than itself. Art and technology come about through constant practice"⁵.

According to I.G. Fichte, an important feature of the state is expressed in the fact that his work is called the "State of Closed Trade" and implies a complete separation from the outside world. In this case, the national economy should have nothing to do with other economies; otherwise the content of I.G. Fichte's theory will be lost.

In order to fully exercise the rights of the citizens of the state, avoiding the arbitrariness of the authorities, I.G. Fichte believes that it is necessary to introduce a separate supervisory body, which is the mediator between the people and the government. This organization does not have any "creative" power (that is, it cannot make important state decisions, make laws, regulate the situation in the country, etc.), but can only suspend government activities in consultation with the people.

I.G. Fichte's concept is not free from contradictions, as in previous teachings: ensuring freedom of activity and equality is combined with the regulation and strict control of the lives of all citizens in such a state. The philosopher himself argues that freedom of action is imagined not in any definite but in an abstract form. What belongs to the ideal state is also abstract. According to I.G. Fichte, building an ideal state is not just a goal, that is, the state is a simple means of improving man and society. In this respect, it is close to the authors of utopian projects of the past.

The economic ideas of I. Bentham (1748–1832) in Panopticum represent the organization of society, consciously and unconsciously, as a curved mirror, in accordance with the laws of social utopia of past centuries. Panopticum, translated from Greek (Greek *pân-all* and *optikó-showing*), represents a museum, a collection of various unusual objects (for example, wax figures, miraculous creatures, etc.). Jeremiah Bentham calls his ideal prison project a panopticum. In it, one guard has the ability to monitor all prisoners at the same time. According to the project, such a prison will incorporate a cylindrical structure with glass internal sections. The guard is located in the center, but is not visible to the inmates. Prisoners do not know at what time they will be observed, but an impression is formed that they are under constant surveillance.

Thus, they become ideal prisoners. In an attempt to create a social system that automatically makes people virtuous, I. Bentham argues that, in addition to the existence of goodness, in the general sense, each individual strives for what he considers his personal happiness. The legislator's job, therefore, is to establish a balance between the social and personal interests of the people. In this sense, criminal law is a way of reconciling the interests of the individual with the interests of society, and this is its advantage.

A person should be punished under criminal law laws not to make people hate criminals, but to eliminate crime. Based on similar "noble" values, in 1797 I. Bentham proposed a new model of prison, in which all prisoners should be under the daily supervision of a guard hidden on the roof of the building; in which the detainee cannot see his observer. M. Foucault called I. Bentham the "Fure of the State of Police." ⁶

Oriental scholars, including Ibn Khaldun, also conducted research on the welfare and standard of living. His work on this topic is called "Introduction". According to Ibn Khaldun, the need to provide people with material goods, the economy is primary, culture, science, politics are secondary. Such thoughts were expressed by our ancestors, such as Abu Rayhan Beruni, Ibn Sino, Amir Temur, Mirzo Ulugbek, Alisher Navoi, Babur Mirzo. It is known that in order for a person to live a prosperous life, first of all, he must be engaged in work, so that he will have the necessary socio-economic conditions to increase income and living standards. In the context of the transition to market relations, the Republic of Uzbekistan has developed an employment strategy focused on human interests. This strategy requires that every able-bodied person demonstrate his or her abilities and provide a decent standard of living for himself or herself and his or her family.

One of the stages in the history of the search for an ideal model of social system is the development of the theory of collective bargaining, which, in turn, emerged in the XVII-XVIII centuries as a certain alternative theory to projects of an egalitarian, socialist orientation. In the origins of collective bargaining theory, T. Gobbs ("Leviathan or Matter, as a form of church and civil state power"), Dj. Locke ("Two Studies on Governance"), B. Spinoza ("Political Research"), D. Yum ("On the Initial Contract"), S. Montesquieu ("On the Spirit of Laws"), J. J. Russo ("Aboutn the Community treatment") and works of others play profound role.

Proponents of the collective bargaining theory believe that the state came into being as a result of agreements between people. Through these agreements, individuals voluntarily relinquish some of their natural rights in favor of public authority.

One of the founders of the collective bargaining theory, T.S. Gobbs describes the contents of this document as follows: "Commonwealth. Definition of state. Such a common authority can protect people from alien struggles and injustices inflicted on each other, and thus provide them with security. In doing so, they can achieve their livelihood and contentment by eating the fruits of manual labor and the earth, only in one way, more precisely, by concentrating all power and strength in one person or persons. They can, by a majority vote, bring the will of all citizens into a single will.

In other words, in the establishment of general authority, people are required to appoint a person or group of persons who are their representatives, for everyone to consider himself trustworthy to all, the owner of the common property must do it himself or compel others to do so in order to maintain general peace and security, and each must consider himself responsible for subordinating his will and judgment of will to the judgment of the common man. This is more than consent or consensus. It is a real solidarity embodied in one person by means of a contract thus concluded by each person with another. In doing so, I authorize this person or group of individuals and give him the right to rule over the other, provided that you give him your rights and punish him for all his actions. If this happens, then many people who are thus united into one person are called a state, in Latin it is called civitas.

The birth of the great Leviathan, or rather, (more precisely expressed), we are obligated before God, who will die for our own peace and protection under the rule of the immortal God. Because of the authority given to him by each individual in the state, the person or group of persons represented enjoys such great power and authority as is embodied in him, this fear, lost by power and authority, makes this person or group of individuals able to direct the will of all men to inner peace and mutual aid against external enemies. The essence of the state consists of this person or group of persons, which must be defined as follows: the state is a single person, responsible for its actions by mutual agreement between many people so that this person can use all his forces and means to the required level of peace and common protection⁷”.

It should be noted that the basic tenets of the theory of collective bargaining are radically different from the utopian ideas of the Renaissance and the New Age, the projects of utopian socialists that envisage strict social organization, control and planning of production. Within the framework of the collective agreement, especially if we take into account the different views in the existing theory, the state is also an ideal structure, a model, its real embodiment is difficult to achieve.

The doctrine of the collective agreement (along with other ideas of the enlightened thinkers of the New Age, including the doctrine of the inherent "natural" rights of the individual) became the basis of the theory of the rule of law that protects citizens. Power must not be absolute; it must not be concentrated in one hand. Therefore, the principle of separation of powers in a state governed by the rule of law is equally important.

Research methodology

The research used methods of scientific abstraction, induction and deduction, analysis and synthesis, systematic approach to economic phenomena and processes.

Analysis and results

The place and role of J.J. Russo in the development of the theory of collective bargaining

J.J. Russo (1712–1778) has a special place among the theorists of the collective agreement. His works, first and foremost, *The Study of the Collective Agreement*

(1762), had a great influence on the political decisions and documents of the Enlightenment. First of all, it should be noted the Declaration of Human Rights of 1789, which in many respects repeats the basic tenets of J.J. Russo's theory of collective agreement. The first article of the Declaration begins with the words: "People are born free. They will remain free and equal in their rights"⁸. In the above work of JJ Russo, we also see the phrase "man is born free"⁹. The second article contains the concept of natural law and provides an abstract definition of the individual, which includes the right to freedom and property: "The goal of any political union is to preserve natural and inalienable human rights. These rights are the essence of freedom, property, security and the right to resist aggression"¹⁰.

Article 6 of the Declaration is directly consistent with the ideas of JJ Russo: "The law is an expression of the common will"¹¹. The articles of the Declaration indicated directly repeat the basic provisions of the J.J. Russo concept. Its central idea is the belief in the organization of society on the basis of freedom and equality. Regarding the problem of equality, it should be noted that different approaches to the study of this concept are known. According to J.J. Russo's theory of collective bargaining, equality before the law is about equality as the social conditions of the exercise or non-exercise of power, the equality of the law and the natural right to carry out any activity outside the state. Here, too, equality does not contradict freedom. This is appropriate, for example, when equality as an element of the order of freedom and a system of distribution in a state of equality under egalitarianism is opposed.

Control exists in both types of projects, but its importance in a democracy limited by the role of state "night watchman" is fundamentally different from its role in social order and equitable distribution (e.g., in social utopia, in utopian socialist projects, as proposed in socialist states). In this case control is the basic "game" rule. J.J. Russo's view excludes encroachment on human freedom and rights, and accordingly, his project opposes the basic principles of social utopia, which is understood as social justice, first and foremost, equality of distribution.

According to J.J. Russo, neither the individual nor the whole nation can voluntarily enslave themselves or their children: "To affirm that the gift of man is meaningless and incomprehensible: such a document is illegal and untrue, and anyone who does so is a sane fool. To affirm this about the whole nation is to assume that they are all fools: if everyone alienates himself, he cannot do it for his children, foolishness does not create law; they are born free"¹².

From the point of view of J.J. Russo's collective agreement, utopia is perceived as a social order, slavery, and mass unconsciousness. In this sense, the condition of man in the context of a state of general welfare is also not free, for it depends on the blessings provided by the state. Thus, in the history of social ideas, certain stable alternatives to the fundamental foundations of the social system are formed: "order of distribution, control and equality in distribution" and "equality of freedoms and rights".

J.J. Rousseau proposed a view of a collective agreement based on popular independence. He therefore believed that the state was formed as a result of a

collective agreement. Therefore, the supreme power in it should belong to the whole nation. We do not alienate, divide, blame the independence of the people, and it is absolute. The law, as an expression of the general will, emerges as a guarantee of individuals from government arbitrariness that cannot be enforced without violating the requirements of the law. Citizens need to be in a position to adopt the basic norms together in some cases, live by them, and consider these norms later if they want to.

J.J. Russo also addressed the problem of the effectiveness of the means of control over government activities, arguing that the adoption of laws by the people was reasonable. Without the influence of J.J. Russo's ideas, political demands such as referendums, democratic institutions such as the People's Legislative Initiative and the reduction of term of office of deputies, mandatory mandate, criticism of deputies by voters emerged.

Contrary to the views of I. Bentham and J. J. Russo, M. Foucault compares values in the understanding of social system and power. "I would say," writes M. Foucault, "that I. Bentham's ideas are to fill J.J. Russo's ideology." Dreams of an attractive society that can be seen at the same time and read in every part of it; the absence of any "dark" territories, territories created by the privileges of the royal power, with the absolute advantages or irregularities of this or that property; to be able to look at the whole society with each occupied point; for one heart to communicate with others; so that views do not become another obstacle; so that everyone's opinion of each one dominates... According to I. Bentham, at the moment something is like this and nothing is the exact opposite. He raises the question of what is visible, but in this one around a dominant and observant look, a whole thinks of something visible. It mobilizes the idea of a comprehensive reality and opens it up in favor of a firm and thorough authority¹³.

Collective agreement theory: the origin and evolution of the social state

Is the concept of collective bargaining generally and to what extent related to the theory of the social state? It was this issue that sparked debate during a conference dedicated to the memory of J.J. Russo. To answer this question, we turn to the stages of the history and theory of the social state. According to Russian researcher L. Konstantinov, "The philosophy of human rights that emerged and took shape in Western Europe and the United States in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a significant impact on the development of the ideas of the social state. Then, in the long run, it is firmly entrenched in the social consciousness...in its decisive formal form, and more precisely in its general philosophy of civil rights, was demanded as the meaningful foundations of American and French revolutionary ideas and British parliamentarism with liberal traditions¹⁴.

The conceptual basis of the philosophy of human rights is that every human being, a member of society, regardless of his social status descriptions, characteristics and differences, has the right to absolute and possible access to certain social benefits. In the distant past, they emerged as a natural advantage that only a narrow range of layers could be used. Thus, the main idea of the philosophy of human rights

was the idea of equal rights and freedoms for all members of society, which in its practical sense became the idea of ensuring such equal rights and freedoms in practice¹⁵.

The social state and its relation to the philosophy of human rights are, first of all, related to the concept of the rule of law, which we have studied above. The ideas of universal civil rights and political equality, which led during the Great French Revolution, laid the foundations for the formation of states of the liberal-legal type. The natural right of the people was seen as their equality before the law, and was gradually embodied in the basic principle of universal suffrage "one man - one vote", which is an important criterion of the legitimacy of power. However, in the opinion of LV Konstantinova, the assumption that the implementation of this principle will lead to the formation of a humane and just society, in which the will of the majority will lead to the disappearance of forms of social inequality of political governance. The experience of the new republics shows that political and legal equality does not automatically lead to social equality. Therefore, in the context of increasing social stratification, the question arose about the need to update the classical idea of human rights and supplement it with an important social aspect. Such a social aspect must ensure stability in the context of a known and approximately equal level of well-being of all members of a just and humane society and the growing trend of complexity of traditional social relations and interactions.

The social-democratic and socialist currents that emerged in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century are a true expression of the "social" modernization of the classical view of the philosophy of human rights. The expansion of the conceptual field of this philosophy through the introduction of the social aspect has led to its transition to a new stage of implementation, namely to the stage of leadership of the ideas of the social state or the general welfare and socially just state¹⁶.

In particular, the process of formation of the theory and practice of the social state has a sufficiently complex and controversial history. According to PK Goncharov, the concept of "social state" was first introduced in the middle of the XIX century by the German economist Lorentz von Stein. As a result of Gegel's philosophy, the analysis of the development of class struggle in Germany under the influence of French socialist doctrine, L. Stein came to the conclusion that "the state must support absolute equality in law through its power for all social classes, self-determined individuals. This is because the idea of the state is embodied in the restoration of equality and freedom, in raising the poor to the level of the rich and the powerful. The state "must carry out the economic and social development of all its members, because the development of one is a condition and consequence of the development of the other, in this sense we can speak of a social state." ¹⁷

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, among the leading economists and sociologists in Germany, L. Stein's views were widely supported and developed significantly. Their worldview was centered around the ideas of expanding the traditional functions of the state and implementing broad social reforms. As a result, the state is able not only to protect private property and establish social order,

but also to provide material and moral support to the lower classes, improve their living standards, expand their rights and freedoms, integrate them into the state and society, thereby, was also able to avert the threat of political and social revolutions. The spread of such concepts has created new traditions in understanding the interaction of state and market, state and society, according to which the state has been able to actively intervene in economic and social relations in order to regulate them.

Below, these ideas were demanded by the ruling elite in developed capitalist countries as a theoretical basis for the beginning and spread of broad social ideas in the face of strong pressure from socially and economically limited groups, the expansion of the workers' movement in favor of improving their situation and the growth of radical sentiment in its environment. The ideas of the welfare state took place in different countries at different times at different speeds and in different forms. The gradual transformation towards the socialization of the state in the form of a series of small changes has led to changes in the fundamental character of the state, which lay the foundations for the implementation of the state and the reconsideration of its direction in society.

Occasionally occurred movements, scattered traditional and reproducible social measures, the social activity of the state over time have a systemic scale character and have become its regular participation in the development and regulation of social phenomena and processes. The timing, pace, forms and priority of concrete measures in the framework of social reforms are determined by a set of specific factors of economic, socio-political, cultural character in different countries, as well as social problems, the sharpness of class conflicts, the political orientation of organized groups¹⁸.

Based on all the above, the spread of ideas about the welfare state today (especially under the influence of the concept of "common welfare state") leads primarily to aspects of its policy, such as social assistance, welfare. At the same time, the issue of equality of rights and freedoms is an integral part of a modern democratic state, which is largely the fundamental basis of the theory of the social state.

The "state of common prosperity" is a theoretical construction, one of the models of the ideal system of society, which has been tried to implement in the twentieth century in economically developed countries. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the theory of the common welfare state was based on elements of the social projects of past centuries, including the "collective agreement", the doctrine of the "natural" rights of the individual, various forms of self-organization of citizens (civil society) and the common good. This theory harmonizes the notion so that it does not break, but preserves utopian dreams.

As noted earlier, the utopian projects of the social system over time created an anti-utopia and became its opposite, in which control and planning became, first and foremost, the object of ruthless criticism. For example, B. Mandeville's (1670–1733) "High Results" is studied as a specific supporter of the theory of collective bargaining.

Conclusion

Returning to this topic, the state of common prosperity is today regarded as one of the last attempts to create an ideal social system, to achieve a social ideal, to create paradise on Earth. In proportion to the implementation of this social project, attempts are made to implement models of an egalitarian character, the origin of which we can see in the social utopias of the past. Which of these projects was the most successful?

In the twentieth century, the state of general well-being has gone through periods of ups and downs. The conceptual aspect of this policy is defined by the fact that in the whole development of the problem, the task of eliminating social inequality, poverty, social stability, ensuring social needs was given priority. For decades, this program has been successful, and people in developed countries have truly experienced the beauties of life in times of prosperity. But material prosperity has never been the sole goal of the ideal state. Dreaming of an improved society, thinkers of the past wrote about the spiritual and spiritual improvement of man. Within the Welfare State, the ethical aspect remained unresolved. They achieved material prosperity, but did not reach spiritual reform. In the absence of certain moral regimes, a welfare democracy emerges in a consumer society, a consumer human type emerges, and social dependency develops.

In all its declarations, the democratic foundations of the state of common prosperity did not exclude control over that state from its system of fundamental principles. People's behavior also requires control, in its absence, not everyone strives for active labor participation in the production of social goods and is capable of various organized actions in the face of mental disorders.

Nevertheless, a state of general well-being is another attempt to achieve a social ideal. His model took a worthy place among the ideas and concepts (ancient myths, Renaissance utopia, social utopian projects, etc.) and in real attempts to provide them. It can be said that the state of common well-being is a compromise of the elements of "social utopia" (as a social project with active state participation or more precisely, in social life) and collective agreement (as a social project based on civil rights and freedoms). The works of the thinkers of the new and enlightened period in many respects determined the political and legal direction of this period.

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