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**САЯСИЙ МАДАНИЯТ МЕНЕН САЯСИЙ СТАБИЛДҮҮЛҮКТҮН ИЧКИ
ЛОГИКАЛЫК БАЙЛАНЫШЫН ИЗИЛДӨӨ
ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ ВНУТРЕННЕЙ ЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ СВЯЗИ МЕЖДУ
ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ КУЛЬТУРОЙ И ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ СТАБИЛЬНОСТЬЮ
A PROBE INTO THE INTERNAL LOGICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL
CULTURE AND POLITICAL STABILITY**

Кыскача мүнөздөмө: Саясий маданият менен саясий туруктуулуктун ортосунда тыгыз байланыш бар. Саясий туруктуулук саясий маданияттын калыптанышынын өбөлгөсү болуп саналат. Саясий маданият саясий туруктуулуктун терең факторун билдирет, ал эми саясий туруктуулукту ишке ашыруу саясий маданияттын мүнөзүнө жана түрүнө жараша болот. Саясий туруктуулукка өбөлгө түзгөн саясий маданиятты куруу теориялык өнүгүүнүн зарылчылыгы гана эмес, ошондой эле саясий практиканын талабы.

Аннотация: Существует тесная взаимосвязь между политической культурой и политической стабильностью. Политическая стабильность является предпосылкой формирования политической культуры. Политическая культура представляет собой глубинный фактор политической стабильности, а реализация политической стабильности зависит от природы и типа политической культуры. Построение политической культуры, способствующей политической стабильности, является не только необходимостью теоретического развития, но и требованием политической практики.

Abstract: There is a close correlation between political culture and political stability. Political stability is the prerequisite for the formation of political culture. Political culture constitutes the deep factor of political stability, and the realization of political stability depends on the nature and type of political culture. Constructing a political culture conducive to political stability is not only the need of theoretical development, but also the requirement of political practice.

Негизги сөздөр: саясий маданият; саясий туруктуулук; логика.

Ключевые слова: политическая культура; политическая стабильность; логика.

Keywords: political culture; political stability; logic.

Political stability constitutes the basic premise for the formation of political culture, providing a stable, sustained and orderly political system for the formation of political culture, enabling the political

system to cultivate citizens' political feelings, attitudes and values in a relatively sustained and stable environment; On the other hand, although the realization of political stability is restricted by many factors, the deep-seated and potential factor is undoubtedly the attitude of citizens towards the current political system, that is, the recognition of political legitimacy, the recognition of political process and the satisfaction with policies, that is, political stability is the stability of citizens' political psychology and political culture.

I. Political stability is the prerequisite for the formation of political culture

Judging from the formation of political culture, a long-term and stable political environment is the basic condition for the formation of political culture. The formation of political culture is not a short-term effect, but the accumulation of many cognitions and evaluations of the political system in the long-term political life. In fact, political culture, as an inherent habit of citizens, can be formed without a single cognition and evaluation, because the attitude towards individual political events is only public opinion, and the sum of numerous homogeneous public opinions constitutes a long time span for the formation of political culture. The long-term accumulation of public opinions with specific orientations is finally internalized into citizens' relatively stable political attitude, that is, political culture is the accumulation of the results of long-term continuous cognition and evaluation of a stable political system.

Long-term and stable political structure enables citizens to constantly understand the knowledge of political structure, rulers and institutional settings through various channels of political socialization. As ordinary people's understanding of the political structure, it needs the guarantee of time and channels. Smooth channels will undoubtedly shorten citizens' understanding of the political structure, but this process requires the relative stability of the political structure. The institutionalized political process plays a guiding role in the political behavior of the rulers and participants. On the one hand, it can restrain the administrative behavior of the rulers and make them follow the established institutional regulations; On the other hand, it can make citizens' political participation develop within the framework of institutionalization, and gradually master the knowledge and skills of participating in politics. In this institutionalized political life, citizens' understanding of the political system has gradually become clear, the evaluation tends to be objective and reasonable, and emotional closeness is basically stable. Policy is directly related to the vital interests of citizens, and it is the most direct aspect that affects citizens' political attitudes. A continuous and stable policy will make citizens gradually understand the internal direction of the policy, consider a policy based on their own interests, and form different evaluations and attitudes. The quality and fairness of policies determine the trend of political and cultural nature, that is, continuous superior policies can be recognized and supported by citizens, and they have a favorable attitude towards the whole political system, and vice versa. It can be seen that sustained and reasonable policies are the most direct external political stimulus for the formation of political culture.

In addition, the stability of political structure, institutionalized political process and continuous policies do not exist independently. As an organic component of the political system, its own soundness and perfection are not enough to constitute the stability of the whole system, but also the coordination and smoothness of the relationship among them, and the realization of this state is determined by the function of each subsystem. That is, the stability of the political structure is conducive to the institutionalization of the political process, so that all aspects of political life can be followed by laws and rules. The institutionalization of the procedure makes the policy more scientific and reasonable, and can take into account the interests of most groups in society. The purpose of policy rationalization is to gain the support and affirmation of citizens, which is essentially the recognition of the political system and the recognition of legitimacy, which is conducive to the stability of the political structure. It can be said that the stability of the political structure determines the order of the political process, and the institutionalization of the process ensures that the policy tends to be reasonable. The superior policy has won the heartfelt support of the citizens for the stability of the political structure. In the period of political turmoil, there is not only no stable political structure, but also no institutionalized political process, which will not form a new political culture, but will lead to retrogression. Obviously, a stable political environment is an important institutional resource for the formation of political culture.

II. Political culture is the deep factor to realize political stability

Macroscopically speaking, the realization of political stability depends on the perfection and effective implementation of the system. As an external "rigid" system such as laws and regulations exported by the political system, it undoubtedly plays an important role in maintaining political stability in the early stage of political construction. But from the microscopic point of view, the real stability is not the result of the coercion and deterrence of the external punitive system, but comes from the voluntary obedience of citizens to the system, that is, how effective the external system can be depends on the degree of voluntary obedience and cooperation of citizens. The influence of political culture on political stability depends on two

aspects: one is its own nature, and the other is the degree of coordination between its type and political structure. The nature of political culture is mainly embodied in homogeneity, heterogeneity, lag and advance, which have a profound impact on political stability. Referring to Almond's classification of political culture, villagers' culture, subjects' culture and participatory culture are in harmony with their respective traditional political structures, centralized political structures and democratic political structures[1].

1. The relationship between the nature of political culture and political stability

First of all, the homogeneity of political culture. Homogeneity shows the internal polymerization degree of political culture as a system, but it can't explain the relationship between it and political stability. Homogeneous political culture may be the unity of positive attitude towards the political system as the cognitive object, or the convergence of qualitative attitude. Positive and positive homogeneous political culture contributes to political stability, reflects the generally consistent views and attitudes of most citizens on basic political issues, and reflects the recognition, emotional dependence and positive evaluation of the current political system in the hearts of most citizens. They are willing to abide by the rigid systems such as policies, laws and regulations of the system, accept the leadership of the government, and actively safeguard the normal operation of the current political system. On the contrary, the negative and homogeneous political culture will endanger political stability, which indicates that the majority of citizens hold a distrust and disapproval attitude towards the current political system. As far as the political system is concerned, its legitimacy is not recognized, its authority is lost, the order of the political process is broken, policies are difficult to implement, and its due effectiveness is lost, which leads to the fracture between the political system and society and the turmoil of the political system and even the whole society.

Secondly, the heterogeneity of political culture. Heterogeneity means that the political value orientation held by citizens is obviously different from the mainstream political literature[2], and scholars call the political culture with this nature political subculture. This kind of political subculture challenges the integrity, unity and integration function of the whole political and cultural system, showing the characteristics of dispersion and difference, which may cause potential horizontal division to the stability of the unified national political system. Therefore, weakening the influence of heterogeneity in political culture, guiding subculture to develop in the direction of mainstream political culture, and constructing a homogeneous and positive political culture will increase the bargaining chip of political stability.

Thirdly, the lag of political culture. Lagging refers to the existence of political culture as an ideology, its own slowness, accumulation, intergenerational inheritance and the stability of consciousness itself, which makes political culture always lag behind political development. Taking the past political system as the standard, considering the existing political system will inevitably lead to the dislocation of experience and reality, resulting in cognitive deviation and negative attitude towards the current political system. In addition, the lag of political culture hinders the process of political development, especially in the initial stage or transition period of the political system, the original political cognition is difficult to effectively connect with the new political system, which leads to the dislocation of the output of the political system and the original political knowledge of citizens, which leads to chaos in political life and a decline in political stability.

Finally, the advance of political culture. The theory based on traditional political culture will not have the characteristic of advancement, but in view of the process of globalization and modernization, advancement is already a non-negligible nature. With the rapid development of the Internet, international radio, intercontinental television, immigration, international trade and other aspects, the specific political culture of a country flows widely through different media and is perceived by people under different political systems. Based on the trend of human historical development and the needs of social progress, progressive and superior political culture will be "grafted" by backward areas to promote political development. However, from the perspective of political stability, the externally transplanted "advanced" political culture still poses a great challenge to the existing political system, and if it is not handled well, it will lead to violent turmoil in political life.

2. The influence of political culture type and the degree of coordination of political structure on political stability

The influence of political culture types on political stability is exerted by the corresponding relationship between culture and structure. A culture of villagers, subjects or participants may be in harmony with their respective traditional political structures, centralized political structures and democratic political structures[3]. The relationship between political culture and political structure can be coordinated or uncoordinated[4]. When they are coordinated, the political system is undoubtedly stable, and vice versa. Starting from the conception of this paper, this paper studies the disharmony between the two.

First of all, it is obviously difficult to coordinate the construction of centralized structure or democratic political structure on the basis of village regional political culture. This political and cultural

symbol is that people's sense of identity with their own territory is stronger than that of the country, and they lack civic awareness, and they have no will or ability to participate in politics in cognition. Villagers often have no consciousness of all aspects of the political system, or only vague consciousness. The villagers' loyalty and sense of responsibility are the norms and structures of the village. However, the centralized structure requires obedience to the central authority, and the democratic political structure requires "active-rational" participation. Obviously, this political culture cannot meet the requirements of the two political structures. Therefore, building a centralized system on the basis of village regional political culture will lead to the vertical fracture of the political system and the chaos of political life because of the villagers' high loyalty to the local area.

Secondly, building a democratic political structure based on the mixed political culture of villagers and subjects may also lead to political instability. The subject culture contains the villagers' culture, and at the same time, it is aware of the authority of the specialized government, but it is basically a negative relationship. This negative culture passively accepts centralized leadership while retaining its loyalty to local authority. Citizens who hold this kind of political culture think that it is difficult to play the role of individuals in political life. Although they have a certain understanding of the political system in consciousness, they accept the output of the system unilaterally in political behavior and lack active input, which is difficult to adapt to the "active-rational" participation required by democratic politics. Building democratic politics on this cultural basis, citizens show extreme political apathy and indifference to political structure, process and policies, resulting in the obstruction of the internal and external environment of the political system.

Finally, it is impossible to construct traditional political structure or centralized structure on the basis of participatory political culture. Both the narrow geographical attributes of villagers under the traditional political system and the emphasis on obedience of subjects under the centralized system are contrary to the essence of participatory political culture. Citizens who already have a culture of participation can't just be satisfied with their understanding and loyalty to local power, nor can they just obey the authority of the central government. They always hope to input demands into the political system through their own efforts. In this way, between the retrogression of the political system and the advanced political culture, due to the lack of political participation channels and the one-dimensional emphasis of the political system, citizens are dissatisfied with the political system, leading to conflicts between citizens and the political system.

III. Constructing a political culture conducive to political stability

Political culture has certain plasticity, that is, the political system constantly strengthens and perfects its own construction and guides the trend of citizens' political attitudes through political socialization, making the mainstream political culture the dominant value orientation, giving play to its functions of integration and cohesion, reducing the heterogeneity of political subcultures, promoting the harmony of political culture and laying a solid foundation for citizens' psychological stability.

1. Strengthen the self-construction of the political system and provide a positive and stable political environment for the construction of political culture

The construction of political system itself mainly includes three aspects: political structure, political process and policy. The quality of its own construction directly affects the nature of political culture, that is, whether it is positive or negative. The construction of political structure mainly involves legitimacy, authority and credibility. The political process mainly reflects the institutionalization and legitimacy of political life. The extent to which policies reflect and meet the needs of citizens is directly related to the trend of political attitudes. As far as some politically unstable countries in the world are concerned, the problems existing in the construction of the political system, such as nepotism, unfair policies, serious gap between the rich and the poor, improper administrative methods and corruption, have seriously hurt citizens' feelings and trust, resulting in the decline of the credibility of the political system and the question of its legitimacy.

2. Reduce the heterogeneity of political subculture to improve the homogeneity of political and cultural system

In view of the realistic differences and objective existence of national culture, religious beliefs, customs and other factors, it is an indisputable fact that political subculture, as an organic part of the complex system of political culture, is difficult to disappear on its own in the short term, and its negative impact on political stability can not be ignored. Because the political subculture is too prominent, it may threaten the stability of the political system[5]. By excavating the common ground of political subcultures, coordinating the diversification of political value orientations and enhancing their common ground, it will help to resolve the conflict of citizens' political ideas, increase the homogeneity of political culture, converge citizens' political attitudes and behaviors, and enhance a harmonious consensus. In addition, the construction of homogeneous political culture is not to completely eliminate political subculture, but to seek and explore

the common ground and compatibility between political subcultures on the basis of their objective existence, so that the connotation of political subculture has something in common with mainstream political culture, especially in modern multi-ethnic countries, the whole people must have a common understanding of national unity and the highest goal of the country before they can be called subculture. In addition, the construction of homogeneous political culture is not to completely eliminate political subculture, but to seek and explore the common ground and compatibility between political subcultures on the basis of their objective existence, so that the connotation of political subculture has something in common with mainstream political culture, especially in modern multi-ethnic countries, the whole people must have a common understanding of national unity and the highest goal of the country before they can be called subculture[6].

3. Give full play to the leading position and leading role of mainstream political culture

Mainstream political culture is the political attitude, belief and emotion held by most citizens in a certain period of time, which is universal, integrated and inclusive. It is these properties that make it play an irreplaceable role in leading citizens' political attitude, coordinating political behavior and maintaining political order. The more widely the mainstream political culture spreads and the more members of the political community are absorbed, the more stable and perfect the political system will be. Therefore, establishing the dominant position of mainstream political culture will help to bridge the "discrete" role of subculture and promote the harmony of political system.

As an important element in many social systems, the political system is directly related to the stability of the whole society. Maintaining the stability of the political system depends to a greater extent on the political culture held by citizens. The influence of political culture as an invisible "soft power" on political stability can not be ignored, and its own nature and type are closely linked with political stability. Therefore, constructing a positive and homogeneous political culture is the fundamental requirement to achieve political stability.

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