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MODERNIZATION IN JAPAN: STAGES AND DIRECTIONS OF REFORMS

The modernization of Japan, conducted after the «opening» of the country in 1868, is of high interest for the scientific society in the field of further understanding of the mechanisms that enabled the country to reach a high level of development. At the end of the XIX century - early XX century Japan's economic growth rates exceeded the average indicators of other developed countries of the world. At present, the Japanese economy is the third economy in the world, which is almost 25% more than the next German economy, and is equal to economies of India and England combined, which are the following countries on this list. Despite the fact that modernization in the country was continuous, there are two main stages of it: modernization in the Meiji period and in the post-war period in the conditions of democratization. The modernization project has affected all areas of the country's life. Its distinctive feature is the introduction of new reforms (economic, political, social, etc.) while maintaining the traditional foundations. The purpose of this work is a comprehensive analysis of the modernization processes that took place in Japan over the last century and a half. As a result of the elaborated and effectively implemented measures of the comprehensive modernization plan of the country, Japan has become the most developed country in the Asia-Pacific region, which successfully competes in the economic and technological spheres with the West and is in many ways a model of modernization for other Asian countries.

Key words: Japan, modernization of Meiji Ishin period, modernization of post-war period, reforms, model for catch-up development.

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Жапониядағы жаңғыру үрдісі: кезеңдері мен реформалардың бағыты

1867 жылы Жапонияның күштеп «ашылуынан» кейін елде өткізілген жаңғыру процесі, оның дамудың жоғары деңгейіне жеткен елдер қатарына қосылу құпияларын түсінгісі келетін, ғылыми қоғамдастықтар үшін үлкен қызығушылық тудыратыны анық. XIX ғасырдың аяғы – XX ғасырдың басында Жапонияның экономикалық өсу көрсеткіштері әлемнің басқа дамыған елдерінің орташа көрсеткіштерінен асып түсті. Қазіргі таңда, жапон экономикасы өзінен кейін тұрған Германияның экономикасынан 25%-ға асып, одан кейін тізімде тұрған Үндістан мен Англия экономикаларын қоса алғандағы көрсеткішпен үшінші орынды иемденіп тұр. Елдегі жаңғырту процесінің үздіксіз жүзеге асырылып отырғанына қарамастан, оның негізгі екі кезеңін атап өтуге болады: Мэйджи кезеңі мен соғыстан кейінгі демократизациялану жағдайындағы модернизация. Жаңғыру үрдісі мемлекеттің барлық салаларына әсер етті. Оның айрықша белгісі ретінде дәстүрді сақтай отырып, жаңа реформалардың (экономикалық, саяси, әлеуметтік, білім беру және т.б.) енгізілуін атасақ болады. Жұмыстың мақсаты – соңғы ғасырда Жапонияда орын алған жаңғырту үрдістеріне жан-жақты талдау жасау. Жаңғырудың кешенді жоспарының тиімді жүзеге асырылуының нәтижесінде, Жапония экономика және технология салаларында Батыспен бәсекеге түсе алатын, Азияның өзге елдеріне жаңғыру үлгісі болып табылатын, Азия-Тынық мұхиты аймағындағы ең дамыған елге айналды.

Түйін сөздер: Жапония, Мэйджи ишин кезеңіндегі жаңғыру, соғыстан кейінгі модернизация, реформалар, дамудың қуып жету үлгісі.

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Модернизация в Японии: этапы и направления реформ

Модернизация Японии, проведенная после «открытия» страны в 1868 г., представляет огромный интерес для научного сообщества в сфере углубления понимания механизмов, позволивших стране достичь высокого уровня развития. В конце XIX в. – начале XX в. темпы роста экономики Японии превысили средние показатели других развитых стран мира. В настоящее время японская экономика – это третья экономика в мире, которая почти на 25% больше, чем следующая за ней экономика Германии, и равна занимающим следующие позиции в этом списке экономикам Индии и Англии вместе взятых. Несмотря на то, что модернизация в стране проводилась непрерывно, можно выделить два основных этапа: модернизация в период Мэйдзи и в послевоенный период в условиях демократизации. Проект модернизации затронул все сферы жизни страны. Его отличительной чертой является внедрение новых реформ (экономических, политических, социальных и др.) при сохранении традиционных устоев. Целью данной работы является всесторонний анализ процессов модернизации, проходивших в Японии последние полтора столетия. В результате разработанных и эффективно реализованных мероприятий комплексного плана модернизации страны Япония стала самой развитой страной Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона, которая успешно конкурирует в экономической и технологической сферах с Западом и является во многом образцом модернизации для других азиатских стран.

Ключевые слова: Япония, модернизация периода Мэйдзи исин, послевоенная модернизация, реформы, модель догоняющего развития.

Introduction

The transformation of Japan from an authoritarian imperialist to a democratic pacifist in world affairs is one of the most remarkable transitions of the last century. This became possible due to the implementation of a set of measures aimed at modernizing all spheres of country's life. The peculiarity of modernization in the country is determined by its stable character, which affected the position of Japan in the world. Successfully implemented modernization allowed Japan to move from the catch-up development model to the level when country searches the ways to further improvement independently and offers it to the world. At the stage of catching-up development - from the 70's of XIX century - until the late 80's of XX century, Japan rose to the level of one of the most developed economies of the world, next only to the two countries - the US and China at present time. In this regard, an in-depth study of the characteristics of the modernization project allows us to understand the basic mechanisms that allowed the feudal, agricultural and decentralized society, such as Japan in the middle of the 19th century, to become a highly developed country. What kind of modernization took place, what was the main idea of this process, what measures led to the success of the country - the analysis of these issues became the goal of this work. During the research, the following tasks were set: identification of the main stages of

the modernization process in Japan and analysis of the adopted reforms. In conditions when the existing socio-economic system was losing and threatened with the inevitability of the backlog, modernization in principle can be considered as a possible way out of this situation. According to the definition of the economist Inozemtsev, «modernization is an integration into the world, and not the adjustment of the world to itself. All successfully modernizing countries - Japan in the 1980s, China over the past decades, the same Brazil (albeit on a regional scale) - learned the logic of the global economic system and, using it, became real contenders for the status of «Power No.1» (Inozemtsev 2008: 5). The methods of research – generalization and chronological-problem method, which contribute to the disclosure of the theme of research and are aimed at achieving the tasks.

There are two main models of modernization - Westernization and catching-up development. In the first case, Western samples are taken as a basis and simply transferred to all spheres of society, in the second - on the basis of borrowing new structures are created for the given society while preserving national self-identification (Molodyakova 2011: 54). It was under this scheme that modernization took place in Japan. The main essence of the model of catch-up modernization consists in industrialization and the creation of an industrial culture, in which the human factor plays the main role. And

modernization does not depend on the political and social system with the leading role of the state. «The state (in any form, unitary or federative, democratic or totalitarian) was «alpha and omega», the initiator and inspiration behind catching-up development in the countries of the East» (Petrov 2011: 249). But the form of implementation of this process is influenced by the level of development of the country itself, the readiness of the masses to understand and solve the economic and other problems facing them. Equally important is the formulation by the elite of the goals and tasks of modernization, the study of its means of achieving them, and the minimization of the efforts expended.

The basis for the transformation was the process of continuous improvement, aimed at the introduction of Western development patterns, which was implemented in two stages. At the initial stage, the modernization was initiated by the new elite of the traditional society of the Meijian period (1868-1912), and later in the conditions of democratization it was continued in the post-war years by the old elite of an authoritarian society. Thus, it was at the crucial moments of the country's development that the government realized the need for modernization.

The main stages of modernization process in Japan

In Japan, the new elite that came to power after the conservative revolution Meiji Ishin assumed responsibility for the fate of the country, proceeded with modernization, and formulated the slogan of development as «a rich country - a strong army» (Davidov 2015: 78). This was an adequate response to the challenges of that time. The path of Japan's historical development is essentially an almost continuous process of modernization of society, not only in terms of the continuous rationalization of economic activity, but also in the development of the spiritual sphere (for example, the conflict-free adoption of democracy that is not characteristic of the country's political culture). On the nature of the modernization process in Japan, several factors have had a significant impact. First of all, the high adaptive ability of the population, that is, the assimilation of various elements of other civilizations (especially the Chinese), and, moreover, their transformation into components of their national values and thus preservation for future generations. Then the universal impact of traditions on all spheres of society (Molodyakova 2011: 63). This contributed to the fact that the transformations in it, even very serious, occurred without crushing social explosions, through reforms, without revolutions, by evolution.

In analyzing the Meiji's and post-war transformations that were carried out under conditions of catching-up development, for all their differences, one can see a certain typology. In particular, in both cases, the elites chose the same strategy-to rise to the level of the developed countries of the West-and implemented it with the mobilization of all forces and resources by the state to carry out cardinal systemic reforms, for the realization of which there were economic and spiritual prerequisites. The assimilation of all new things did not lead to a change in national self-identification to the West. The conditions for the implementation of the modernization project were different. In the first case, Japan was formally independent, but entered into international economic relations entangled with unequal treaties. In the second case, at the first stages of modernization, the country lived under conditions of occupation by the troops of the victorious allies in accordance with the directives of the headquarters of the occupation troops. But all the activities were carried out by the Japanese authorities, which ensured a certain confidence in the population. The defeat in the war and the occupation of the country by foreign troops interrupted the former way of modernization of the country, which lasted about seventy years in the conditions of authoritarian rule, and gave a powerful impetus to its accelerated development in the conditions of democracy, which brought Japan into the ranks of developed countries in almost two decades.

The set of modernization parameters in both periods was basically the same, but the order of their implementation was different. In the Meiji period, the economic development plan was first implemented, and then political reforms were carried out. In the post-war period, economic and political transformation took place simultaneously and simultaneously. In each period, its ideology was formulated, which relied in the first case on the state shinto and in the second on democratic principles. Both times they chose the path adequate to the existing conditions. The key moment in the first period was the conservative revolution of Meiji Ishin (Meiji Restoration) and subsequent reforms. These events determine the entire course of the country's further development. Quite rightly there is an opinion that the roots of many successful achievements of Japan in the post-war years should be sought precisely in this period. For a long time, researchers in studying Meiji Ishin focused on its social, political, economic, less often - ideological and cultural aspects, and the spiritual, metaphysical side of the issue was

ignored or viewed from a materialistic point of view. Therefore, the interpretation of this event as an «unfinished bourgeois revolution» based on the non-critical application of European models to Japan is incorrect. By the beginning of the Bakumatsu period (1854-1867), the Tokugawa regime experienced a total systemic crisis, which could no longer be overcome by reforms from above, i.e., without a radical change of elites. By this time the country was primarily formed by a capable traditionalist-oriented spiritual and political counter-elite, which had a modernization program of action.

Creators of Meiji Ishin understood the inevitability of a clash with the «civilized world», from which Japan materially lagged behind, and carrying out revolutionary, modernization transformations as the only way to withstand pressure from outside. The combination of traditional and revolutionary principles in Meiji Ishin is obvious when it comes to modernization and internationalization, which became the most important task of the new government. The «golden mean» was found in the formula «*wakon-yosai*» («Japanese spirit - European science»). «European science» included a full set of modernization components, however, thanks to the traditionalist orientation of most of the elite, was inspired by the «Japanese spirit» and was adopted not by itself and not completely, but only as necessary or suitable for the new Japan. Meiji Ishin fulfilled all the main spiritual, political, social, economic tasks that she faced and carried out all the reforms necessary for dynamic development in conditions of a rapid entry into the «civilized world» in its distinctive national forms. «The Meiji Legacy» for a long time was understood historically only externally - as a set of material transformations that allowed Japan in the last third of the XIX century to preserve national independence and enter the world community. The realized version of modernization not only had a decisive influence on the subsequent development of Japan, but also set an example for many countries in Asia and the «third world». At the same time, it must be taken into account that the Meiji Conservative Revolution, the *ishin*, which took place in a traditional society, had, first of all, a national, not a class character. At all stages of modernization, the transformations in the economy played a decisive role, since they created the material basis for the transformation of the country into a modern state.

The Japanese type of modernization is characterized by a high degree of the state participation in this process. Since the beginning of the Meiji era and until the end of World War II, it

was a large owner and entrepreneur, occupying key positions in a number of important sectors of the economy. Simultaneously, under its comprehensive control were the most important areas of economic life, even those in which the state did not own property and did not engage in business. His main efforts were directed toward the creation of modern industrial enterprises equipped with Western technology, and the banking system, without which economic development would be impossible. Already in the 1880s in general, the era of the initial accumulation of capital was completed, and the industrial bourgeoisie was formed. The government decided to transfer to private capital a large part of the enterprises of the basic industries and concentrate efforts on strengthening the financial system and developing military production. Now, in pursuing the policy of modernizing the economy, the state relied not only on its enterprises in different sectors, but increasingly on measures to stimulate the private sector. During the military economy of the 1930s the problems of modernization have receded into the background, and the main was the mobilization of national resources to achieve military objectives. At the end of the Second World War, the task of economic modernization again, with the utmost urgency, began, but in other historical conditions. Japan entered a new phase of catching-up development, which ended by the end of the 1980s. During this time she has made a huge leap in terms of quantity and quality characteristics and the economy entered the most advanced position in the world. During this period, a different model of state participation in the process of economic modernization emerged. First of all, the scale of his participation as owner and entrepreneur has significantly decreased. As a result of a number of reforms by the end of the 1980s, as the share of state property in the national wealth of the country, decreased to 11%. However, this reduction was offset by the increased use of all other forms of regulation.

Reforms in economical, political, social, cultural and other areas

Thanks to the efforts of the state, the modernization process was purposeful, progressive, and in general a climate was created that was extremely favorable for investment and development of all forms of entrepreneurship. Turned into a powerful modern state, which has all the attributes of a mature market economy and institutions of developed democracy, by the end of the 1980s, Japan faced the need to bring its economic system, quite different from the systems that existed in other developed countries, in line with the demands of the times in the context of

globalization. Since the mid-1990s in the Japanese economy, reforms began, which, in effect, seized all the elements of its economic structure. By now, a significant part of this work has already been completed, and the economy has acquired new outlines, has become more market and open (Petrov 2011: 97).

By now, a significant part of this work has already been completed, and the economy has acquired new outlines, has become more market and open. The role of the state was decisive in modernizing the agrarian sector. By the time this process began, agriculture, with its heavy legacy of the feudal era, was Japan's most backward region. The new government abolished the feudal dependence of the peasants, liquidated the feudal ownership of the land, permitted its purchase and sale, freedom of choice of cultivated crops, replaced all former forms of feudal duties with land tax, creating conditions for modernization. The government tried to model the structure of agriculture by Western standards by replacing small-scale production with a model of large extensive farms using machinery, for which foreign specialists were invited, agricultural implements were imported. However, all efforts to create such farms were not successful, because they did not justify themselves economically.

The development of agriculture made a serious contribution to the modernization of the country as a whole: the land tax in the first two or three decades was the overwhelming part of the tax revenues that went towards industrialization. And the money received from the export of agricultural products went to pay for the import of the necessary goods for the transformation of other industries. Serious progress in the development of agricultural production was achieved through the improvement of cultivars and the improvement of technology for their cultivation. This was the result of joint efforts of the government, scientists and, of course, the producers themselves. The state also engaged in the preparation of qualified personnel for agriculture (Mizinova 2014: 153). At the same time, the life of the peasantry has not undergone any significant changes. The landowners won the most from the transformations, which concentrated in their hands a large part of the land, which they basically rented out. A qualitative leap in solving the agrarian problem occurred in the first postwar years. A new stage in the modernization of the industry began, which took considerably less time. In many respects this was due to the conditions in which the main transformations took place. The land reform that abolished landed estates and subsequent legislative initiatives

created a stable system of small-scale producers. Protectionist policy of the state for a long time contributed to the increase of agricultural incomes and, accordingly, the implementation by farmers of the modernization of the industry (Molodyakova 2011: 61). For two or three decades of technological transformation, agriculture has become a completely modern branch of the economy. But before it there are still many problems that await their solution on the path of institutional changes, structural reforms that should lead to an increase in the efficiency of production and increase the competitiveness of Japanese agricultural products in the world market.

For the success of the Japanese type of modernization, an important factor was the creation of an entrepreneurial structure and the type of corporate governance in which traditional and Western elements were combined. These days they are called Japanese. Their specificity is determined by the peculiarities of the national culture and the belated entry of Japan into the path of the formation of a market economy. The formation of the entrepreneurial structure of Japan during the initial modernization was influenced by close partnership between business and the state, based on mutual interest and coincidence of interests. Another feature of Japanese business practices, which is also largely conditioned by the nature of modernization, is the widespread use of informal mechanisms and norms that are based on the tradition and mentality of the Japanese. The emergence of a specific system for financing the activities of companies, focused primarily on raising funds from a bank loan, rather than on the stock market, is also largely related to the nature of the post-Meiji modernization and the dual structure of entrepreneurship that has developed in the last third of the XIX century. The entrepreneurial and managerial practice of zaibatsu has contributed to the theory and practice of international management. Thus, in the Japanese trading houses of the period before Meiji, the model of corporate culture «family», based on the relations of paternalism and which is one of the main modern models of organizational culture, has emerged completely independently, without any external influence.

The Japanese management system developed mainly on its own basis and in the specific historical conditions of the country. Borrowings concerned only certain methods and methods of management, adaptation of foreign technical experience. The very philosophy of business, the organizational principles of building large companies remained essentially the same. A real challenge to the

Japanese entrepreneurial organization and the system of corporate governance is globalization. Japanese corporations, or rather, their leaders, faced the need for truly radical change. A significant group of factors contributing to the development of modernization processes in the Japanese economy is largely related to the human factor, with the existing system of personnel management in firms. It is a synthesis of domestic forms of paternalism and modern Western management technologies. This distinguishes it from other developed countries, where one management system is replaced by another one. Japanese management experience was the result of the gradual combination of well-known management technologies, which being adapted to external specific conditions ensured the emergence of an internal motivational environment in the organization. Such a connection was based largely on an evolutionary basis, when one management technology was not replaced at the same time by another, but was combined with it, correspondingly changing. The strength of the Japanese system of personnel management is the solution of the problem of ensuring the quality of products, attracting to it absolutely all participants in production, beginning with top-level managers and ending with workers. In addition, a system known as TRM (Total Productive Maintenance) has been introduced at Japanese enterprises. All the units participated in its implementation. It is especially important to emphasize that the target installation assumed the achievement of «zero losses», «zero breakdowns», «zero accidents», «zero marriage». This management system has successfully passed the test for maturity and strength in the period of high growth rates, has clearly shown its advantages in the days of crises and continues to confirm itself at the present stage of globalization.

The basis of the achievements in the modernization of the material sphere at the first stage was the technological reorganization of the entire production system of Japan on the basis of the latest Western technologies during the industrial revolution that was taking place in it and the militarization of the economy. On the second – the technological modernization of the country was especially deep, it covered all aspects of the life of Japanese society and continues now. The principal feature of this period is that in industrialized countries there was a mass transition of many military-oriented industries to peaceful tracks. A huge detachment of scientists and engineers of the highest qualifications, who worked earlier for military needs, has become a powerful generator of new creative solutions. Under

these conditions, the main task of Japanese scientists and engineers was the accelerated formation of an advanced technological base for new, civilian sectors of the economy (McMahon 2008:171). Therefore, research and development were mainly subordinated to the tasks of improving the production apparatus by mastering imported equipment and adapting it to Japanese conditions.

The use of foreign technologies, acquired on the basis of licensing agreements, made a major contribution both to the formation of an effective production apparatus and to the introduction of advanced products in production. At the same time, the successes accumulated by the Japanese themselves developed. Significant results were achieved through the use of the so-called selective strategy of economic development. Their main efforts were directed by Japanese firms to ensure their dominance in the sphere of mass demand, and their most important technological priority was microelectronic technologies, which allowed to take a course to «saturate» the production unit with measuring equipment and devices for automated control of technological processes. On the basis of these technologies, the Japanese rebuilt the industrial apparatus of industry, transport, communications, management, health care, education, everyday life, etc.

On the basis of these technologies, the Japanese rebuilt the industrial apparatus of industry, transport, communications, management, health care, education, everyday life, etc. The Japanese experience shows that in order to realize effective modernization, it is first and foremost necessary to learn how to creatively use the world's major achievements in science, technology and technology, applying them to the practical tasks of socio-economic development. In Japan, this was facilitated by two very important circumstances: the absence of a large military-oriented sector of the economy and the closest link to the US research and production complex, to leading American companies leading in the field of high technology. All this allowed Japan to form very strong positions in the field of high-tech development.

One of the most important components at all stages of the modernization process was a high level of education, and, most importantly, of all segments of the population. The government constantly kept and keeps under control the system of education, introducing in it adjustments in accordance with changes in the needs of society and the tasks facing it. At the Meiji stage of modernization, a radical restructuring of the education system was

required to promptly involve the broad sections of the population in modern education, which opened the way for the mastery of Western knowledge - a necessary factor in modernizing and industrializing. Equal opportunities were created for education by representatives of all classes (men and women). In the first years of the introduction of the Western education system, the most important, traditional subject - morality - fell into the background. But since the ruling elite required the education of the younger generation in the spirit of loyalty to supreme power and devotion to national interests, very soon this subject again comes to the fore (Molodyakova 2011: 78). After the end of the Second World War, a radical reform of education was again carried out, which with the necessary amendments continues to operate at the present time. High education, above all the labor force, allowed Japan to overcome the technical and economic backwardness from the countries developed at that time painlessly.

In the 1970s Japan came to the forefront of the level and quality of education of the workforce. The transformation of Japan into the second economy of the world put the country in new tasks in the field of education so that it would contribute to the ongoing modernization. Following the path of catch-up modernization, Japan in the 1980s in the context of globalization and the introduction of information technologies, especially digital technologies, felt that its traditional education system was outdated. In the age of high technologies, egalitarianism, uniformity, and mechanical memorization hamper the formation of creative personalities. The country needs not so much «hard-working bees» as original thinking specialists, whose task is to solve the current reform of education. Already in the late 1990's the main direction was determined, according to which the reorganization of this most important sphere is carried out: «from centralization to decentralization», «from unification to diversity», «from rigidity to flexibility». In accordance with this, three basic principles of educational reform have been developed: 1) reliance on the education of individualism, 2) increasing attention to continuing education or education throughout life, 3) taking global change into account (Molodyakova 2014: 191).

All the above-mentioned problems of modernization have taken place under the conditions of a complex and lengthy process of qualitative changes in the political system. In other words, in the process of political modernization, both the emergence of new ones and the adaptation to the changed conditions of the former political institutions took place. Political transformations of the Meiji period

led to the liquidation of the Shogun regime and the establishment of the emperor's sole authority. The apotheosis of political reforms was the constitution adopted in 1889, which completed the process of political formulation of the semi-absolutist regime. The peculiarity of this model was the lack of specificity in the distribution of responsibility between different political actors (Molodyakova 2009: 49). Since the Emperor rarely made decisions alone, sovereignty was in fact usurped by his closest associates. In the political reforms of the post-war period, foreign policy considerations played an important role, since they took place under the conditions of occupation. For the United States it was important to eliminate the military threat from Japan, to minimize even the theoretical possibility of the emergence of a new militaristic regime, for which a solid foundation for the development of democracy in the country was created. In the process of modernization, those characteristic features of the pre-war political system that helped to establish an authoritarian regime were dismantled.

The result of political modernization of the second half of the 1940s became a model specific for Japan of the party political system, entrenched in political science slang called «the system of 1955». The essence of it was that for four decades, one political force dominated the political arena - the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), which had a monopoly over power throughout this period. But at the same time, which is very important, Japan remained a fully democratic state, elections were held regularly at all levels in the country, political rights and freedoms were respected. With the end of the bipolar era and the transition of Japan to a postindustrial development model, conditions for a new stage of political modernization have matured. The Japanese ruling elite has so far failed to resolve several fundamental issues related to improving the effectiveness of political management (Knudsen 2008a: 102). First of all, we are talking about the need to create a competitive architecture of political parties. Another important point of political modernization is the search for a more perfect political decision-making system on the part of the «party of power». After the administration of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) came to power in 2009, the question was raised on the introduction of the Westminster model into the political system, in which the cabinet of ministers, which functions as a «political dispatch», is in the center of decision-making. In the framework of this system, the political link in state administration does not oppose the bureaucracy, but realizes its direct management

from within the cabinet of ministers (Petrov 2011: 178). Since this system contradicts the traditions of consensual democracy that has been established in Japan, its implementation entails considerable difficulties and will require considerable time. However, only material transformations as the experience of other countries show, does not guarantee success. Therefore, the modernization of the country could not but affect the spiritual sphere. It has caused many new phenomena in the life of the Japanese. Perhaps the most important among the cultural phenomena that have emerged in connection with modernization are mass culture. It was she who identified the face of Japan in the twentieth century and, most likely, will only strengthen its position in the coming century (Molodyakova 2006: 101). The appearance in Japan of a mass culture (in the strict sense of the word) is associated with the modernization of the country, when radical changes in society demanded the creation of a channel for the transmission of knowledge, attitudes and norms to the broad masses of the population, the entire nation. This function, in principle, was taken over by mass culture. It is closely connected with information carriers, and the level of its development is largely determined by the technical and economic capabilities of its time.

The cultural model of the USA was taken as a basis, but, as already noted, foreign borrowing alone can not ensure successful promotion of cultural modernization if there are no corresponding internal prerequisites for this. First of all, it is about the availability of the necessary economic base for the development of the country, a high level of its industrialization and scientific and technical achievements, as well as objective socio-cultural prerequisites (Katasonova 2012: 159). Almost all the post-war Japanese mass culture is connected primarily with one of the fastest growing telecommunications spheres in these years: cinema, television, animation, video and computer games, etc. Japan was able to harmoniously combine the advanced technical ideas with the achievements of the national mass culture, thus creating a fundamentally new high-tech cultural product, which is unusually in demand today in many countries of the world.

Cultural export of Japan, in the first lines of which appear animated films, comics, movies, computer games, etc., today, in terms of the scale of the target audience and, accordingly, its ideological and spiritual influence on the population of other countries, exceeds technological exports. The concept of dyad «literature / society» existing in sociology makes it possible in many ways to

understand the moods of people who live in this or that era. At the same time, both components of the dyad are equally significant. The literary passions of the reading public, the work of writers, the opinion of critics are in fact a reaction to the processes that occur in society and can serve as a characteristic of his state. After the Meiji restoration, the Japanese culture experienced a powerful western influence, which caused the appearance of new customs, fashion, literary and philosophical currents, new words and concepts (Molodyakova 2007: 55). Members of various educational societies, as well as translated literature, brought to the contemporaries the ideas of the West on the state structure, civil rights, and individual freedom. Brought up in the spirit of Confucian morality, the Japanese did not easily understand the whole mass of new concepts, moreover, in Japanese there were not always words for their adequate translation. And if in the initial period of the Meiji era there was not yet own prose, then a little more than half a century after the country's modernization began, the literary palette of Japan becomes very diverse (Petrov 2011: 203). Much of it showed a change in attitude towards the world and its reflection in literature. This, in turn, pointed to the fact that to the subtle emotional perception that always distinguished the Japanese, the desire to comprehend what was happening and the ability to perceive the world rationally was added.

In post-war Japan, attention to its cultural heritage is renewed, but at the same time there has been a tendency to perceive its country with its culture and literature in a global context. To position the country in the world, for the successful functioning in it, the formation of its image, which is also modernized, is of great importance (Molodyakova 2014: 258). In the external world, the image of Japan is perhaps one of the most striking. Particular attention is attracted to his amazing quality, such as the ability not to grow old in his essence, despite the change in external forms. It is rapidly changing in accordance with a new political, social, economic or other situation.

It turns out that the picture that we all used to see before ourselves and which we habitually call the «image of Japan», fully associating with it in our minds the real country, in fact is in a sense «half-truth». She sets certain directions for «conjecture» in accordance with our social experience. The history of the emergence and development of this «half-truth», in fact, is the history of the modernization of the image of Japan. In general, the modernization of the image without its radical break-up or perestroika

can be recognized as one of the most interesting features that are specific to Japan's foreign policy image. During the Meiji period, Japan was visited by more than a thousand Christian preachers and several hundred professors from the United States and European countries. The image of «picturesque Japan», painted by these «charmed wanderers», forever imprinted in the unprepared consciousness of Europeans. And it was the image of the past, the image of the disappearing, not emerging Japan. This allowed the interested party to think through the image in a pleasant direction, creating an effect, later called «japanism» (Murzina 2014: 61). An idealistic subject of image was created, which successfully fell into the expectations of the audience. But the image does not arise from nowhere, its simulation is done by very specific people, most of which are forever unknown, but some leave their name in history.

Results of the research

The analysis of the Meiji's and post-war modernization processes identified a certain typology. In both cases the elites chose the same strategy - to rise to the level of the developed countries of the West and implemented it with the mobilization of all forces and resources by the state. The assimilation of all new things did not lead to a change in national self-identification to the West. But the conditions for the implementation of the modernization project were different. In the first case, Japan was formally independent, but entered into international economic relations entangled with unequal treaties. In the second case, at the first stages of modernization, the country lived under conditions of occupation by the troops of the victorious allies in accordance with the directives of the headquarters of the occupation troops.

Also the set of modernization parameters in both periods was the same, but the order of their implementation was different. In the Meiji period, the economic development plan was first implemented, and then political reforms were carried out. In the post-war period, economic and political transformation took place simultaneously

and simultaneously. In each period, its ideology was formulated, which relied in the first case on the state shinto and in the second on democratic principles. Both times they chose the path adequate to the existing conditions.

Conclusion

It can be assumed that the Japanese were one of the first experimental and theoretical ways to determine that the basis for a correct, successful and effective modeling of the image of the country is its continuous «conservative modernization» - the regular updating of a limited number of long-established, tested stereotypes with the purpose of their external compliance with the requirements of the time without attempts to break historical ties in the minds of recipients. In recent decades, cultural diplomacy has become increasingly important, which is a complex and multidisciplinary activity aimed at creating the country's image.

With the advent of the Japanese model of catch-up modernization, which is not an exact copy or imitation of the Western model, it can be said that the latter is no longer the only way for the whole non-western world. Japan, the most developed country in the Asia-Pacific region, successfully competes in the economic and technological spheres with the West and is in many ways a model of modernization for other Asian countries. More precisely, it shows the direction of the path. At present, four «development echelons» or four waves of development are singled out in the region, which are figuratively called «the structure of flying geese». Japan led it with its successful modernization. At the same time, the development of Asian countries does not aim at a radical change of socio-cultural foundations, as Japan did not do in its time. Thus, at present, modernization is undergoing dramatic metamorphosis. Covering the whole planet, it set in motion social mechanisms that prompted a number of cultures and communities of the world periphery to get out of lethargy.

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