

чайные ситуации в «районах, прилегающих к Японии». К категории «чрезвычайных ситуаций» относятся возникновение вооруженных конфликтов вокруг Японии [9].

Соединенные Штаты также являются конечным гарантом безопасности региона. Сократив численность своих сил после окончания холодной войны, США сохранили свои союзы с Японией, Южной Кореей, Филиппинами, Таиландом, Австралией, Новой Зеландией. Вооруженные силы США по-прежнему дислоцированы по всей Западной части Тихого океана. Хотя Китай и Северная Корея по-прежнему обеспокоены присутствием США, все остальные государства АТР считают США важными для региональной безопасности. Очевидно, таким же образом думает и США, опасаясь не столько того, что нынешние локальные конфликты могут привести к крупной войне (хотя это нельзя исключать, особенно на Корейском полуострове), сколько того, что уход США мог бы привести к гонке вооружений между Китаем, Японией и, возможно, Индией и соперничеству держав, которое бы повредило перспективам мира [10].

В 2011 г. японо-американскому союзу исполнилось 60 лет. За 60 летнюю историю существования между странами были периоды сближения, и годы конфликтов. Но, тем не менее, она показала свою жизнеспособность и продолжает свое развитие в международном масштабе. На протяжении всего рассматриваемого периода главной задачей для Японии было получить самостоятельность во внешнеполитическом аспекте. Однако на сегодняшний день Япония все еще во многом зависит от США.

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Бұл мақалада әріптес ретіндегі АҚШ пен Жапония екі жақты ынтымақтастық одағының басты бағыттары және басты даму ерекшеліктері қарастырылады. Оккупация кезеңінен кейінгі АҚШ Жапонияның сыртқы саясатының дамуына ықпалы қарастырылып, талдау жүргізіледі.

The article shows the basic directions of bilateral cooperation of US-Japan alliance. We consider and analyze the features of development of US - Japan alliance, the degree of influence of the USA on the Japanese foreign policy after the termination of occupation period and formal restoration of sovereignty.

I. Nurmoldyna

CULTURAL POLICY OF UNITED STATES IN OCCUPIED JAPAN

At the end of the World War II, defeated Japan was subject to the Allied Occupation. The Japanese people accepted unconditional surrender in 1945 with feelings of disappointment and betrayal, but also relief. No doubt all welcomed the end of the war, because it meant their survival. Surrender also meant liberation from a pre-modern yoke of feudalism and the oppression of the military government under which they had suffered for more than ten years. In other words, the Japanese outlived not only the war, but also a long period of repression by a totalitarian regime. After the war, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) General Douglas MacArthur arrived in Japan with a variety of measures to implement drastic reforms. Most of the reform measures had

emerged from the area studies, a chief component of American soft power. During their almost seven years of occupation, the Americans made the best use of American scholarship on Japan as they reshaped the country into a peaceful, democratic nation. Among the reforms persuade were the dissolution of Japan's financial industrial zaibatsu complexes, land reform, abolition of the state Shintoism, and the drafting of a new constitution [1, 3].

Japan's surrender and the subsequent U.S. occupation of Japan provided the Japanese with a golden opportunity to rebuild their country as 平和文化国家 (Heiwa bunka kokka - a nation of peace and culture) and start anew [2, 3-16]. Japanese intellectuals, particularly specialist on

America, after reflecting deeply on Japan's military past, which had ended tragically, pledged not to make the same mistake again. They were determined to construct a new Japan by making the best use of their expertise to democratize their country. Most scholars regarded the United States as a model of what the most advanced nation ought to be; they believed it to be the embodiment of a genuine revolution.

During the occupation period of 1945-1952, the American government in Washington and Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Tokyo attached special importance to the cultural dimension of the occupation in order to achieve the twin objectives of democratizing Japan and transforming it into a nation friendly toward United States.

While considering how Japan's defeat in 1945 and subsequent occupation by US forces impacted the development of postwar mass culture in that country. According to one perspective, it would seem that the cultural policies pursued mainly by the American Civil Information and Education Bureau (CIE) during the occupation had the effect of spreading Americanism from its earlier prewar base among the urban middle classes to the nation as a whole. Indeed, only one month after Japan's unconditional surrender on 15 August 1945, an English conversation guide book (called 日米英会話手帖— *Nichibei Eikaiwa Techou* — 'Japanese-American English Conversation Booklet') became a bestseller with over four million copies in circulation. In 1947, NHK began broadcasting a radio program (called *アメリカ便り*— *Amerika Tayori*— 'Letter from America') simply consisting of current affairs reports from Washington. This too gained great popularity.

In 1949, the morning edition of the *Asahi Newspaper* began carrying the comic strip 'Blondie', which provided a comical illustration of the American lifestyle and prosperity. This continued to enjoy wide popularity right up to its replacement in 1951 with 'Sazae-san'. Although the scenes portrayed in 'Blondie' did not directly show such things as electric appliances and automobiles, the postwar Japanese who had already acquired the desire for "American prosperity" read into the vague designs of the cartoons the symbols of such prosperity (Iwamoto 1997: p.155-166) [3, 147-158]. In 1950, the *Asahi Newspaper* sponsored an "American Exposition" on the outskirts of Osaka, which proved to be far more popular than had been expected. Large crowds came to see the exhibits, which included a "White House hall" recounting American history from the "Mayflower" to Roosevelt, a main exhibition hall with displays of American prosperity, a television hall, and

panoramas providing a virtual scenic tour of America with pictures of New York skyscrapers, the statue of liberty, the newly developed West, and the Golden Gate Bridge. Thus, speaking in general terms, it was certainly not the case that the explosion of mass desire towards "America" was simply a result of brute force by the military occupation or the civil policies it promulgated.

However, the complexity of the postwar Japanese encounter with "America" cannot be understood simply as an extension of the already existing prewar trend towards "Americanization". Needless to say, throughout the occupation, Japan was in no position to determine its own future without negotiating with an overwhelmingly powerful "other". This was true of all the spheres of life, from economics and politics to culture and lifestyle. As demonstrated by Shunya Yoshimi (1994), American domination was not entirely one-way, and did not always have the effect intended. Nevertheless, as far as concerns the experience of those directly involved, "America" presented itself as an overwhelming source of authority, against which it was very hard to mount any challenge. "America" was more than just an image of new lifestyles and culture. It was an ever-present force intervening in people's daily lives, whose word could not be challenged. It was a directly present 'other' with which people had to deal on an everyday basis. These direct effects of the American occupation can be considered in two categories: effects consciously pursued as a part of occupation policy, and effects that arose unconsciously through the interaction of occupier and occupied. The principle element in the former category of conscious effects was, of course, the system of censorship, and the various accompanying cultural policies that were pursued. These related mainly to the mass media, including cinema, broadcasting, newspapers and publishing, all of which were powerful forces in the culture of America itself [4].

The Japanese culture began to dramatically change during postwar period as a result of westernized influences under the American occupation. It transformed itself, under American influence, from a rather one dimensional society into a pluralistic and multi-dimensional society that became influenced by the American culture. According to Kosaka Masataka (1972), the Japanese saw the American Occupiers mostly as liberators, not as the enemy once the war was won, and they began to see the American culture and values as highly cultured, advanced, and modern. The Japanese were eager to learn not only the bigger concepts from the Americans, such as democracy and liberty, but also the American lifestyle, hobbies, fashions, and even sports and literature became manifested in everyday

Japanese life. Paul Varlay in his book "Japanese Culture" (2000) highlights a salient literary difference between Pre-occupation Japan occupied Japan in which he states that "Before war, western literature in Japan had been represented chiefly by French, English, German, and Russian writings, but owing to the United State's dominant role in the war and the Occupation, American literature was for the first time also comprehensively explored by the Japanese" [5]. The Western sense of fashion became more prevalent in Japan during and after the Occupation as more and more women took off the kimonos and replaced them with westernized clothing. Baseball also became more popular than ever within Japan, and professional leagues were set up in the late forties. However, the American ways of life weren't the only cultural phenomenon that permeated the Post-War Japan. Native Japanese culture also took off. An example of such is described by Paul Varlay in his book "Japanese Culture"(2000) in which the sprouting of the "new religions" under the American Occupation as a prime example of a sort of Cultural Rejuvenation for the Japanese society, these came as a reaction to the opening up of the Japanese society after the years of totalitarian repression, yet at the same time they also shared the same root in traditional Japanese culture and served to soothe the sufferings of the middle and lower class Japanese immediately after the war [5]. The new religions, however, were a sign of the Japanese culture's progression from a bland society from the Pre-occupation days into a pluralistic, culturally innovative nation after the War, and would serve as a symbol of Japan's transition toward modernity in a more westernized sense during the Post-War period [6].

Regarding to the cultural impact of US in Japan nowadays, everybody could ever hear the terms like "Americanization" (アメリカ化) or "Americanism". Especially, this terms usually used in respect of popular culture. Quoting the words of Rosendorf (2000, p.123, cited in Nye 2004, p.10), the image the United States has implanted of itself through the attractiveness of its popular culture is of a country "exciting, exotic, rich, powerful, trend-setting - the cutting-edge of modernity and innovation" [7].

Let us consider a three-volume publication in dictionary form published in Japan at the beginning of the 1980s with the title "American Culture" [8]. This was a very valuable attempt to examine from various perspectives how 'America' had penetrated into Japanese culture and customs since the end of the World War II. It divides the postwar era until the 1970s into three periods. The 1st period, from 1945 to 1960, is called the "Period of Love/Hate towards America". This was an age in which the wartime feeling of unease towards "America"

turned into yearning, and people lived their daily lives according the American model, even while sympathizing politically with the anti-base protests. The cultural products and fashions which claims to be characteristic of this period are such things as "chewing gum", "English conversation", "Readers Digest", "Jazz", "Blondie", "Pro Wrestling", "Westerns", "Disney" and "Popeye", all of which carry a heavy scent of "Americanism". The second period, the 1960s, is called the "Period of American Penetration". Against the backdrop of rapid economic growth during this period, American lifestyle penetrated deeply into the lives of average Japanese. The items selected for special attention at this stage are "Coca-Cola", "home drama", "supermarket", "kitchen revolution", "mini-skirt", "jeans", "folk song", and "hippie", amongst others. The things considered in the third stage, the 1970s, such as "outdoor life", "diet", "sneakers", and the TV "ratings battle", indicate that "America" had ceased so much to be an object of desire, and had instead become a source of information about the latest world trends (Ishikawa et al. 1981).

From my point of view, today's characteristic of "Americanization" could be such terms as "MTV", "McDonald", "Mickey Mouse", "Hollywood" and etc. But these American mass culture not always desirable everywhere and provokes deeply paradoxical reactions, inspiring awe and anger depending on the specific region. In this extent we can find such terms as "Coca-Colonization" and "McDomination" which are not neutral (Kuisel, 1993) [9]. Maybe it's because of the rising of the "anti-Americanism" all over the world, connected with US's relying on hard power instead of soft in contemporary world.

Cultural interchange used as an American "soft power".

Professor Matsuda, in his "Soft Power and Its Perils"(2007) argues that foreign policy has three legs: political, economical, and cultural; and even in the "soft" last of these, the realm of so-called cultural policy, the American handlers of occupied Japan left mixed long-term legacy. Dynamic exchange programs and enduring friendships have been one side of legacy, while "cultural corrosion" and psychological as well as structural dependency on the other side [1, 57].

"Soft power" is a concept introduced and popularized by the political scientist Joseph S. Nye Jr. more than decade ago. According to Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (2004, p.1), power is the ability to get the outcomes one wants. And soft power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment. Also he (2004, p.11) told us that the soft power of a country primarily on three recourses: cultural attractiveness to others, political

values, and foreign policies seen as legitimate and having moral authority. Soft power is intangible, incalculable from the power that is usually accompanied by broad vision, self-restraint, and generosity [7, 26].

Usually soft power is thought to pertain primarily to the world political scene and to the relationship among countries. A country's hard power—such as military or economic power—is not enough for it to get what it wants. To gain the respect of other countries or to become a leader of the world, a nation needs to have soft power.

In my opinion contemporary relationship between Japan and United States based on all of a three branches mentioned above. Here need to make clear what Culture or Cultural relations in general mean? According to Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, in the late nineteenth century culture referred to “high culture” – that is the masterpieces of art, music, and literature. In the twentieth century, however, American culture became regarded as a shared system of beliefs and customs open to everyone. Today culture embraces both popular and high culture [10]. Cultural relations can be defined as the broad range of contacts through which the way of life of one people is made known by another. These contacts include both direct personal relations among individuals and groups of people from the two countries as well as more impersonal communications between the people and media. From these contacts arise opinions and attitudes about the foreign nation and its culture. In combination with existing political and economic conditions, these opinions and attitudes enter into determination of a nation's policy.

Until recently, most studies of US cultural relations with other countries assumed that the United States exercised cultural imperialism – that is, they adopted a dominance-subordination relationship [11]. Dominance refers to a nation's preponderance of material power, which results in one-way flow of influence and relations. But this assumption does not capture accurately the interactive nature of cultural relations between US and Japan, according to Takeshi Matsuda (2007, p.6). Furthermore, he argues that America's influence on Japan has been stronger than Japan's influence on America, the American influence on Japanese society and culture was not a simplistic process by which United States used its dominant political power to induce the Japanese to accept American cultural products and visions. Nor the penetration of American culture into Japan did result in Japan's passive acceptance of that culture. Actually, they interacted. At this point he highlights that Japanese reaction to American stimuli was varied and

complex, ranging from positive and avid acceptance to total resistance and even rejections.

After World War II, American leaders such as John Foster Dulles, John Rockefeller, Charles Fahs and public affair officers of the US government had not only a clear vision of what was expected of America as a hegemonic nation, but also a clear understanding of what could be accomplished by American soft power. In terms of US relations with Japan, they sought to achieve the long-range objectives of the US by taking the present and future into consideration. One of the long-range US objectives of the US use of soft power was none other than to develop human resources in Japan, especially a leadership group friendly to the US. These Americans sought to nurture pro-American Japanese who understood America and its broad foreign policy objectives in the world [1, 210].

By searching the roots of the US measures of impacting its own cultural values on Japan we can find them in the core concepts of the US government's policy, which hoped to keep American influence even after occupation end.

Six years later after Japan's surrender in 1945, President Harry S. Truman sent John Foster Dulles to Japan to serve as his special envoy. The dispatch of the “Dulles Peace Mission” on January 25, 1951, was widely perceived as an important preparatory step toward making peace with Japan and putting an end to the occupation. Dulles recognized the importance of protecting US security and economic interests, but at the same time he was fully aware of the importance of long-term cultural relations for US-Japan relations. He believed that “the peace treaty, no matter how intelligent its provisions, cannot itself assure that Japan will remain within the orbit of the free world” [12].

Dulles asked prominent philanthropist John D. Rockefeller III to join the peace mission as a consultant on cultural affairs. Since his visit to Kyoto in 1929, Rockefeller had become interested in Japan and intrigued by its culture, and so he accepted Dulles's offer. Rockefeller took the view that politics, economics and culture were the three major components of American foreign relations. Based on that view, he believed that a lasting friendship and mutual understanding between Americans and Japanese would blossom “as the result of the sum total of all types of relations, one of the most important of which was the cultural.” [1, 4].

Rockefeller carefully and clearly avoided being branded an American cultural imperialist. Perhaps, with such a goal in mind, he astutely invented the idea of a “two-way street” when he envisioned US-Japan bi-national cultural programs, thereby avoiding the evils of the one-way imposition of culture by a powerful country on a weaker nation

[13]. But according to the word of Chief Justice Tanaka Kotaro, Japan had already experienced the one-way imposition of culture by a powerful country in its prewar and wartime cultural programs. And based on an American cultural flow that could be measured by the volume of information and the number of people coming into Japan, it was also clear that a powerful America was “imposing” its culture on a weaker postwar Japan, despite Rockefeller’s intention.

On January 25, 1951 Dulles Peace Mission headed by John Foster Dulles, arrived at Tokyo. Dulles recognized that a “Peace Treaty” with Japan would not alone solve all the problems, nor would it be a panacea for US-Japan relations in the post-treaty period. He believed that America’s objectives could never be achieved just through signing a treaty (politics), stationing troops in Japan (security), or making trade agreements (economics). A “more continuous effort than is required in the usual bi-national program of relations” would be needed [14]. By a “continuous effort” he meant cultural interchange. According to Frederick S. Dunn, Professor and director of the Center of International Studies at Princeton University, “The object of cultural interchange is to foster peaceful relations and mutual enrichment. It deals with the problem of trying to influence men’s attitudes, so that political behavior will be changed.” In the case of Japan and United States, relying on the words of Professor Takeshi Matsuda, cultural interchange was generally thought to serve four major purposes: 1) to broaden the bridge of understanding between two countries; 2) to enrich and strengthen each culture; 3) to develop intelligent, talented persons by giving scholars from each country to access to unique resources in the other; and 4) to bring together capable people from both cultures for the joint study of basic common problems. Observing historical data, he also mentioned that Dulles in cooperation with Bradford, he examined three methods for accomplishing the US objective of cultural interchange:

- Method 1. Persuade the Japanese by employing rational arguments and better information. This approach thought to be useful, but its effectiveness was limited because not all people were entirely persuaded by rational arguments. Thus the first option was dropped from the serious consideration.
- Method 2. Alter the political, social, and economic conditions in Japan that might foster a hostile attitude toward the United States. This method would require the implementation of a security system and economic conditions that would give the Japanese hope. It was grander in scale than the first method, but it would require

more energy and recourses from the US. Dulles did not believe, however, that use of this method alone would be sufficient to keep the Japanese within the orbit of the free world, although US assurance of Japan’s security and economic recovery seemed indispensable.

- Method 3. Introduce other measures designed to change the culture-bound attitude of the Japanese and their subconscious motivations, something that could not be achieved by rational appeal [1, 81].

It was precisely third method that Dulles thought should be adopted to make US-Japan bilateral relations lasting. The focal point, of course, was on cultural relations.

John Rockefeller agreed with Dulles on the merits of cultural interchange. Rockefeller believed that the long-term relationship between Japan and United States rested, in turn, on combination of political, economic, and cultural relations. He broadly defined the term “culture” as relating to the life of people as whole – that is, covering their interests and activities other than in the field of politics and business. It included the arts, sciences, philosophy, religion, entertainment, health, sports, literature and education [15].

Rockefeller believed that cultural interchange was essential to world peace, because it helped to make the peoples of different countries more aware of their common origins. He recognized that cultural relations might not in themselves make peace, but that one could not envision peace without them. In his opinion, a sound and enduring relationship between countries had to be based on shared values. It was posited that broadening the community of interest among nations and peoples would lead to the establishment of a world order and the assurance of international peace and stability. Rockefeller also believed that cultural interchange had to be based on three principles: 1) the concept of the two-way street; 2) the idea of a joint collaborative enterprise by the two nation involved 3) public and private coordination and cooperation. After returning back to US, on April 19, 1951 Rockefeller submitted to John Foster Dulles the report “United States – Japanese Cultural relations”. It was welcomed gratefully as the first comprehensive study ever made of US-Japan cultural relations. His report recommended implementation of the following initiatives to reach the intellectual leadership in Japan: 1) establishment of the cultural center in Tokyo; 2) establishment of an international house for students in Tokyo and Kyoto; 3) continuation of the exchange program for national leaders and students; 4) pursuit of an extensive program of material interchange [1, p.116].

Dulles, too, recognized the importance of cultural interchange; it was to create mutual under-

standing and respect between the peoples involved. For him, mutual understanding meant mutual respect for one another's way of life, culture and achievement; mutual sympathy with one another's problems; and a friendly, trusting relationship. He hoped that through cultural interchange the peoples of Japan and the United States would have a sympathetic appreciation and understanding of their desires, thoughts, ideas and aspirations of each other and of their respective way of life. Thus American leaders believed that shared values were a key concept in cultural interchange: "there is no basis for cooperative activity if no values are shared." [1, 102]. Moreover, stressing the significance of cultural interchange, Milton Eisenhower, who was President Dwight Eisenhower's brother, was quoted as saying that "economic cooperation, political cooperation and military cooperation may break down under the strain crisis unless there is much more than superficial understanding of one another's culture, problems, and aspirations" [16, 564].

In conclusion:

In conclusion I would like to agree with Professor Takeshi Matsuda in the point that, even if American Government had an intention to make cultural interchange between Japan and US mutual, it had not gained a great success. The influence of the American culture was much stronger than Japan's side. The post-war American rulers used culture as United States soft influence as well as the politics and economics. They recognized the very importance of these three elements in winning success in foreign country, in this case Japan. The intention of the Rockefeller was to build up the friendly relationship by shared values between two nations, but in fact the value came only from "victor" side. As Tetsuo Kogawa mentions in his "Japan as a manipulated society", in the post-World War II period Japanese way of life was fully utilized to produce an Americanized consumption-oriented society. He stresses that Americanization began in Japan in the mid-1950s, when American advertising and marketing techniques were introduced by Dentsu Co. and a television broadcast company (NHK) began operating in 1953. Thirty years ago, no one would have imagined that Japanese society would be filled with more Americanized commodities than the United States itself. We can say that public affair officers of the US government had not only a clear vision of what was expected of America as a hegemonic nation, but also a clear understanding of what could be accomplished by American soft power from the very beginning of occupation in Japan. In this sense they tried their best in imposing American thoughts and cultural values. Maybe the situation in

contemporary world had changed a little bit, when instead of "Americanization" we can hear word "Japanization" ("Japanimation", J-Wave, J-pop etc.). I think that US-Japan cultural relationship still remains its value as soft power of both countries.

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Бұл мақала жапон-америка мәдени қарым-қатынасы кеңінен сипатталып, АҚШ-тың «жұмсақ күш» ретінде сыртқы саясатында пайдаланған мәдениеттің жапон қоғамы мен өміріне тигізген әсерін талдайды. Әсіресе соғыстан кейін оккупацияланған Жапонияда жүзеге асырылған АҚШ «мәдени империализмі» саясатының қазіргі таңға дейін жапондықтардың дүниетанымы мен өміріне тигізіп келген ықпалын баяндайды.

В данной статье описывается и анализируется японско-американские культурные взаимоотношения, где особое внимание уделяется культуре как «мягкой

силе» во внешней политике США. Также данная статья рассматривает влияние «культурного империализма»

Америку на жизнь и взгляды японского народа, которое имеет силу даже в современном японском обществе.

А.Ә. Түргенбай, С.С. Тастанбекова

ДӘСТҮРЛІ ҚЫТАЙ ҚОҒАМЫНДАҒЫ ӘЙЕЛДІҢ ОРНЫ

Бас ию, бас ию және тағы да бас ию – әйелдің ең басты игі ісі еді.

Конфуцийшілдік пікір бойынша, жер бетінде бәрінің үстінен еркектер үстемдік етіп, ал әйелдер болса, оларға бағынады, сол себепті олар үш ережені ұстануы керек: қыз күнінде әкесі мен ағаларына бойұсыну, тұрмыс құрғанда – жарына, ал жары қайтыс болғасын – үлкен ұлына бағынуы керек деп саналды.

«Егер мен бір құсқа тұрмысқа шықсам, мен оның артынан ұшуым керек; егер бір итке күйеуге шықсам, ол жүрген жермен жүріп, ізін қуалауым керек; егер иесіз бір кесек жерге шықсам, мен оның жанында отырып күзетуге міндеттімін», - дейді ескі қытайлық өсиет сөз.

Міне, біз дәстүрлі қытай отбасындағы әйелдің орнын дәл осы тұстан көре аламыз.

XX ғ. басында П. Лоуэль дәстүрлі қытайлық отбасы жайында: «Өз тағындағы император үшін және өз лашығындағы қарапайым жұмысшы үшін де барлық нәрсе отбасылық жақындық идеясында болады. Империя өз кезегінде үлкен отбасыны құраса, ал отбасы кішкентай мемлекет болып табылды»-деп жазған болатын. Мұнда да конфуцийлік отбасы қағидасының басымдылығын байқауға болады.

Біз білетін аспан асты елінің дәл қазіргі даму барысын ескерсек, қазіргі қытайлық отбасы және ондағы әйелдің орны мен қоғамдағы әлеуметтік мәртебесін анықтауда дәстүрлі көзқарастарды білудің маңызы зор болуы бұл тақырыпты тандауымыздың негізгі себебі болып отыр.

Ұзақ уақыт бойында Қытайда әйелдердің қоғамдағы орны еркектерге қарағанда анағұрлым төмен болды және әйелдермен мүлдем санаспады.

Бірақ қазір қытай қоғамындағы әйел жағдайын түбегейлі өзгерткен жаңа заңның шыққанына аса көп уақыт болған жоқ. Соған қарамастан, ежелгі данышпандық ілімнің қытай қоғамында қазіргі күнге дейін сақталғандығына әлі де куә болып келеміз.

«Бала неғұрлым көп болған сайын соғұрлым көп бақыт әкеледі» деген отбасылық ескі сенімнің жақтаушысы болып қалған шаруа адамдарының өмірінде тек ұл балалар ғана отбасы ісін жалғастырушы ретінде саналғандықтан әлі туылмаған қыздан құтылуға тырысу қазіргі қытай қоғамында жиі кездесуде. Нәтижесінде кейбір қытайлық ауылдарда ерлер саны әйелдер саны-

нан басым түсуде, сол себепті әйелдерді алып қашу және «күң ретінде» күйеуге сататын жағдайлар да пайда болды (әдетте құл саудасымен айналысатындар болашақ құрбандарын еңбек биржаларынан іздеп, жұмысқа орналастыруда көмек көрсетуге уәде береді де, жас әйелдерді туған өлкелерінен әкетіп, алыс аудандардың шаруаларына сатады екен) [5].

Құқыққа қайшы әрекеттерді тамырымен жойып, орын алған мәселені шешу үшін ана мен бала денсаулығын қорғау туралы заңға баланың жынысын анықтау сараптамасын жүргізу ісі тек медициналық көрсетім бойынша жүзеге асуы тиіс деген тармақ енгізілді.

Осы тұрғыдан келе, қазіргі қытай қоғамындағы әйел орнын қарастыруда дәстүрлі қытай қоғамындағы отбасы және ондағы әйелдің орнын, оның әлеуметтік мәртебесін анықтау басты мақсатымыз болып табылады.

Тұрмысқа шығуды білдіретін қытайша «үйден кету (出嫁)» сөзінің мағынасы әйелдің үйлену тойынан кейінгі орны мен жағдайына деген қытайлықтардың дәстүрлі көзқарастарының дәлме-дәл көрінісін береді [1].

Орта ғасырларда қытай отбасындағы әйелдің орны мен оған деген көзқарастардың даму сипатында оңтүстік пен солтүстік Қытайда бірқатар айырмашылықтар болғанын байқауға болады.

Жартылай көшпенді қоғамнан шыққан солтүстік ақсүйектер тобының жауынгерлік дәстүрлері бойынша әйелдер еркектерге қарағанда анағұрлым көп құқыққа ие болды.

554 жылы туылған Лян Янь Чжи-туй Батыс Вэйге, сосын ол жақтан Солтүстік Циге барғанда, оның көзіне бірінші оңтүстік пен солтүстіктік отбасы өмірі арасындағы айырмашылық түседі. Янь Чжи-туй елдің екі бөлігіндегі ғұрыптардың бірқатар ерекшелігін жазып кеткен болатын [2].

Алдымен, Лян Янь Чжи-туй солтүстіктегі әйелдердің дербестігіне назар аударды, мұны ол қоғамда еркектерге қарағанда әйелдің рөлі басым болған сяньбийлердің әсерімен байланыстырды. Оңтүстікте әйел тұрмысқа шыға салысымен үйінен шықпай, тіпті өз туыстарымен де сирек кездесетін болған. Ал солтүстікте әйелдер тек үйдің толық қожасы болуымен ғана шектелмей, олар үнемі түрлі сапарларға шығып, буддалық храмдарға барып, тіпті өз ұлдарының