

HISTORY OF JAPAN'S USE OF SOFT POWER TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL INTERESTS: LESSONS FOR UKRAINE
ІСТОРІЯ ВИКОРИСТАННЯ ЯПОНІЄЮ "М'ЯКОЇ СИЛИ" ДЛЯ ДОСЯГНЕННЯ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИХ ІНТЕРЕСІВ: УРОКИ ДЛЯ УКРАЇНИ

Volodymyr Manzhola

PhD of Historical Sciences, Prof., the International Relations and Foreign Policy Chair of the Educational and Research Institute of International Relations of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv,

email: mvi.mva@clouds.iir.edu.ua

Olena Maloivan

Master of International Relations, the Educational and Research Institute of International Relations of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv,

email: maloivanolena@gmail.com

Манжола Володимир Андрійович

доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри міжнародних відносин і зовнішньої політики Навчально-наукового інституту міжнародних відносин Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка,

email: mvi.mva@clouds.iir.edu.ua

Малоїван Олена Олександрівна

Магістр міжнародних відносин, Навчально-науковий інститут міжнародних відносин Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка,

email: maloivanolena@gmail.com

***Abstract.** This article focuses on the phenomenon of soft power in the context of Japan. It examines the historical development of the country's soft power, the institutions and initiatives that ensure it, and the challenges that have been shaped in different historical periods. Given that today Japan is a country with one of the most effectively developed mechanisms of cultural diplomacy, it can serve as an example for states seeking to develop their own soft power institutions and fields. In particular, the author describes the relationship between Japanese soft power and the economy in its various sectors, and explains the phenomenon of the popularity of Japanese cultural products abroad. Various international rankings are used to analyse these phenomena. The research methods used include description, synthesis, generalisation, and comparison. The author also analyses the history and historical and foreign policy factors that influenced the development of Japan's soft power. Accordingly, the author describes how Japan has managed to overcome historical and geographical challenges in building soft power and how it protects its national interests. From this analysis, the author also derives recommendations for Ukraine in building its own soft power, having described and characterised its current state. Accordingly, it was found that the success factor for Japanese soft power was economic development, which allowed for the rapid expansion of various industries from gastronomy and sports to music and literature. But the most attractive thing about the Japanese cultural product is its modernity and compliance with trends, as well as the wide choice that attracts many people. In addition, Japan has made efforts to become a leader in unique policy areas such as the environment or know-how.*

Keywords: *Soft power, Japan, Ukraine, Japan's cultural diplomacy, Cool Japan, public diplomacy, protection of national interests.*

***Анотація.** Стаття присвячена явищу м'якої сили в контексті Японії. У ній розглядається історичний розвиток м'якої сили держави, інститути й ініціативи, що її забезпечують, а також виклики, які формувались у різні історичні періоди. Враховуючи, що*

сьогодні Японія є державою з одним з найбільш ефективно розвинених механізмом прямої дипломатії вона може слугувати прикладом для держав, які прагнуть розбудувати власні інститути та напрями м'якої сили. У статті, зокрема автор, описує зв'язок японської м'якої сили з економікою у різних її галузях, а також пояснює феномен популярності японського культурного продукту за кордоном. Для аналізу цих явищ застосовані різні міжнародні рейтинги. Серед застосованих методів можна виокремити як то опис, синтез, узагальнення, порівняння. Також залучається аналіз історії та історичних та зовнішньо-політичних факторів, які впливали на розвиток японської м'якої сили. Відповідно охарактеризовано як Японії вдалося побороти виклики історичного й географічного характеру у розбудові м'якої сили, а також як з її допомогою вона захищає власні національні інтереси. З наведеного аналізу автор також виводить рекомендації для України в розбудові власної м'якої сили, описавши та охарактеризувавши до цього її сучасний стан. Відповідно було встановлено, що фактором успіху для японської м'якої сили слугував економічний розвиток, який дозволив стрімке розширення різних галузей від гастрономії і спорту до музики і літератури. Але найбільш привабливим в японському культурному продукті є його сучасність і відповідність трендам, а також широкий вибір, який приваблює багатьох людей. Окрім того, Японія доклала зусиль, щоб стати лідером унікальних галузей політики як то екологія чи ноу-гау.

Ключові слова: М'яка сила, Японія, Україна, культурна дипломатія Японії, Cool Japan, публічна дипломатія, захист національних інтересів.

Introduction. Soft power, as a term, was first used and presented as a concept by J. Nye. It consisted of the ability of a state to achieve the desired through cooperation and different means from traditional hard power, i.e. not coercive. After that, soft power became an important category in the analysis, discourse and research of the international order. This statement is often equated with cultural and public diplomacy, economic policy and participation in integration associations.

It seemed that in the modern world, war and traditional pressure of states on each other were rather the exception, and therefore the development of soft power became a major priority for each state. Japan has made great strides in this regard. This is not surprising, since after the Second World War, the country was virtually deprived of traditional means of influence and therefore focused on building it in other ways. The rapid development of the country after the war and its successful construction of a new image quickly became the subject of many studies.

However, the international situation is constantly changing, and so is the role and nature of soft power in it. Therefore, the analysis and study of Japan's soft power is still relevant, and in this paper, the author will try to see useful practices for other countries, including Ukraine, in Japan's particular experience.

The purpose of the article. The purpose and objectives of the article are to describe the main aspects of Japan's soft power, the history of its formation and the peculiarities of its integration into the modern policy of the state, and to identify the relevance of certain practices for Ukraine in the potential organisation of its own soft power.

Literature review. The theoretical and methodological basis of the study will be the scientific works of existing American, Asian, in particular Japanese, and European researchers. To ensure the objectivity of the study, the author tried to use the most recent sources wherever possible. Different literature was used to describe each phenomena.

The view of Japanese soft power has been considered in the works of Japanese political scientists such as Koma, Kyoko (2009), Otmazgin, N. K. (2007),⁴ Aoki, Tamotsu (1990), Matsumura, Masayoshi (2002). But also through the lense of Foreign scholars such as Zykas, A. (2022), Desmond, E. W. (1995), Otmazgin, N. K. (2007). As well as news reports to highlight the actual state of affairs.

Main results of the research. During the post-war years Japan did not engage in cultural diplomacy for a long time, using the Yoshida Doctrine, which prioritized purely economic development as a foundation for its foreign policy. But in the 1970s, Japan felt the need to open markets for the products of its economic development. However, it met resistance from Western

countries, where a discourse about the "yellow menace" and aggressive Japanese developed (Kyoko, K. (2009). At the same time, anti-Japanese sentiment began to grow in Asian countries due to the large share of Japanese capital in their economies and their post-colonial legacy (Otmazgin, N., K., 2007). These factors, as well as a growing sense of insecurity due to U.S. rapprochement with China and military restrictions, encouraged Tokyo to develop its soft power.

Then to provide cultural diplomacy, the Japan Foundation was established in 1972. The objectives of cultural diplomacy at this stage were strategically oriented towards Western and Southeast Asian countries (Masayoshi, M., 2002). The main goal was to address rising international challenges and to create favourable conditions for the international expansion of Japanese companies. Thus, its activities were divided into three areas: assisting Japanese language learning abroad; cultural exchange, including exchanges between artists and musicians; and encouraging Japanese studies research abroad.

But at the time, cultural diplomacy continued to focus on elements of traditional culture, ignoring new media forms like the actively developing manga or anime. This was because the Japanese authorities decided to fight against the stigma of "culturelessness" by showcasing century-old traditions. This also emphasised the "otherwise" Japanese culture, with the expectation that if diplomatic conflicts arose, this would be smoothed over by the "difference of mentalities". In addition, it was possible to avoid economic pressure, in particular, demands to increase imports, because for foreign companies the conquest of Japanese markets seemed to be an impossible task. For Asian countries it was important to emphasise Japan's belonging to the continent (Tamotsu, A., 1990)

The peak of the new wave of cultural diplomacy in the 1980s was validated by the Kokusaika strategy. During this period, Japan established itself as a country with a rich cultural tradition among Western and Southeast Asian societies. Positive perceptions of Japan grew even within its main rival, the United States. Thus, public opinion polls in the USA show that in the 1970s Japan was considered a reliable partner by 45.8 % of the population, while in the 1980s and 1990s this share increased to 51.8 % (Kaigai, K., S., 2008).

However, the "burst of the economic bubble" and the "lost decade" forced Japan to drastically reduce funding for its cultural projects. Paradoxically, it was in this period that Japanese culture became most popular around the world. This is understandable due to the late effects of public diplomacy in the 1980s. However, it is interesting that this popularity was mostly grounded in modern aspects of Japanese culture (or even different subcultures) not promoted by the government. Yet the fact is, within 10 years, Japan has become a major global cultural player, competing in some areas even with the United States, the hegemon of global pop culture.

This phenomenon of modern Japanese culture has become known as Cool Japan. It is difficult to identify the main causes for the emergence of this phenomenon, because it is the result of a complex of internal and external factors. But during this decade, the Japanese government strategically pursued a strategy of promoting traditional culture while ignoring successful examples of media innovation. As a consequence, during these ten years, the latent "soft power" of Japan's cultural industry has never been clearly established at the official level, ignoring new trends and opportunities. (Zykas, A., 2022)

At the same time, Japanese diplomacy was also going through a difficult period, failing to adapt in time to the challenges of the new world order, it was increasingly criticised by other states. In particular, Japan was heavily criticised because of its only economic involvement in the Gulf War. This prompted what began to be a revision of the fundamental principles of foreign policy among Japanese elites. The main ideologues of the new approach, Shinzo Abe and Ichiro Ozawa, pushed for leaving the "Yoshida Doctrine" in the past and seeking ways to diversify foreign policy, including the development of cultural diplomacy (Desmond, E., W., 1995)

This meant that instead of emphasising the exotic aspects of Japanese culture, Japan had to present itself as a pioneer of the global postmodern culture. Anime as animation, manga as comics, fashion, pop music, cuisine, and novels by young writers all began to play an important role in Japan's diplomacy. But to organise such activities one must face commerciality, so Japan's soft power is closely linked to its trade policies, such as the protection of intellectual property rights or participation in international film festivals and book fairs. This new trend is best symbolised by the proliferation

of the 'content industry', which refers to new media and related service industries. It is therefore not surprising that Cool Japan became an official Japanese government project in 2010 (The conversation, 2018).

Yet for all the transformations and challenges, Japan's soft power remains one of the most powerful in the world. Thus, according to Brand Finance's Global Soft Power Index, it is ranked 4th in 2023 with a score of 65.2. And also, according to this study, Japan is in the top 3 in such indicators as "Reputation"; "A strong and stable economy" "Products and brands the world loves"; "A leader in science"; " Leader in technology and innovation" " Sustainable cities and transport"; "greater ethical standards and less corruption."(BrandFinance,2023).

Much of the credit here can be given to the Cool Japan initiative, which has finally allowed Japanese politics to involve all areas of culture, from gastronomy to the idol industry, in its foreign policy. Besides improving Japan's image, this use of culture is very beneficial for the economy. For example, the information and media segment were recognised as a major contributor to Japan's GDP in 2018. Media and communication with a value of \$878 billion USD with the share of 9.6% of the total, generating revenues exceeding contributions from business (9.3%), real estate (7.5%) and healthcare (7.2%)(Tao,R.,2018).

In addition, the Japanese cultural product continues to gain popularity overseas, particularly in the West. Thus, manga has officially overtaken comic books in sales in the US market. According to 2021 data from NPD BookScan, manga sales accounted for 76.71 % of total graphic novel sales and grew 171% compared to previous year. The reasons include the diversity of genres and the fact that the US comics industry has recently begun to focus on covering and promoting specific political ideas, which is in its nature a divisive factor. Whereas manga focuses on personal stories and universal values like willpower, optimism, hard work, finding one's life goals and passions, interpersonal relationships, etc. (Animehunch, 2021). Also the Japanese authorities have support programmes for young artists, while providing them freedom of subject matter of the artistry.

These optimistic results of Japan can be used to compare Ukraine's situation regarding soft power. According to the already mentioned Brand Finance's Global Soft Power Index 2022, it has risen from 51st to 37th position, which is the best indicator of dynamics in the world. (BrandFinance, 2023) However, it should be noted that in the additional criteria, Ukraine entered the top 3 only in terms of "discussion in the world". In addition, although Russia has indeed lost a lot in its image after the war, it and China are still in the top 20 in all the ratings presented in this study. Ukraine, despite its tremendous improvement, has not been included. It is clear that the development of soft power was greatly boosted by the war. In addition, Ukraine's soft power tools are still very limited. That is why this result cannot be considered sustainable.

Ukraine cannot constantly rely on the status of a victim. It needs to build new narratives in its post-war development. It can already use the narrative that was used in 2014, namely "a country of transformation, democratisation and European values". But there is a high risk of a 2014-like failure due to internal factors. In this regard, the development of soft power and the image of the state is inseparable from its economic and political development. In general, without economic means, it is impossible to use powerful soft power. But the example of Japan shows that soft power can then turn into a factor of economic prosperity.

Like post-war Japan, Ukraine needs to focus on economic development, make the country's investment climate favourable, ease the conditions for doing private business, stimulate entrepreneurship, and at the same time establish mechanisms to control the quality of its products and develop economic cooperation with other countries. But we should also not repeat the early mistake of the Japanese government and completely ignore the cultural sector.

From entrepreneurship, Ukraine can already get a product for cultural diplomacy. For example, in Japan, its tourism ambassador, the fictional character Hello Kitty, was created by the Sanrio textile company. The development of entrepreneurship in the field of printing and animation helped Japan to have mass production of manga and anime. The development of technological enterprises has led to the country's association with know-how and quality products.

Japan has also carved out a specific niche for itself in the international discourse, namely technology and the environment. For Ukraine, repeating the same practice could be a great success. It could become an active actor in the space sector, as the Ukrainian government has previously tried to promote Ukraine's status as the Motherland of Astronautics.

But the main thing that Ukraine should learn from Japan's experience in building its soft power is the need for a modern "Cool Ukraine". For the majority of the world, modern Japanese culture is an introduction and source of interest to its traditional side. For Ukraine, restoring its historical heritage and confronting Russia's narratives or overcoming their consequences will continue to be a top priority for a long time. But as Japan's experience shows, it doesn't matter whose civilisation has dominated longer if it has nothing attractive to offer today. Tokyo perfectly shows that there is no better way to show the past by doing something modern.

Coming back to the need for Ukraine to develop its creative modern industries, it is important to give freedom of expression directly to those who create them and to reward them to encourage them to continue their work. As the previous thesis shows, one of the main factors of manga and anime's attractiveness to global consumers is the diversity of its genre, character, design, themes and ideas. Accordingly, inclusivity has become an important factor, as Japanese art continues to be distinctive and unique, cutting across borders, regions, ethnicities, races, ages, genders and nations. This is something that the Western media product has recently forgotten to do, creating a single narrative and ideological essence, thus losing out to its Japanese competitor.

In general, we can say that Japan can indeed boast a long history of building its soft power. And even for countries like Ukraine, which are seemingly remote both geographically and culturally, it can serve as a great example.

Conclusions. The development of Japan's soft power as a foreign policy tool has been gradual and systematic, involving political strategy. This statement cannot be applied to Japan's policy in the 1950s and 1960s, when the country actually abandoned public diplomacy in favour of internal recovery and economic development. Nevertheless, in the following decades, discussions on the importance of soft power in the country's policy were held. In the 1980s, soft power was finally established as the main priority of Tokyo's foreign policy. Today, Japan's soft power is a systematic branch of Japanese policy that is actively developing in various fields and receives large funding.

The establishment of Japan's soft power was influenced by the special global situation and foreign policy factors, as the development of Japan's soft power was stimulated by the country's post-war situation. In the future, Japan will actively use the international situation to its advantage. In particular, this applies to the events of the Cold War or pacifist activities. However, sometimes international factors have had a negative impact on Japan's soft power, such as the Gulf War or the rise of nationalist sentiment in Asia. Nevertheless, it can be argued that international factors have a significant impact on the development of Japan's soft power.

Japanese cultural diplomacy is now an important aspect of Japan's foreign policy and is implemented through a systematic, institutionalised political strategy. An extensive system of bodies and activities is involved in its implementation. The product of soft power today plays an important economic role for the country. And from the speeches of politicians, we can be assured that the priority of soft power in foreign policy will not be curtailed in the near future.

When it comes to Ukraine, its soft power lacks a systematic Japanese approach and priorities, while some practices of Japanese foreign policy should be relevant for Ukraine in creating its image. Ukraine has indeed found itself in a similar position to postwar Japan: negative perceptions of the country by the world, with its main competitor far outweighing it in terms of military means and political influence.

Thus, based on the results of the study, we can talk about Japan's powerful soft power, which occupies a leading position in its foreign policy. We can also identify its main characteristics and the way it is developing. In addition, we can say that, on the one hand, the experience of building Japan's soft power is unique, but it also contains universal practices that can serve as a model for states that are beginning to build their soft power. Among them, in particular, is Ukraine.

References

1. Koma, Kyoko. (2009). Nihon-ni okeru nihonjin dezainā-no hyōshō. Furansu-to Nihon shinbun-nogensetsu bunseki-wo tooshite. (1981–1992). Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto leidykla.
2. Otmazgin, N. K. (2007). Contesting soft power: Japanese popular culture in East and Southeast Asia. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 8(1), 73–101. <https://academic.oup.com/irap/article-abstract/8/1/73/685920?redirectedFrom=fulltext>
3. Matsumura, Masayoshi (2002).Kokusai kōryū-shi. Kingendai Nihon-no kōhōbunka gaikō-tominkan kōryū.Tōkyō: Chijinkan
4. Aoki, Tamotsu (1990).‘Nihonbunkaron’ no Hen’yō, Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Shinsha.Bedeski,
5. Kaigai Kōryū Shingikai (2008). Waga kuni-no hasshinryoku kyōka-no tame-no shisaku to taisei. “Nihon”-no rikaisha-to fan-wo fuyasu tame-ni.Tokyo
6. Zykas, A. (2022). Traditional and popular cultural discourses within the post-war development of Japan’s cultural diplomacy. Vdu.lt. https://www.academia.edu/74182109/Traditional_and_popular_cultural_discourses_within_the_post_war_development_of_Japan_s_cultural_diplomacy.
7. Desmond, E. W. (1995). Ichiro Ozawa: Reformer at Bay. *Foreign Affairs*, 117-131.
8. Japan is using cultural diplomacy to reassert its place in the world – but is the message too exclusive?(2018).*The conversation*.<https://theconversation.com/japan-is-using-cultural-diplomacy-to-reassert-its-place-in-the-world-but-is-the-message-too-exclusive-106463>
9. Global Soft Power Index 2023 (2023).*BrandFinance*. <https://brandirectory.com/softpower/nation?country=64>
10. Rui Tao(2018)“Cool Japan” as the Next Future of Post-industrial Japan?.National University of Singapore.
11. Manga Made Up 76% Of Overall Comics & Graphic Novel Sales In The US In 2021(2021) AnimeHunch.<https://animehunch.com/manga-made-up-76-of-overall-comics-graphic-novel-sales-in-the-us-in-2021/>.