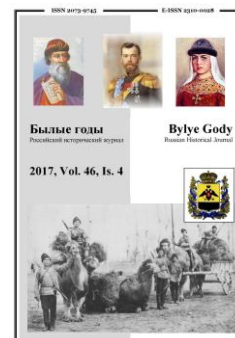


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The Military Factor and the Mobilization Wave Mechanism as the Main Features of Modernization in Russia during the Imperial Period

Konstantin V. Samokhin ^{a,*}, Lyudmila Yu. Korolyova ^a

^a Tambov State Technical University, Russian Federation

Abstract

Modernization theory is the discourse which is currently being discussed in social and humanitarian studies. However, its categorical apparatus is not sufficiently developed. For instance, such terms as “the modernization mechanism” and “the factor of modernization” are not clearly defined.

The article is aimed at the consideration of modern interpretations given to the above mentioned terms and development of ideas about their nature and main features in order to analyze modernization processes in Russia during the 18th – the beginning of the 20th centuries. The paper is focused on modernization theory as the main approach to the problem. Despite many ideas about its nature, the authors agree with the classical interpretation of modernization as the transition from the traditional (agrarian) society to the modern (industrial) one giving arguments in favour of such an approach to the history of the Russian state during the Imperial period.

Like many other researchers the authors believe that modernization in Russia was characterized by the process of catching up with other countries. A detailed consideration of this process resulted in the interpretation of its mechanism as a mobilization wave mechanism. It is proved that in the 18th – the beginning of the 20th centuries modernization processes in the Russian state were caused by war conflicts started by the Western civilization. The consequences of the Great Northern war, the Napoleonic wars, the Crimean war, the Russo-Japanese war and World War I and their effect on the development of the Russian Empire were analyzed. It was concluded that the main feature of modernization processes in Russia was asynchrony. At the same time their development tended to transfer from the economic-technological area to the spiritual area through the socio-political one. This fact explained why Russian modernization was challenging and continued for a long time.

Keywords: Russian empire, ‘catching up’ modernization, factor of modernization, modernization mechanism, war, mobilization, wave mechanism, asynchrony.

1. Introduction

The conditions under which modernization theory appeared and its factors of development give reasons to doubt its scientific validity. It was developed in the 1950s – 1960s at the time when the world was divided into two parts as a result of the Cold War. Leading states involved into the division tried to extend their power through various ideological tools. At that moment modernization was interpreted as a strategy for the “third world” countries the realization of which was based on the only example and the development result – the Western civilization as an orienting point (Kalkhun, 2006). But the strategy never succeeded in the above mentioned countries and resulted in strong criticism of this ideological construct in the 1970s (Poberezhnikov, 2014: 138-139).

The revival of modernization theory was in the 1980s – 1990s when its essential points were changed: modernization was not interpreted as the transition from the traditional (agrarian) society to the modern

* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: kon-sam@yandex.ru (K.V. Samokhin), lyu-korolyova@yandex.ru (L.Yu. Korolyova)

(industrial) one but as a number of different ways of development among which the West was one of feasible alternatives (Eisenstadt, 2000; Fourie, 2012; Huntington, 2016: 100-101; Sztompka, 2015: 26-27). This did not fulfill its ideological political commitment and gave a new impulse for the realization of the theory thus helping to consider modernization as a theoretical construct with all consequences.

Russian scientists in the Humanities made the same conclusion in the 1980s – 1990s when modernization was commonly discussed. These processes were caused by a new historical paradigm which made Russian researchers change a formation approach. Moreover, a new development strategy of the Russian Federation was elaborated at the beginning of the 21st century. So in this case we can also notice ideological factors that proved the increasing popularity of modernization theory given that the transition concept itself (the transition from the traditional society to the modern one was similar to the transition from the Soviet period of Russia to the new stage of its development) needed a theoretical grounding at that moment as never before. Thus modernization theory was relevant for the Russian academic paradigm but later its popularity decreased and it was strongly criticized in the Russian Humanities. Such an approach to modernization theory was explained by the fact that it had gone out of date and was considered to be artificial what did not allow to realize it in practice (Kapustin, 2001).

However, every historian must follow the principle of objectiveness in his studies first and foremost, so in this case we must agree with V.G. Fedotova who defended modernization theory in the following way: “Admitting that classical modernization theory like any other classical theory comes across such circumstances during its development which it cannot explain or foresee and therefore turn into facts within its theoretical framework, we will object to the opposing arguments which have three drawbacks, in our opinion, ontologization of theoretical constructs, unhistoricalness and presentism as a part of the latter.

The matter is that modernization theory is a theory but not ideology or a paradigm or a research programme closely connected with extrascientific knowledge. It is not clear for non-specialists and it is based on ideal types (M. Veber) or theoretical constructs as they are called by modern methodologists” (Fedotova, 2016: 118).

Taking into consideration this point of view it should be noted that at the modern stage of historical studies popularity of modernization has really decreased but that allows to develop a more objective approach to the theory which will not be affected by any ideology. It is possible to outline ways of developing and using this discourse in specific historical studies through the thorough consideration of the discourse basics.

Despite a long history of modernization theory which is more than 50 years, its categorical apparatus is not fully developed, in our opinion. It can be proved by the fact that the definitions of two main concepts of classical modernization theory – a traditional society and an industrial one – are not generally accepted. The same tendency can be traced in the interpretation of other terms of modernization discourse such as “the modernization mechanism” and “the factor of modernization”. If the former is commonly discussed but is not the subject of specific studies, the latter is sometimes mentioned without any particular meaning.

The present paper is aimed at the analysis of the terms “the modernization mechanism” and “the factor of modernization” in order to focus on their significance for the methodology of historical knowledge in general and modernization theory in particular.

2. Materials and methods

Modernization theory is the main methodological basis of the paper. As it was mentioned above, it is interpreted in two ways:

- A classical interpretation states that modernization is the transition from the traditional (agrarian) society to the modern (industrial) one. This approach is called a linear one.
- A modern interpretation states that modernization is a way of development peculiar for many contemporary countries among which the Western civilization is considered to be one of feasible models for them which also faces great changes at the present moment. This approach is known as a multilinear one.

We believe that the classical interpretation of modernization theory is more useful for historical studies covering the period before the beginning of the 20th century when the West had all the features typical for the industrial society. As for the modern interpretation it must be used for the explanation of different processes related to the period beginning with the 20th century. The further considerations prove that. World War I outlined the crisis of the Western civilization that resulted in the decrease of opportunities for the industrial society development and accelerated the formation of the postindustrial society.

The chronological framework of the paper is stipulated by this idea covering the period from the 17th century when Russia had all typical features of the traditional (agrarian) society (vide infra) to the 20th century. In our opinion, the 17th century was characterized by significant changes towards the formation of the industrial society due to the reforms of Peter I. As for the 20th century, it was discussed above.

3. Discussion

It was I.V. Poberezhnikov who paid special attention to the term “the modernization mechanism”. Conceptualizing theories of modernization in the multi-authored book devoted to the theory and

methodology of history, the Ural scientist highlighted this term as a specific subject of research in his chapter (Poberezhnikov, 2014: 143-145).

I.V. Poberezhnikov compared opinions of two foreign scientists pointing at unique approaches to this problem which each of them had. For instance, W. Rostow focused on “the accumulation standard growth” as a specific order of modernization processes development (Poberezhnikov, 2014: 143). We cannot but agree with the validity of such an interpretation taking into account the general tendency of the theory describing “economic growth stages” developed by the American sociologist and economist.

If W. Rostow used an economic approach to the problem concerning the nature of modernization mechanisms, another interpretation chosen by I.V. Poberezhnikov was a sociological one. The latter is referred to the scientist N. Smelzer. The analysis of the American sociologist’s ideas allowed I.V. Poberezhnikov to pay attention to the structural differentiation as a mechanism of the transition from the traditional society to the modern one when “complex structures which performed a lot of functions before are divided into specialized structures every of which can be responsible for one function in the process of modernization; in general, new specialized structures perform the same functions as former structures but more effectively” (Poberezhnikov, 2014: 144).

Given the facts presented above, we can state that at the initial stages of modernization theory development the transition from the traditional society to the modern one in general and its mechanism in particular had a one-sided interpretation. Despite the fact that W. Rostow tried to overcome drawbacks of Marxist theory, he did not succeed in avoiding economic determinism. N. Smelzer’s ideas can be evaluated in the same way as he revealed only the social aspects of the problem.

It would be fair to note that I.V. Poberezhnikov paid attention to the views of the supporters of the classical interpretation of modernization theory. As we know such an interpretation is used only for the explanation of processes which took place in the countries of Western and Northern Europe during the modern period. However, the term “catching up modernization” is used to characterize Russian history during the 18th – the beginning of the 20th centuries. So the interpretation of the mechanism in this paper will be logical.

For instance, Russian scientists who dealt with this problem connect it directly to the ‘catching up’ model of Russian modernization processes because the latter implied a certain degree of violence and consequently the resistance of the Russian civilization. Therefore the most popular approach to the interpretation of the Russian modernization mechanism has a wave type. It is quite evident in S.N. Gavrov’s monograph “Modernization for the sake of the Empire. Socio-cultural aspects of modernization processes in Russia” which highlights the change of two models of Russian modernization – imperial and liberal ones. Each of them prevails, to the scientist’s mind, at the certain stage of Russian history that depends on the extent of the Russian civilization resistance to modernization processes (Gavrov, 2004: 38-72).

The same wave mechanism is described in the article of A.A. Kononov, M.S. Tomazov and Yu.V. Bun’kova “The concept of national identity and the political culture of imperial Russia at the turn of XVIII–XIX centuries” (Kononov et al., 2004: 97-103). The authors of the paper discuss the pendular movement of Russian modernization as an inconsistency of its liberal and imperial types (Kononov et al., 2004: 102). Nevertheless, they also focus on another feature of the mechanism which determined Russian modernization processes: “If Western European countries changed an evolutionary way of development into an innovation one in XVII–XVIII centuries, Russia transited from an evolutionary way to a mobilization one. It was realized in the form of conscious and violent interference of the state authorities into the mechanisms of the society with its functions” (Kononov et al., 2004: 97). In other words, such a feature as the active participation of the state in Russian modernization processes which often involved violence is highlighted and referred to the term “mobilization”. However, we must note that the term “the modernization mechanism” is not used in this paper although it is correlated with the wide notion – “mechanisms of the society with its functions” that allowed to include the analysis of the mentioned authors’ concept into our paper.

V.G. Fedotova solved this problem giving a sound theoretical grounding and specificity. She suggested her own typology of civilizations from the point of view of modernization and outlined “a development mechanism” as one of the criteria (Fedotova, 2016: 79). The latter, to her mind, can be an innovative mechanism, a mobilization mechanism based on the combination of innovations and mobilizations or state mechanisms or dictatorship (Fedotova, 2016: 79-80). But the main mechanism for western countries which were the first to experience modernization is considered to be the change of the tradition into the innovation, in V.G. Fedotova’s opinion. It should be noticed that the scientist does not contradict these terms pointing out that the borderline between them is blurred: “The difference of the tradition from the innovation is also a problem. There are innovations in the traditional society developing on the base of traditions but they exist only until they break traditions. This development is cyclic as the society begins to consider innovations to be dangerous for traditions sooner or later and rejects them in favour of the latter. History always takes its course in this society without any extreme deviations. Innovations play a significant role in the modern society cooperating with traditions until they come into conflict with innovations” (Fedotova, 2016: 86).

The given quotation also explains a wave type of the modernization mechanism – “the development is cyclic” – and mentions the resistance of countries belonging to the traditional society to modernization processes that indirectly proves the necessity of “people’s extra efforts” during the transition from the traditional society to the modern one, i.e. “a mobilization type of development” peculiar for the states of

“different” America and “different” Europe, in V.G. Fedotova’s opinion, which “civilizations of ‘the second echelon’ of development” refer to (Fedotova, 2016: 79-80).

To give a full description of modernization processes we must add that the change of traditions into innovations can also imply the third element and the structure of the modernization mechanism will be more complex: “antiquity – traditions – innovations (modernization)”. At the same time traditions being an intermediary link will be affected by both antiquity and innovations (modernization). Such ideas are expressed by V.G. Fedotova (Fedotova, 2016: 90-101), A.M. Buranchin (Buranchin, 2011) and K.N. Kostyuk (Kostyuk).

As for the term “the factor of modernization” A.J. Toynbee’s interpretation focuses on “challenges” as factors of the further development of civilizations. The English researcher classified current challenges as follows:

- 1) the Stimulus of Hard Countries;
- 2) the Stimulus of New Ground;
- 3) the Stimulus of Blows;
- 4) the Stimulus of Pressure;
- 5) the Stimulus of Penalizations.

For the ‘catching up’ type of modernization which was peculiar for the history of imperial Russia a leading role was played by “the Stimulus of Blows”. One of such incentives was wars but only in case when “the unexpected crushing defeat could stimulate a defeated side to bring everything in order and prepare a victorious counterattack” (Toynbee, 2006: 398). American researchers A. Toffler and H. Toffler agree with A.J Toynbee’s conclusion stating that: “Past wars reach across time to affect our lives today. The torrents of blood spilled centuries ago over issues now forgotten, the bodies charred, impaled, broken or blown into nothingness, the children reduced to swollen bellies and stick-limbs – all shaped the world we inhabit today” (Toffler, Toffler, 1995: 2).

To prove his concept “challenge – response” the English scientist answered the question “Why did Russia have to consider “challenges” of the Western civilization to be a fundamental basis for its further development?” in the following way: “From the failure of the Second Ottoman assault on Vienna in A.D. 1683 down to the defeat of Germany in the General War of A.D. 1939-1945, the West as a whole had been so overwhelmingly superior in power to the rest of the World that the Western Powers had virtually nobody to reckon with outside their own circle” (Toynbee, 1987: 148).

It should be noted that Toynbee found out three “responses” of the Russian civilization to the Western “challenge” concerning primarily technological achievements of the latter:

A serious counteract of Russia expressed in the form of “the fanatical sect of Old Believers”.

“...the thorough-going ‘Herodianism’ which found an exponent of genius in Peter the Great”.

“The ignominious collapse of Russia’s military effort during the General War of A.D. 1914-18 offered lurid evidence that, after having been trying for more than two hundred years, the Petrine policy of Westernization had not only been un-Russian but had also been unsuccessful; it had not ‘delivered the goods’, and in these circumstances a long-suppressed insistence on the uniqueness of Russia’s destiny reasserted itself through the Communist revolution” (Toynbee, 1987: 152-153).

As we can see two of these “responses” were directly connected with the wars which led to further great changes in Russian people’s lives – The Great Northern War and World War I.

V.G. Fedotova also agrees with these ideas. She explained the thesis statement about the Western influence on modernization processes in the countries of “different” Europe and “different” America as follows: “One question is logic: did the West make the rest of the world catch up with it breaking the ordinary course of history, problematically accelerating the progress and breaking traditions to do this, defying national paradigms of mentality? In most cases the West did it and used strong violence, for instance, when colonizers’ armies conquered Incan and Asian Indian capital cities. But in other cases – in Beijing, Istanbul – the state was powerful enough to prevent any military violence. Nevertheless, these countries resisted to the decrease of their influence in the world and they could do it only by accelerating their development facing such an opponent as the West” (Fedotova, 2016: 38). This quotation also refers to war as a factor of ‘catching up’ modernization.

A.V. Alekseeva shares the same point of view. She pays attention to external factors first of all as they affected the Russian civilization development: “Among external factors which had a great impact on the image of the Russian civilization at the modern time the following ones can be singled out: a trend peculiar for the whole civilization (the world modernization process, globalization, informatization); the world technological revolutions (industrial, agrarian, information revolutions); the international policy of states and wars as its instrument and the mechanism of the society expansion having technological advantages; ideological movements (Enlightenment, Marxism, socialism, liberalism etc.); the economic situation; the activity of transnational organizations; at last, fashion for foreign ideas, cultural and material phenomena (including romanticism, classicism, eclecticism, modernism, constructivism, technicism and such like things in all spiritual and material aspects)” (Alekseeva, 2012: 16-17). And in this quotation we notice the interpretation of wars as a means to affect the further way of Russian development on the part of modernized countries.

The given short review of different points of view on the terms “the modernization mechanism” and “the factor of modernization” shows that researchers highlight the ‘catching up’ type of development and the mobilization wave mechanism as a peculiar feature of modernization processes in Russia. As for wars they are regarded as a factor of the Russian civilization development at the stage of modernization efforts which was typical for the Imperial period in Russia when wars took one of the most important places if not the main one, in their opinion. Let us prove this thesis statement.

4. Results

Due to the use of the term “mechanism”, we can be reproached for applying the mechanistic approach which was typical for science in XVII–XVIII centuries when mechanics became one of the main branches of scientific knowledge. However, we did not connect this term to I. Newton’s laws and G. Galilei’s discoveries thus excluding any opportunity of its reduction and implying its profound meaning that may result in the use of this term in the Humanities research.

First and foremost, the definition of the analyzed term must be made clear. “The definition dictionary of the Russian language” written by B.M. Volin and D.N. Ushakov gives two main interpretations of the term “mechanism”:

1. “The internal structure of a machine or a device which makes it work” (mech.).
2. “The internal structure, the system of functioning peculiar for smth., the system of some type of activity” (bookish) ([The definition dictionary, 1938: 203-204](#)).

Taking into account notes in brackets we can conclude that the term “mechanism” can be used in the humanities and social sciences with the second interpretation. This definition is close to the philosophical interpretation. Explaining the term for modernization theory we suggest the following definition: “the system of modernization processes which function following the logic of development from the traditional society to the modern one and depending on the conditions under which the given processes occur”. In our opinion, this definition overcomes the reduction of the mechanistic approach and interprets the term “mechanism” in such a way that it can be applied in the humanities and social sciences.

Turning to the Imperial period in the history of Russia we must outline a dichotomous typology of modernization processes including classical and ‘catching up’ modernization. We believe that this typology will be the best because the problem of a variety of ways characteristic for modernization and differentiation of its results for the period covering the 18th – the beginning of the 20th centuries has not been raised yet. The main features of the given typology as well as its explanation have already been focused on ([Samokhin, 2017: 14-16](#)) so in this case we will pay attention only to one criterion – “a development mechanism”. It was defined as “an innovative, internal, linear mechanism” for the classical type and “a mobilization mechanism stipulated by the Western “challenges” therefore a wave mechanism” for the ‘catching up’ type ([Samokhin, 2017: 14-15](#)).

As it can be seen the given formulations highlight three pairs of characteristic features of the modernization mechanism:

“The innovative – mobilization mechanism”. In those countries which were the first to experience modernization – Western and Northern Europe – innovations as changes bringing some renovations were prioritized. At the same time they took place not only in the economic and technological spheres but also in the social, political and spiritual spheres of people’s lives. Moreover, they determined modernization development in these countries. Mobilization was typical for the states of “the second echelon”, characterized by a ‘catching up’ type of modernization. We have found three main definitions of this term in “The definition dictionary of the Russian language” by B.M. Volin and D.N. Ushakov:

- a. “the process by which the armed forces are brought to a state of readiness for participation in military acts (military)”;
- b. “the process by which something (some valuable thing) is made active for its broader use (economic)”;
- c. “the process by which somebody or something is made active in order to accomplish some task successfully (bookish)” ([The definition dictionary, 1938: 239](#)).

The third definition is more philosophical so it is more appropriate for our paper and its objectives. It clearly outlines the participation of some subject and does not imply the internal independent development of the system. Political elites more often play a role of such a subject (actor) in ‘catching up’ modernization processes. It is they who set objectives for the development of the society (state): for instance, the necessity to catch up with the Western countries which have gone far away thanks to modernization processes thus it is important to reach their level to oppose these states successfully (if necessary). It is evident that “the necessity to catch up” supposes those “extra efforts” which were mentioned by V.G. Fedotova. So mobilization means “extra efforts of the ‘catching up’ society stipulated by the activity of governing elites in order to achieve the level of modernized countries”.

“The internal mechanism caused by the “challenges” of the West”. The word “internal” in this case implies the independent way of development chosen by countries which has its own logic connected with the transition from the traditional society to the modern one. Nobody and nothing made the Western states follow this way, it was quite natural for them. Using V.G. Fedotova’s terminology we must outline the fact that “different” Europe and “different” America had to solve the problem of falling behind modernized

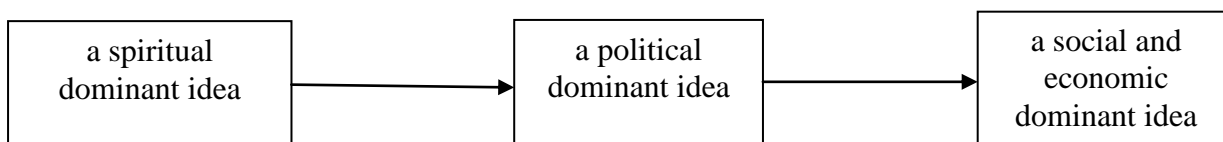
countries to successfully deal with “challenges” of the West. Thus they needed the Western “challenges” to take the way of modernization.

As the concept “challenge – response” is described in detail in A.J. Toynbee’s book “A study of history” it is necessary to consider its basic notions in the original interpretation. The English scientist interpreted “challenges” as “a situation of unique complexity which made him [a man – K.S., L.K.] make an unprecedented effort” (Toynbee, 2006: 395). This “effort”, i.e. “a response” brings a man to the new stage of his development – civilization (Toynbee, 2006: 143-157). In other words, the countries of Western Europe having begun to follow a natural way of modernization since XV–XVI centuries succeeded in their development so much that they could allow themselves to take a messianic role in some sense promoting their model of the further way of development to an enlarged circle of traditional civilizations. And the “challenges” of the West could be connected to different factors which will be discussed later on.

“The linear – wave mechanism”. This pair is a logic result of the characteristic features of the modernization mechanism analyzed above. “The linear” way means a clear progressive advance of the countries of Western Europe and Northern Europe to the acme of modernization development – the modern/industrial society – without any throwback and zigzagging. Resistance was typical for “the second echelon” countries as the way they had to follow was not natural for them and implied the reconstruction and change of essential features and what is more the system of values peculiar for their traditional type. These events were not caused by processes which appeared during their development but by the Western civilization pressure. The resistance stipulated the presence of periods with the relatively quick pace of modernization processes as well as stages with the significant slowdown that is the definition of the wave type of modernization in fact. The latter could be expressed in different ways that led to a variety of interpretations given by Russian scientists regarding the nature of the wave transition from the traditional society to the modern one.

Now we will focus on the meaning of the term “the factor of modernization”. There is only one definition of the term “factor” suitable for the aim of our paper in “The definition dictionary of the Russian language” by B.M. Volin and D.N. Ushakov: “A driving force, a cause of some process stipulating its type (bookish)” (The definition dictionary, 1940: 1052). In our opinion, we do not have to interpret this definition regarding modernization: “some process” means that very transition from the traditional society to the modern one.

For the West such factors of modernization processes were Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment which caused changes in the spiritual sphere; revolutions or civil wars which resulted in the renovation of the political system; the industrial revolution which led to economic and social transformations. Moreover, the sequence of these processes was as follows:



However, it should be noticed that these processes were not strongly separated chronologically, they correlated with each other and were quite natural when the political elite was not their essential factor. This is the basis of harmony of the Western type of modernization.

Let us analyze war as a factor of modernization processes in Russia. In modern encyclopaedic dictionaries the term “war” is defined as “a social and political phenomenon representing the extreme form of solving socio-political, economical, ideological, national, religious, territorial and other conflicts between states, nations, peoples, classes and social groups by means of military violence” (The military encyclopaedic dictionary, 2001: 337). Nevertheless, the given definition interprets only the nature of such a phenomenon as war; the estimation of war impacts on the development of the human society history is not highlighted.

Wars have always taken place in the history of separate nations and the humanity in general. However, the nature of any war conflict could change depending on time and its origin. At the initial stage of the humanity development numerous conflicts between tribes were caused by material factors: a struggle for food, the territory etc. The more developed the society became the more social the essence of wars was as a consequence of increasing social differentiation and labour division. Later on, when states appeared war conflicts became political. And at last, at the modern stage of the humanity development a spiritual aspect as the main factor of war conflicts can be distinguished.

The statement about ideas (“the conquest of the whole world”, “the establishment of large empires” etc.) that more often became causes of wars can serve as an argument in favour of the fact that wars of relatively late periods and modernity have spiritual reasons rather than economic and social ones. Propaganda was widespread at that time especially during wars of XIX–XXI centuries when mass media played an important role and are used now to create a necessary image of wars, explain purposes of war actions, motivate people for struggling with enemies despite the fact that the former have to deal with problems such as discomfort, insufficiency of means for living, stresses due to the death of close relatives.

In this case so-called information wars are meant, their features had been formed by the 19th century. N.L. Volkovsky, a famous researcher of such wars, defines them as follows:

1. Statements about unity in your own camp and disunity in opponents' camp.
2. A differentiated approach to different groups.
3. 'A code of silence' over negative news and the immediate act of making positive news public even if it is insignificant.
4. Various methods which are used for presenting fake historical facts.
5. Catchy slogans.
6. The constant repetition of useful thesis statements including evident fake facts.
7. The distortion of information and arguments given by opponents' press.
8. Persistent efforts to mock at opponents.
9. Accusations of crimes or acts committed by your camp or activities which both sides can be responsible for" (Volkovsky, 2003: 170).

The majority of the given factors are specific, for sure. They are aimed first of all at the explanation of local military actions but practically the same methods were used for more global purposes whether it is the interpretation of the war course in general or the presentation of own ideas etc.

At the time when the influence on consciousness and its manipulation were not greatly developed, war was directed at the destruction of people. "To win" meant "to destroy" (or "to take prisoners") as it seemed to be impossible to change a person's consciousness in a different way. At the modern time when public consciousness manipulation is widely used and has a scientific basis the following thesis can be considered to be the objective of war: "to win" means "to change opponents' consciousness" and the physical destruction is not relevant any more. "The Cold War" in this case became a herald of the new epoch when nuclear weapons predominantly was a way to frighten but not destroy opponents. It is the understanding of risks related to impossibility of nuclear weapons use that came into people's consciousness, the absence of large-scale military actions (it is known that during the "Cold War" only local attacks, the so-called "flashpoint areas", took place) that prove this fact.

Thus, the larger man's social dimension is in contrast to the biological one, the less destructive wars are as they transform into wars of a new type. They are targeted at basic values of the modern civilization representatives and grow into information, ecological, competitive, financial and other conflicts. Mass destruction of people is out of the question in this case but "the struggle of ideas" is underway.

Having focused on the history of nature of war and its development, let us consider a war phenomenon regarding modernization development of Russia as 'a catching up' country. The logic of processes concerning the transition of the Russian state from the traditional society to the modern one resembled the logic of war in many ways during the history of mankind. The degree and direction of war impacts on modernization of the Russian society depended on two parameters – scale and results. Modernization processes in Russia began or continued in case a war conflict had a continental or global scale and resulted in the serious defeat of the Russian Empire. However, in case of local wars in which the Russian state participated, and/or the victory of the Russian army in them was no impulse for modernization in Russia.

We believe that modernization processes in the Russian state began in the first quarter of the 18th century because the society had all the typical features of the traditional society in the previous century. There were rudiments of the industrial development only in economy. The formation of manufacturing, the initial stage of Russian market, protectionistic and mercantilistic measures taken in the 1640s – 1650s prove that. However, these efforts failed due to strong autocracy in the political sphere and serfdom in the social area. The spiritual sphere of the Russian society had the following features: patriarchal relations (or paternalism), religiousness, monarchism, balanced land tenure principles (or social justice), communal collectivism combined with individual rights (Kozhevnikova, 2011; Porshneva, 2000: 91-102). These peculiarities were typical mostly for the peasantry and peasants comprised a major part of the Russian society in the 17th century.

Everything began changing when Peter the Great came to power. The main stimulating factor for modernization in Russia at that period was the Great Northern War. It should be noted that researchers often consider the first Russian emperor's reforms to be westernization, i.e. a predominantly external borrowing of western models and their violent introduction into the life of the Russian society without taking into account the specific nature of the latter. There are sound reasons for that.

The Great Northern War was actually a local conflict which resulted in one of the greatest victories in the history of the Russian state. Therefore it could not have a serious impact on the processes of Russian modernization. In fact, only high society was modernized. As for other classes of the Russian society, modernization did not influence them at all or it was a partial impact.

From the very beginning Russian modernization was not harmonic, its processes were asynchronous (Krasil'shchikov, 1993: 46), i.e. they did not coincide in time. Firstly there were changes in the economic and technological sphere which was the most prepared area for modernization. The increase of social mobility and urbanization were strongly restricted by serfdom. In the political sphere the result of the reforms of Peter I was the formation of the absolutist state or the police state as most scientists think. The spiritual sphere of the peasantry and most classes of the Russian society was not changed.

Thus, this example shows all the features of ‘catching up’ modernization mentioned above: mobilization which was strongly marked and represented in different ways due to extra efforts of Peter the Great and a large-scale resistance of the Russian society; “the challenge” of the West due to the Great Northern War; a wave type as transformation vectors proposed by the first Russian emperor were used by his successors but were slowed down. So the development of the Russian society in the 18th century after the rule of Peter the Great was based on modernization impulse of the Great Northern War. Russia did not have any large-scale conflicts with western states at that stage especially those which resulted in the defeat of the country.

The Napoleonic wars in general and the Patriotic war of 1812 in particular had to lead to some rise of modernization processes. This conflict was continental, in fact, i.e. its scale was significantly larger in comparison with the Great Northern War but the final victory of the Russian empire still did not encourage modernization processes in a full way. The analogy of the Patriotic war of 1812 with the Great Northern War is appropriate here because both of these war conflicts had the same scenario: defeats of the Russian army at the initial stage and its great victories at the final stage. It must be noted that Russia had had a vast experience of modernization efforts by that time that is why they were not as radical and violent in the first quarter of the 19th century as they were in the first quarter of the previous century. Nevertheless, the features of the mechanism typical for ‘catching up’ modernization could be also traced at the time. There was some rise of modernization efforts under the influence of the Napoleonic wars but it was not large due to the positive result of the Patriotic war of 1812 and the Foreign campaign of 1813–1814 as far as Russia was concerned.

The situation significantly changed in the middle of the 19th century when the Russian empire suffered a serious defeat in the regional conflict, the Crimean war. Despite the fact that Russia’s main opponent in that military conflict was Turkey – an eastern traditional country – its participation in the war was formal, in fact. The main opponents of the Russian empire were Great Britain and France; their successful efforts in modernization processes at the given period did not cause any doubt.

Social modernization associated firstly with the abolition of serfdom prevailed in Russia. This resulted in the further active economic development and the initial stage of religious transformations in the peasantry’s mentality. However, political changes at the time were slowed down by the reforms of Alexander III.

So, the mobilization type of modernization processes, a wave rise of efforts on the way of transition from the traditional society to the modern one can be traced once again; as for the impact of the Crimean war as a stimulating factor for the abolition of serfdom, it is not rejected by historians, as a rule.

The next wave of modernization in Russia was encouraged by the Russo-Japanese war. The conflict was mainly local but the defeat of Russia played a big role in that case. By that moment Japan had implemented a national model of modernization following “the Meiji restoration” therefore a conflict with that country can be considered to be an actual “challenge” of the Western civilization. As it is known, the defeat in the war with Japan was one of the causes of the First Russian revolution which resulted in political modernization and the Russian empire transformed into a dual monarchy. Partial modernization was explained by the fact that military acts were local.

World War I gave the greatest impulse to Russian modernization. Even the name of this conflict reflects its geographic scale and conditions of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk can be regarded as a defeat of Russia. Bolsheviks’ efforts to establish an ideocratic state were of a true mobilization type; a practically 70-year wave of modernization processes began in the Russian state. Industrialization was carried out, social mobility and urbanization reached a high level. However, social mobility was mostly inductive due to general political and ideological directives typical for the USSR. The kleptocratic political system itself and Marxist ideology of different types did not coincide with the industrial/modern society model that is why Soviet modernization can be considered to be divergent.

5. Conclusion

So, the terms “the modernization mechanism’ and “the factor of modernization” must be taken into account when modernization processes are analyzed. The terms are especially relevant for studying a ‘catching up’ type of modernization. The history of Imperial Russia, which developed according to this type, is characterized by a military factor as an initiating element of modernization processes. Wars in this case are “challenges” of the West to the Russian (Slavonic) civilization and responses are modernization efforts of the Russian state. All these factors stipulated the Russian modernization mechanism, i.e. the mobilization mechanism encouraged by “challenges” of the West which consequently had a wave type.

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Военный фактор и мобилизационно-волновой механизм как главные характеристики модернизации России имперского периодаКонстантин Владимирович Самохин^{a, *}, Людмила Юрьевна Королева^a^a Тамбовский государственный технический университет, Российская Федерация

Аннотация. Теория модернизации является активно обсуждаемым дискурсом в социально-гуманитарных исследованиях на современном этапе. Однако ее категоричный аппарат разработан недостаточно. В частности, нет четко определенных значений для таких понятий, как «механизм модернизации» и «фактор модернизации».

Цель статьи состоит в том, чтобы через рассмотрение современных трактовок выше названных терминов выработать авторский взгляд на их сущность, а также выявить главные характеристики данных понятий для анализа модернизационных процессов в России XVIII – начала XX века. В основе методологии работы лежит теория модернизации. Несмотря на существующий плюрализм мнений по поводу ее сути авторы придерживаются классического понимания модернизации как перехода от традиционного (аграрного) общества к современному (индустриальному) и приводят аргументы в пользу именно такого подхода при рассмотрении истории Российского государства в имперский период.

Авторы соглашаются с большинством исследователей в том, что модернизация в России имела догоняющий характер. При детальном рассмотрении механизм этого процесса определяется как мобилизационно-волновой. В статье доказывается, что в XVIII – начале XX века модернизационные процессы в Российском государстве вызывались Западной цивилизацией при помощи военных конфликтов. При этом анализу были подвергнуты последствия Северной, Наполеоновских, Крымской, Русско-японской и Первой мировой войн для развития Российской империи. Сделан вывод о том, что модернизационные процессы в России имели в качестве главной особенности асинхронность. При этом тренд их развития смещался от экономико-технологической сферы через социально-политическую к духовной. Это обусловило длительный и проблематичный характер российской модернизации.

Ключевые слова: Российская империя, догоняющая модернизация, фактор модернизации, механизм модернизации, война, мобилизация, волновой механизм, асинхронность.

* Корреспондирующий автор

Адреса электронной почты: kon-sam@yandex.ru (K.V. Samokhin), lyu-korolyova@yandex.ru (L.Yu. Korolyova)