

An Applied Analysis of the Soft Power of the PRC, Russia and U.S. in Mongolia¹

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Abstract

This article analyzes the soft power of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Mongolia from 2009 to 2016. To determine the scope of Chinese policy in this area, the author analyzes the indicators of two other influential actors in the region: the Russian Federation and the United States. The author uses a comparative approach to evaluate the effectiveness of China's soft power and a quantitative method to calculate a soft power index based on the system proposed by the author drawing on the experience of a British think-tank, the Institute for Government.

Four components of the soft power toolkit are analyzed: foreign policy principles, a successful economic model, a successful social model and cultural and civilizational values. This analysis reveals which of the components is most actively used by the state and which has the greatest degree of influence on the formation of a positive image of China in Mongolia. Based on this analysis, the author identifies flaws in the projects of the PRC, Russia and the U.S. in Mongolia which clearly demonstrate the ineffectiveness of policy in this area. The dominance of China is demonstrated in several ways, from its economic influence to its penetration of the national language and culture. China is gradually increasing its emphasis on cultural and civilizational values within the framework of its soft power policy due to the lessening significance of a successful economic model as a component of soft power. This is due not only to a slowdown in the growth of the Chinese economy but also to the economic crisis inside Mongolia.

Nevertheless, the author concludes that, despite quite good indicators, the PRC also experiences certain difficulties with the implementation of its soft power policy. Sinophobia is prevalent in Mongolia, and as a result, the most important part of soft power – the formation of a positive image – is absent.

Key words: soft power index; soft power of China; soft power of Russia; soft power of U.S.; Mongolia; foreign policy of PRC; Confucius Institute

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Introduction

The use of soft power in contemporary international relations has been frequently addressed by the scientific community. Key Russian investigations of this issue, especially with regard to

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the People's Republic of China (PRC), can be found in the work of Ya. Berger, A.V. Lomanov, O. Borokh, S.V. Mikhnevich and others [Lomanov, Kobelev, 2015; Mikhnevich, 2014].

However, the problem of assessing the operation of soft power remains unresolved. As is the case with the definition of soft power itself, there is no consensus around a unified methodology for measuring the degree of influence that it has [Zhuravleva, 2016a]. Moreover, at the moment there are no special units of measurement for a number of instruments that must be taken into account when analyzing the soft power of the state [McClory, 2010].

That said, there are several ratings of soft power, as well as approaches to its measurement. Special attention should be paid to a comparative approach to evaluate categories of soft power and its potential, to consider the effectiveness of soft power tools and to assess changes in impacted countries [Kharitonova, 2015]. Quite different criteria, including business, innovation, digital technologies and diplomacy, are used as a basis for the qualitative and quantitative measurement of soft power. One example is a joint study by Skolkovo and Ernst & Young which assesses the soft power of developing countries across 13 categories. However, there are contradictions in this study. The authors use the prevalence of the English language as an indicator; while this can be considered a resource of soft power in the English-speaking world, this is not the case for developing countries. There are also some doubts about the appropriateness of "election turnout" and "CO2 emissions" as indicators [Ernst & Young, 2012]. In fact, if the influence of soft power on a specific object of international relations is considered, the global trend cannot be always applied to understand that objects' interests and preferences in terms of attractiveness.

This study is based on an approach to soft power developed by the author [Zhuravleva, 2016b] building on the work of British colleagues. It compares the main indicators of soft power through the proportions, and is applicable not only to China but also to any subject of international relations. In order to normalize all of the indicators of soft power, the author uses a unified system of conditional scores. While these categories have different values in terms of their importance in Skolkovo's research and the work of the Institute for Government, in the current study they are all assigned an equal conditional score (1 point), except in obviously multilevel cases, where the coefficient is decreased by 0.1 points. Instruments of soft power such as foreign direct investment (FDI) and turnover are shown in the long term, usually for the period 2009–2016; short-term indicators are estimated for the past few years. It also should be noted that despite the difference in geographical location, demographic indicators and the level of economic development of the countries under consideration, the author uses uniform standards to assess them. There are no barriers to increasing soft power, and every actor can increase its potential in each of the areas. For example, the U.S. can actively influence Mongolia through its partners in the region, South Korea and Japan.

The aggregate index of the soft power of a country will be calculated using the formula $N1 + N2 + N3 + N4 = N$, where N1 is the measure of soft power using the indicator of "foreign policy principles," N2 is the measure of soft power using the indicator of "successful economic model," N3 is the measure of soft power using the indicator "cultural and civilizational values" and N4 is measure of soft power using the indicator "successful social model." Annex 1 details these four key components of the soft power system, as well as a number of tools that have been evaluated by the author.

The Role of the “Foreign Policy Principles” within the Framework of the Soft Power Policy of the PRC, the U.S. and Russia in Mongolia

Official relations between the PRC and Mongolia were established immediately after the formation of the communist state in 1949. Over the 20th century this relationship has had its ups and downs, but due to their common historical development and ongoing efforts, a number of agreements had been reached by the end of the century that strengthened cooperation between them.

The leaders of the PRC and Mongolia do not meet very often, although in recent years their mutual interest in each other has increased significantly. In total, from 1952 to 2015 there have been 28 visits to China by the top leadership of Mongolia, including the chairman of the State Great Khural, the prime minister and the president. During the same period, Chinese leadership represented by the PRC president and premier of the State Council visited Mongolia eight times.² Xi Jinping has already visited Mongolia twice, in 2008 as vice-president of China and in 2014 as the head of the PRC. In addition, the leaders of both Asian states meet regularly at Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) summits and other multilateral fora. In 2014, relations between China and Mongolia were officially transferred to a new level – that of a comprehensive strategic partnership³. During a meeting between Xi Jinping and Mongolian President Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj, close to 30 agreements were signed, including a currency swap [Fan', 2014]. Within the framework of Sino-Mongolian cooperation there are currently two intergovernmental structures: the Intergovernmental Commission for Trade-Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation and the Commission for Cooperation in the Field of Mineral Resources, Energy and Infrastructure.⁴ China and Mongolia are simultaneously working in various international organizations, providing them with opportunities to consult and learn about each other's positions. It is noteworthy that both countries participate in the United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID).⁵

Russia's relationship with Mongolia is quite different. Since the 18th century Russia has maintained trade relations with the Mongols of Central Asia. According to the statements of Russian historians, the ordinary people of Mongolia always gravitated toward Russia and sought to establish contacts with it [Kabanova, 2014]. Mongolia always considers Russia as

² MFA of Mongolia. Mongolia-China Relations. Available at: <http://www.mfa.gov.mn/?p=29545> (accessed 20 January 2016).

³ MFA of PRC. Xi Jinping hui jian Mengguguo zongli Aleitanhuyage [Xi Jinping meet Mongolian Prime Minister Altankhuyag]. Available at: http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/zt_674979/ywzt_675099/2014zt_675101/xjpzxdmzg_675167/zxxx_675169/t1184912.shtml (accessed 22 February 2018). (In Chinese.)

⁴ Legalinfo. Худалдаа, Эдийн Засаг, Шинжлэх Ухаан, Техникийн Хамтын Ажиллагааны Засгийн Газар Хоорондын Комиссуудын Монголын Хэсгийн Удирдах Бүрэлдэхүүн [Trade and Economic and Scientific and Technical Intergovernmental Commissions with the Participation of Mongolia]. Available at: <http://www.legalinfo.mn/annex/details/6621?lawid=10836> (accessed 13 March 2016). (In Mongolian)

⁵ CIA. International Organization Participation. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2107.html> (accessed 13 March 2016).

counterweight to its eastern neighbor. The Soviet period can be characterized as time of rapprochement between Ulan Bator and Moscow. In the 1960s and 70s the Soviet Union took an active part in the development of the infrastructure of Mongolia; indeed, Soviet builders constructed entire cities: Darhan and Erdenet. The legacy of the Soviet Union has created certain reservations about the promotion of Russia's soft power in Mongolia.

Currently, Russia-Mongolia relations are experiencing renewed development. Several meetings in 2014 took place at the highest level: the Russian president V.V. Putin met with his counterpart Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj four times, and their last meeting was held jointly with President Xi Jinping. Tripartite negotiations became an unprecedented phenomenon in China-Russia-Mongolia relations, demonstrating their importance and the existence of common issues.

At the moment, the relationship between Russia and Mongolia is defined as a strategic partnership. There are two structures for the implementation of bilateral interaction between these neighbours: the Intergovernmental Commission on Trade-Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation and the Sub-Commission on Regional and Cross-Border Cooperation.⁶

Diplomatic relations between Mongolia and the United States were established in 1987, and the U.S. currently plays an important role in Mongolian foreign policy as a "third neighbour." Unlike its counterparts, Washington does not typically visit Mongolia, with the exception of George Bush's historic visit in 2005. The Mongolian president has visited the United States twice between 2006 and 2016. Relations between the two countries are officially described as a comprehensive, focused on further development in the spirit of strategic partnership.⁷

There are 42 international organizations in which both the United States and Mongolia participate; this is slightly less than the figures for Russia and China (46 each).

Table 1. Assessment of the "Foreign Policy Principles" Component of Soft Power

Level of the Relationships	Bilateral Visits	Bilateral Joint Intergovernmental Structures	Participation in International Organizations	Total
PRC				
Comprehensive Strategic Partnership	4	2	46	
Points of Soft Power				
0.9	4	2	46	50.9
Russian Federation				
Strategic Partnership	7	2	46	

⁶ Legalinfo. Худалдаа, Эдийн Засаг, Шинжлэх Ухаан, Техникийн Хамтын Ажиллагааны Засгийн Газар Хоорондын Комиссуудын Монголын Хэсгийн Удирдах Бүрэлдэхүүн [Trade and Economic and Scientific and Technical Intergovernmental Commissions with the Participation of Mongolia]. Available at: <http://www.legalinfo.mn/annex/details/6621?lawid=10836> (accessed 13 March 2016) (in Mongolian).

⁷ MFA of RF. Russian-Mongolian Relations. Available at: http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/mn/-/asset_publisher/ruvygv04bpCH/content/id/399008 (Accessed 22 February 2018). (in Russian).

Level of the Relationships	Bilateral Visits	Bilateral Joint Intergovernmental Structures	Participation in International Organizations	Total
Points of Soft Power				
0.8	7	2	46	57.8
U.S.				
Comprehensive Partnership	2	0	42	
Points of Soft Power				
0.7	2	0	42	44.7

Russia is leader in the “foreign policy principles” component with a small margin due to a closer dialogue at the highest level, followed by China, which also actively interacts with Mongolia in the political sphere, but often at the ministerial level.

Economic Model as the Basis of Successful Image

To assess the effectiveness of the “successful economic model” component, the following indicators will be used: investments in the economy of the country, the presence of foreign business in Mongolia, turnover, participation in integration projects, promotion of the national currency and volumes of official development assistance (ODA).

The investment climate in Mongolia is estimated based on investments attracted from 2009–2015.

In 2014, Mongolia was among the top ten Asian states receiving direct investments from China, with FDI of \$3.76 billion⁸ and stable annual growth. According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), from 1990–2012 China was the largest investor in the Mongolian economy, accounting for 32% of all FDI [UNCTAD, 2013].

Russian investments also play a significant role in the development of Mongolia’s infrastructure, especially railway lines and mobile communications [UNCTAD, 2013]. According to Mongolian sources, Russian direct investments from 1990–2003 exceeded \$300 million, which represents only 2.11% of the total number of investments.⁹ Table 2 shows that Chinese investment policy in Mongolia is much more significant than the activities of the U.S. and Russia. The average score of the soft power of the PRC for 2009–2015 is 2.6 points, while the Russian and American rates are 0.187 and 0.012 points respectively. It is worth noting that regardless of the level of development of the U.S. economy, interest in investing in Mongolian business is low.

⁸ Ministry of Commerce of PRC (2015) Zhongguo duiwai touzi hezuo fazhan baogao [The Report on the development of cooperation in the field of Chinese foreign investment]. Available at: <http://fec.mofcom.gov.cn/article/tzhzcj/tzhz/upload/zgdwtzhzfzbg2015.pdf> (accessed 12 March 2016). (In Chinese.)

⁹ Invest Mongolia Agency. Investment Opportunities of Mongolia. Available at: <http://slideplayer.com/slide/6195488/> (accessed 12 January 2014).

Table 2. Dynamics of Accumulated FDI in Mongolia in 2006–2015, \$ Millions

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Average
PRC								
Volume of Investments	1241.66	1435.52	1886.62	2954	3354	3760	3760	2627.4
Points of Soft Power	1.24	1.43	1.88	2.9	3.3	3.76	3.76	2.6
Russian Federation								
Volume of Investments	49	54	91	464	287	176	194	187.8
Points of Soft Power	0.049	0.054	0.091	0.46	0.28	0.17	0.19	0.187
U.S.								
Volume of Investments	2	–3	6	n/a*	28	31	n/a	12.8
Points of Soft Power	0.002	–0.003	0.006	n/a	0.028	0.031	n/a	0.012

* Data is not available due to the closed nature of information for that period.

Source: Central Bank of the Russian Federation. *Iskhodyashchie pryamyie investitsii iz Rossiiskoi Federatsii za rubezh po instrumentam i stranam-partneram v 2009–2015* [Outgoing Direct Investment from the Russian Federation Abroad by Instruments and Partner Countries in 2009–2015]. Statistika vneshnego sektora TsB RF. Available at: <http://www.cbr.ru/statistics/?Prtid=svs> (accessed 15 December 2015). (In Russian.); Bureau of Economic Analysis. *International Data: Direct Investment and MNE*. U.S. Department of Commerce. Available at: <http://www.bea.gov/iTable/iTable.cfm?ReqID=2&step=1#reqid=2&step=10&isuri=1&202=1&203=30&204=10&205=1,2&200=1&201=1&207=49,48,43,42,41,40,39,38,37&208=2&209=364> (accessed 15 December 2015); Ministry of Commerce of PRC (2015) *Zhongguo duiwai touzi hezuo fazhan baogao* [Report on the Development of Cooperation in the Field of Chinese Foreign Investment]. Available at: <http://fec.mofcom.gov.cn/article/tzhz/cj/tzhz/upload/zgdwtzhzfbg2015.pdf> (accessed 12 March 2016). (In Chinese.)

Data on the presence of Chinese companies in the Mongolian market vary considerably, with numbers ranging from 1,200 to 7,000. Nevertheless, according to official data from the Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, 6,500 companies with the participation of Chinese capital were registered in Mongolia,¹⁰ which is half of all foreign firms operating there. In comparison, there are 425 officially registered Russian companies and joint ventures, only 60 of which are considered to be working.¹¹

¹⁰ Office of the Adviser on Trade and Economic Affairs at the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Mongolia (2015) *Duiwai touzi hezuo guo bie (diqiu) zhinan* [Guide to Cooperation on Foreign Investment by Countries (Regions) Mongolia]. Available at: <http://mn.mofcom.gov.cn/article/ztdy/201512/20151201200492.shtml> (accessed 20 December 2015). (In Chinese.)

¹¹ *Torgovo-ekonomicheskie otnosheniya Rossii i Mongolii* [Trade and Economic Relations between Russia and Mongolia]. *ITAR-TASS*. Available at: <http://itar-tass.com/info/1416054> (accessed 12 January 2014). (In Russian.)

It is obvious that Chinese business is actively working in the Mongolian market, although there are no data on how many of those companies are in operation. According to the Mongolian Statistical Information Service, at the moment there are 2,036 active foreign companies.¹² It should also be noted that the activity of Russian firms on the territory of their nearest neighbour is rather low, which casts doubt on the effectiveness of the Subcommittee on Regional Cooperation. Trade turnover between countries is also dependent on the activity of foreign business.

Table 3. Dynamics of Trade Turnover Between Mongolia and the Russian Federation, the PRC and the U.S., 2009–2015, \$ Millions

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Average
PRC								
Trade Turnover	2429	4001	6432	6601	5959	7318	5466	5443.7
Points of Soft Power	2.42	4	6.43	6.6	5.95	7.31	5.36	5.45
Russian Federation								
Trade Turnover	717	1015	1585	1915	1613	1500	1161	1358
Points of Soft Power	0.71	1	1.5	1.91	1.61	1.5	1.16	1.34
U.S.								
Trade Turnover	55.3	127	326	707	299.2	182.2	86.4	254.2
Points of Soft Power	0.053	0.12	0.32	0.7	0.29	0.18	0.086	0.27

Source: Statistical Bureau of the People's Republic of China. Zhongguo tong yazhou geguo (diqu) jinkou zonghe. Guojia shujiu [Total volume of China's exports and imports to countries (regions) of Asia. National data]. Available at: <http://data.stats.gov.cn/easyquery.htm?cn=C01> (accessed 12 March 2016) (In Chinese.); International Trade Administration. TradeStats Express. U.S. Department of Commerce. Available at: <http://tse.export.gov/tse/ChartDisplay.aspx> (accessed 12 March 2017); U.S. Census Bureau. Trade in Goods with Mongolia. Available at: <https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5740.html> (accessed 24 April 2017); Tamozhennaya statistika vneshnei trgovli. Federal'naya tamozhennaya sluzhba RF [Customs Statistics of Foreign Trade. Federal Customs Service of the Russian Federation]. Available at: http://customs.ru:8111/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=13858&Itemid=2095 (accessed 20 March 2016). (In Russian.)

As Table 3 shows, annual trade from 2009–2014 between the PRC and Mongolia grew by approximately 1.5 times a year, which demonstrates a very positive trend. In the first half of 2014 Russian exports to Mongolia amounted to \$730.7 million, and imports were \$16.7 million. After a meeting in September 2014, the heads of both states planned to increase

¹² Mongolian Statistical Information Service. Number of Active Establishments, by Regions, Soms Aimags and the Capital, by Ownership Type. Available at: <http://www.1212.mn/statHtml/statHtml.do> (accessed 15 March 2016).

trade turnover to \$10 billion [International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, 2014]; however, so far, the figure for the past year has actually decreased. The target number is relatively small, but even the PRC has not yet achieved results.

“The nearest neighbour” factor allows Russia to bypass the U.S. in terms of mutual trade with Mongolia, but China is the leader among the three. Nevertheless, in 2015 there was a sharp decline in trade with partners, which can be explained by the severe economic crisis in the state, and as a result, the outflow of capital from the country.

Because of the geographical factor, Mongolia is very selective not only in participation in various international organizations, but also in integration projects. In 2015, it was assumed that the country would change its observer status in the SCO and become its full participant, but this did not happen. At present, Mongolia is peering to the “global” projects of Russia and China. It shows an interest in interaction, but not in participation. In 2015, a working group was established between the Eurasian Economic Commission (EEA) and Mongolia to discuss cooperation between the countries of the EEA and Ulaanbaatar [Bnews, 2015].

As for cooperation with China, Mongolia is not only ready to participate in the construction of the One Belt One Road initiative but is also interested in its interface with the national Steppe Road project. Transport and logistics problems are among the most urgent for Mongolia, while cooperation with the PRC within the framework of the OBOR is likely to solve them. It's not easy for the US to involve Mongolia to its integration projects due to geographical factor, but in 2015 the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Mongolia actively urged the country's leadership to join the Trans-Pacific partnership.¹³ Ulaanbaatar did not accept the invitation, but considering its foreign policy strategy of treating the U.S. as a “third neighbour,” it was impossible to exclude the possibility. Thus, according to this indicator, Russia and the United States have 0 points, while the PRC has 1 point.

In 2003 an agreement between the Central Bank of the Russian Federation and the Central Bank of Mongolia was signed regarding the calculation of foreign economic relations in national currencies, while calculation in the currency of a third party is not excluded.¹⁴ The U.S. dollar prevails in the country's foreign trade as in the rest of the world, although the Chinese yuan is becoming more active in the foreign exchange market as evidenced by the latest currency swap agreements between China and Mongolia. With respect to “promotion of the national currency,” Russia, China and the U.S. have equal chances in the field of soft power and each receives 1 point.

Mongolia actively uses foreign aid. However, open information on the scale of Mongolia's debt to individual countries is not available, and for that reason this parameter must be excluded from an assessment the soft power of the actors. But it is worth noting that in 2016 the fact that Russia wrote off debt in the amount of about \$170 million received a response not only in Moscow and Ulaanbaatar, but also in China, where this news was widely

¹³ American Chamber of Commerce in Mongolia (2015) AmCham Calls for Mongolia to Set Sight on Trans-Pacific Partnership. Available at: <http://amcham.mn/amcham-calls-for-mongolia-to-set-sight-on-trans-pacific-partnership/> (accessed 12 March 2016).

¹⁴ Soglashenie mezhdru Tsentral'nyim bankom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Tsentral'nyim bankom Mongolii ob organizatsii raschetov po vneshneekonomicheskim svyazyam. TsB RF [Agreement between the Central Bank of the Russian Federation and the Central Bank of Mongolia on the Organization of Settlements for Foreign Economic Relations. CB of RF]. Available at: <http://www.cbr.ru/analytics/print.aspx?file=Mongolia.htm> (accessed 20 March 2016). (In Russian.)

replicated. To assess this component of a “successful economic model,” the volume of ODA provided by Russia, the United States and China is compared.

Table 4. ODA to Mongolia by the Russian Federation, PRC and the U.S., 2009–2015, \$ Millions

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Average
Russian Federation								
ODA Volume	–	–	–	7.92	0.01	–	0.34	2.75
Points of Soft Power	0	0	0	0.0079	0.00001	0	0.00034	0.0011
PRC								
ODA Volume	8.7	1.5	0.115	–	–	–	–	3.4
Points of Soft Power	0.0087	0.0015	0.00011	0	0	0	0	0.0014
U.S.								
ODA Volume	34.93	45.54	57.75	112.43	86.51	11.72	8.91	51.1
Points of Soft Power	0.034	0.045	0.057	0.112	0.086	0.011	0.0089	0.05

Source: [OECD, 2016]; AidData. Available at: <http://china.aiddata.org/projects> (accessed 20 March 2016).

In addition to ODA expressed in financial terms, it is worth taking into account the statements of PRC leadership on granting additional scholarships to Mongolian students, as well as expanding cooperation in the field of agriculture.¹⁵ However, in the framework of ODA, the U.S. is much ahead of its partners with an average score of 0.05, followed by the PRC and then Russia.

In the field of promoting a “successful economic model,” the PRC managed to achieve quite significant results and, with a score of almost 12 points, is ahead of the U.S. and Russia.

“Cultural and Civilization Values” in the Soft Power Policy of the Russian Federation the PRC and the U.S.

In addition to the close economic relations, both China and Mongolia are linked by a shared cultural heritage. The PRC pays special attention to Mongolian culture on its territory and its commonality with the people inhabiting modern Mongolia.

In 1998, an agreement on the mutual recognition of academic degrees was signed, and in 2005 a five-year agreement was reached in the field of educational exchanges between the PRC and Mongolia. Three years later, the first Confucius Institute was opened at the Mon-

¹⁵ AidData. Available at: <http://china.aiddata.org/projects> (accessed 20 March 2016).

golian State University; currently there are three Institutes and one Confucius Classroom. In 2008 an agreement was reached according to which teachers of the Chinese language can visit Mongolia as volunteers. In 2012, according to official figures, the number of students from Mongolia studying in China was 8,210.¹⁶ During his visit to Mongolia, Chairman Xi Jinping stressed that China would provide 1,000 state scholarships for Mongolian students over five years.¹⁷ However, in 2014 this indicator decreased to 7,920 people and in 2015 it fell to 7,428.¹⁸ In Mongolia, the number of educational institutions offering Chinese as a foreign language is very high, as is the number of students studying Chinese. In 2001 there were 550 students and by 2008 there were 1,760. In 2010, the number of pupils studying Chinese in primary and secondary schools was 5,916 of which 4,136 were enrolled in private schools and 1780 in public schools.¹⁹

Cooperation is also advancing in the scientific sphere. In 2007, the Sino-Mongolian Centre for Technology Exchange was opened in Mongolia. In 2014, the countries signed an agreement on the promotion of the exchange of scientific and technical personnel, as well as in the field of education and culture.

The centres of Russian culture are also represented in Mongolia. The Russian Centre for Science and Culture (RCSC) and two offices of the Russian World hold various events and promote the Russian language. The RCSC has five offices in Mongolia.

According to a study of the International Association of Teachers of the Russian Language and Literature, by the beginning of the 1990s 67.5% of Mongolians read and understood Russian; 45% could write in Russian, while 44.8% could understand it and 33.7% could speak it. At the beginning of the 21st century, according to the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science of Mongolia, 386,000 people studied Russian in the educational institutions [Falileeva et al., 2013, p. 14]. Since 2006, all secondary schools in Mongolia have introduced the study of the Russian language as a compulsory second foreign language from the seventh grade, and there are schools where teaching is conducted only in Russian [Naumov, 2008]. Recently the Russian language began to be studied in high school. According to Mongolian official statistics, at the end of 2011 there were 710 teachers of the Russian language in schools, and 2,130 English teachers. There is no data for the Chinese language, but there is a separate

¹⁶ Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. 2012 nian quanguo laihua liuxuesheng jianming tongji baogao [A Brief Statistical Report for 2012 on Students-Foreigners Coming to China]. Available at: <http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s5987/201303/148379.html> (accessed 12 January 2014). (In Chinese.)

¹⁷ Ministry of Commerce of the PRC (2015) Xi Jinping zai Mengguguo guojia da hulaer yanjiang quanwen [Report on the Development of Cooperation in the Field of Chinese Foreign Investment]. Available at: <http://fec.mofcom.gov.cn/article/tzhzcj/tzhz/upload/zgdwtzhzfzbg2015.pdf> (accessed 12 March 2016). (In Chinese.)

¹⁸ Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. 2014 nian quanguo laihua liuxuesheng shujii tongji [National Statistics of Foreign Students in 2014]. Available at http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xwfb/gzdt_gzdt/s5987/201503/t20150318_186395.html (accessed 12 March 2016). (In Chinese); Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. 2015 nian quanguo laihua liuxuesheng shujii tongji [National Statistics of Foreign Students in 2015]. Available at: http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xwfb/gzdt_gzdt/s5987/201604/t20160414_238263.html (accessed 12 March 2017). (In Chinese.)

¹⁹ Jin 10 nian Mengguguo hanyu jiaoxue zhuanquan diaocha yu yanjiu [Study and Review of the Teaching of the Chinese Language in Mongolia over the Past 10 Years]. Available at: <http://max.book118.com/html/2014/0117/5599883.shtm> (accessed 20 March 2016). (In Chinese.)

category for “other foreign languages” which contained another 190 teachers. In Mongolia, more than 10,000 students study Russian [Erdenemaam, nd], and in the 2010–2011 academic year, 3,120 Mongolian students were studying in Russian universities.²⁰ It should be noted that the Mongolian authorities periodically request the Russian government to increase the scholarship quotas for Mongolian applicants. In the 2012–2013 academic year, the quota was increased from 270 to 300 scholarships.²¹ In 2017, Russia increased this to 450.

There are three branches of Russian universities in Mongolia, among them a branch of the Irkutsk State University of Railways, a branch of the ESSUTM and a branch of the Plekhanov Russian University of Economics.²² In addition to cooperation in the educational sphere, Russia and Mongolia are also developing interaction in the scientific sphere; the Moscow State University together with the Mongolian Academy of Sciences implemented a project in the field of rational nature management. In 2012, the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (RFBR) and the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science of Mongolia conducted supported 11 projects to study the impact of natural and anthropogenic factors on the environment, nanostructured materials, biodiversity, petrology and genetics.

The American presence in Mongolia in the scientific and educational sphere is also notable. The U.S. offers a wide range of scholarship programs, including Fulbright, Teaching Excellence and Achievement (TEA), Hubert Humphrey and even a scholarship for studying at the American Military Academy.²³ In the early 2000s, about 210,000 people in Mongolia studied English [Falileeva et al., 2013].

There are two American cultural and information centres in Ulan Bator, and Khovda, operates the American University of Mongolia. Although it opened in 2012, according to official statistics, it has trained only eight students.²⁴ In addition, while the Peace Corps is now closed in some countries, it is successfully working in Mongolia with a staff of about 30 people.²⁵

In the framework of bilateral relations between Mongolia and the United States there is no specialized structure responsible for scientific and technical cooperation; nevertheless, a

²⁰ Arefiev A.L. (2013) Inostrannye studenty v rossiiskikh vuzakh. Doklad na 3-m vseмирnom forume inostrannykh vypusnikov sovetskikh i rossiiskikh vuzov [Foreign students in Russian universities. Report at the 3rd World Forum of Foreign Graduates of Soviet and Russian Universities]. *Demoskop Weekly*, no 57–572. Available at: <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2013/0571/analit02.php> (accessed 12 January 2014). (In Russian.)

²¹ Ministry of Natural Resources and Ecology of the Russian Federation. Protokol XVI zasedaniya Rossiisko-Mongol'skoi Mezhpriatel'stvennoi komissii po torgovo-ekonomicheskomu i nauchno-tekhnikeskomu sotrudnichestvu [Protocol of the XVI Meeting of the Russian-Mongolian Intergovernmental Commission for Trade-Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation]. Available at: <http://www.mnr.gov.ru/upload/iblock/16a/16.pdf?spetial=Y> (accessed 12 January 2014).

²² Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Sports. Суралцагчид (сургууль, боловсролын зэрэг, сургалтын хэлбэрээр) [Students (University, Education, Type of Training)]. Available at: <http://www.meds.gov.mn/data/1601/5HigherSta1415%20.pdf> (accessed 20 March 2016). (In Mongolian.)

²³ U.S. Embassy. Scholarships & Fellowships. Available at: <https://mn.usembassy.gov/education-culture/scholarship/> (accessed 12 March 2017).

²⁴ Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Sports. Суралцагчид (сургууль, боловсролын зэрэг, сургалтын хэлбэрээр) [Students (University, Education, Type of Training)]. Available at: <http://www.meds.gov.mn/data/1601/5HigherSta1415%20.pdf> (accessed 20 March 2016). (In Mongolian.)

²⁵ Peace Corps Mongolia. Peace Corps in Mongolia. Available at: <http://mongolia.peacecorps.gov/about-peace-corps-mongolia> (accessed 12 March 2016).

large number of scientific projects are being implemented in the field of nature management and the protection of historical heritage. Among them are special programs for the protection of native species developed in 2010 by the Denver Zoo and the Academy of Sciences of Mongolia, and an agreement between the Ministry of Environment, Green Development and Tourism and the U.S. National Park Yosemite on sister parks partnership in July 2015 [Zhu, 2015]. Considering the development of bilateral scientific and technical cooperation, it would be fair to assign the U.S. 0.5 points for the “presence of a structure that controls scientific and technical cooperation” indicator.

During his trip to Mongolia in 2014, the PRC president invited 250 Mongolian journalists to visit China and even promised to provide 25 free Chinese television shows for translation.²⁶ This gesture by the Chinese leader implies not only close cooperation in the field of culture, but also the desire to expand and deepen it. The first three-year plan for cultural exchanges was signed between the two countries in 1998. In 2004, Mongolia hosted the first week of Chinese culture, while a year later a similar event was organized in China to showcase Mongolian culture.

On the territory of Mongolia, there is one official cultural centre of the PRC in Ulaanbaatar, but the Confucius Institutes and the Confucius Classroom contribute to the spread of Chinese culture as well. In total there are five such centres. In 2016, 16 official events were held with the assistance of the Cultural Centre and in the last quarter of 2015 there were 36 events. The content of these events was varied, from China’s holidays to weeks of films about Chinese tea, Taiji training and wushu competitions.²⁷ However, according to the statistics of non-state cultural events, China is still behind the U.S. and Russia. In 2015, only one event took place with the participation of a celebrity from the United Kingdom.²⁸

The same “set” of Chinese media operates in Mongolia as in other foreign countries, and Chinese television series are very popular and are translated and broadcast on Mongolian television. This segment of modern Chinese culture started to develop earlier than others, almost immediately after the normalization of bilateral relations. There are three CCTV channels, InnerMongolia and CCTV for children, which broadcast through the cable system.²⁹ The main Chinese news agency is Xinhua, but the Renmin Ribao also operates. There are two Chinese radio stations broadcasting in Mongolia, including the radio of Inner Mongolia.

Russia is not far behind in terms of the number of official cultural events held in Mongolia. According to information from the Russian Embassy, there were 39 events in 2014 and 22 in 2015. Key among them were events honoring Mongolian veterans, the decade of the Russian language and Maslenitsa. Unfortunately, their scale is difficult to assess. Also, as

²⁶ Ministry of Commerce of the PRC (2015) Xi Jinping zai Mengguguo guojia da hulaer yanjiang quanwen [Report on the Development of Cooperation in the Field of Chinese Foreign Investment]. Available at: <http://fec.mofcom.gov.cn/article/tzhzcj/tzhz/upload/zgdwtzhzfzbg2015.pdf> (accessed 12 March 2016). (In Chinese.)

²⁷ Chinese Cultural Centre in Ulan Bator. Zhongxin dongtai [Current Activity of the Centre]. Available at: <http://ccchinaweb-ub.org/nr.jsp?m31pageno=4#module31> (accessed 12 March 2016). (In Chinese.)

²⁸ GogoMongolia. Available at: <http://mongolia.gogo.mn/r/148204> (accessed 12 March 2016). The author analyzed and counted all news of this website about international events that were held in Mongolia.

²⁹ Telecom Mongolia. National KaTB. Available at: <http://www.mtcone.net/index.php?nid=21> (accessed 12 March 2016). The author analyzed information about working foreign TV channels.

with the PRC, Russia has had no success in the field of informal events. In 2015, four events were noted while only one was held in 2014 and another in 2016.³⁰

The Russian media in Mongolia is not as active as it is in the post-Soviet space of Central Asia. Russian television channels are only available in cable television packages, including Channel One and TNT Russia. According to the author's calculations, there are 13.³¹ There is a joint Mongolian-Russian channel, AIST-TV. Information on Russian radio stations and the activities of Russian news agencies working in Mongolia was not found by the author.

As mentioned previously, the cultural component is carried out by two American cultural and information centres, as well as the Peace Corps, in Ulaanbaatar. In 2015, according to the U.S. Embassy in Mongolia, 21 official events were held, including lectures by American journalists and eminent personalities, an essay contest on the nature of democracy and a joint study of the problems of rivers and water resources among American and Mongolian schoolchildren.³² Unofficial events are also rather meager: there were only four in 2015–2016. The Voice of America radio broadcasts in Mongolia along with nine cable television channels including Bloomberg TV (which can be regarded as the key American news agency in Mongolia), CNN and National Geographic.³³

The evaluation of film distribution and the prevalence of national cuisine will also allow to an assessment of the presence of China, Russia and the United States in the cultural sphere of Mongolia.

Unfortunately, the source database for Mongolia in this area is limited and does not allow us to trace the dynamics over the long-term. However, according to the official statistics of Mongolia, there are 29 cinemas operating throughout the country³⁴ and a significant advantage is observed in favour of American cinema. Despite the fact that the PRC column is much higher in Graph 1, it cannot be said that China is ahead of Russia. The 18 films counted were not broadcast in a general release, but were intended for an audience of 1,200 students during Chinese cinema month in the Cultural Centre. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, Chinese television series are very popular in Mongolia. They are broadcast on local television channels which allows the author to take account of this indicator. As for Russian cinema, all of the films were also broadcast as part of the promotion of Russian cinematography in Mongolia, and did not have a wide release. In 2014, the Russian film “Stalingrad” was shown in the largest cinemas of Ulaanbaatar, indicating a minor success of the Russian cinema in Mongolia.

³⁰ GogoMongolia. Available at: <http://mongolia.gogo.mn/> (accessed 12 March 2016). Author analyzed and counted all news of this web-site about international events that were held in Mongolia.

³¹ Telecom Mongolia. National KaTB. Available at: <http://www.mtccone.net/index.php?nid=21> (accessed 12 March 2016). The author analyzed information about working foreign TV channels.

³² U.S. Embassy in Mongolia. Embassy News. Available at: <http://mongolia.usembassy.gov/archived-news-2014.html> (accessed 12 March 2016). The official website of U.S. Embassy in Mongolia was rebuilt and the 2014 archive of embassy news isn't available now.

³³ Telecom Mongolia. National KaTB. Available at: <http://www.mtccone.net/index.php?nid=21> (accessed 12 March 2016). The author analyzed information about working foreign TV channels.

³⁴ Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Sport of Mongolia. Статистик Мэдээлэл [Statistical Information]. Available at: <http://www.mecss.gov.mn/Csta> (accessed 12 March 2016). (In Mongolian.)

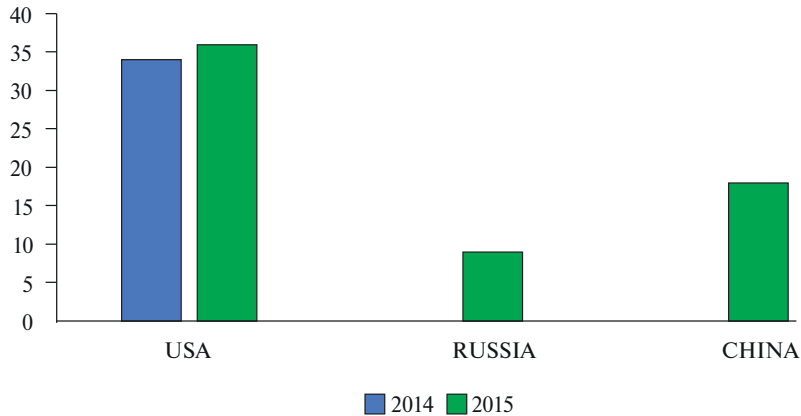


Figure 1. Dynamics of Film Distribution from the Russian Federation, the PRC and the U.S. in Mongolia, 2014–2015

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data from the site Tengis.mn

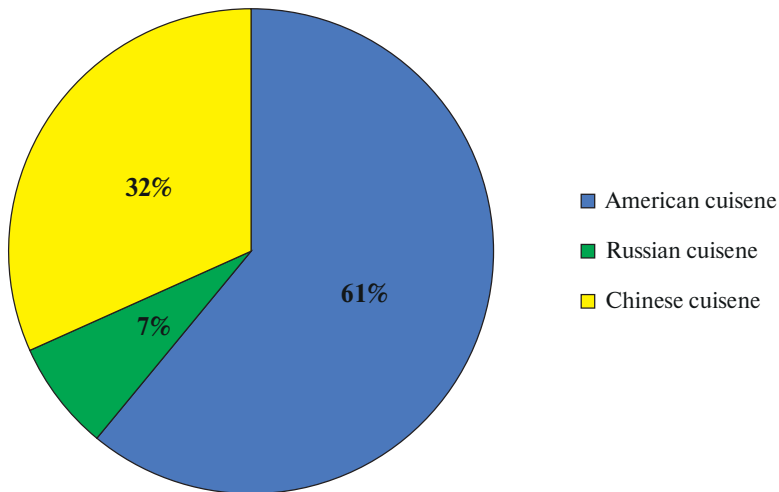


Figure 2. The Number of Restaurants and Cafes in Mongolia Offering Menu Items from American, Russian and Chinese Cuisines

Source: The data were calculated by the author based on information from tripadvisor.com

Based on an analysis of Tripadvisor, American cuisine significantly prevails over Russian and Chinese cuisines in three main Mongolian cities (Ulaanbaatar, Erdenet and Darhan), although Chinese cuisine is also well represented. There are 25 cafes and restaurants offering American cuisine, 13 offering Chinese cuisine and only three offering Russian cuisine.

Russian internet services are not very popular among Mongolians; about 22,000 users associate themselves with Mongolia in social network Vkontakte.ru, while about 1.3 million people use Facebook, which represents almost half of the population of Mon-

golia. Graph 3 shows that the American social network also dominates by the frequency of requests to Google in Mongolia.

But a completely different situation can be traced in the field of mobile messengers. Since 2011, the frequency of requests for the Chinese application WeChat demonstrates the wide involvement of Mongolian society in the Chinese information environment. Even WhatsApp lags far behind WeChat. It is noteworthy that in 2015 there is a slight surge of interest in the Russian application Telegram for messaging, which allows for a possibility that it could be promoted on the Mongolian IT market with proper marketing.

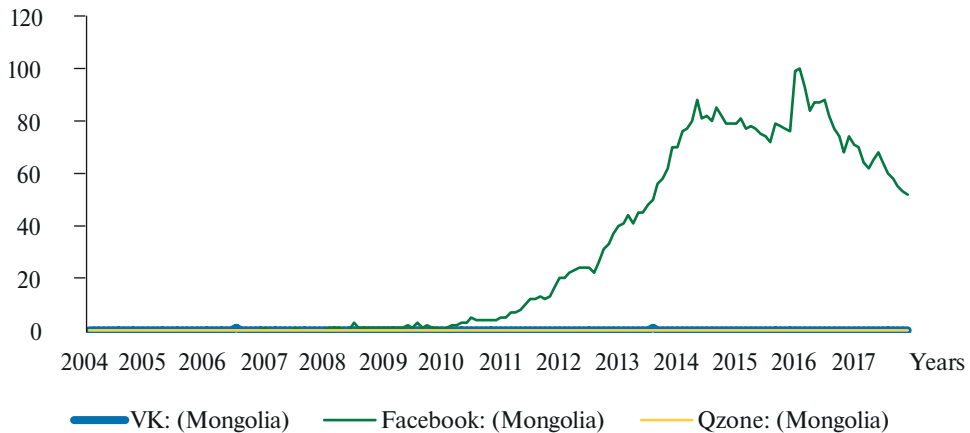


Figure 3. The Frequency of Google Search Queries for Social Networking Platforms

Source: Google Trends. Available at: https://www.google.com/trends/explore#q=%2Fm%2F0h_9v3h%2C%20%2Fm%2F0gwzvs1%2C%20telegram&geo=KZ&cmpt=q&tz=Etc%2FGMT-3 (accessed 12 March 2017).

Special conditions for the visa regime exist only in Russian-Mongolian relations. According to an agreement in September 2014, citizens of both countries can stay in either country for 30 days without a visa.³⁵

As can be seen from Table 6, a significant tourist flow to Mongolia comes from China, almost twice many tourists than from Russia and 10 times more than from the United States. But we should note the decline in the number of newcomers from the PRC in recent years.

Thus, the component of “cultural and civilizational values” can be estimated as follows: Russian Federation – 31.36 points, U.S. – 29.4 points and PRC – 47 points.

The last national population census in Mongolia was held in 2010. According to its data there are 8,688 Chinese living in the country, 2,474 Russians and 656 Americans. At the same time, it is believed that most migrants from China are engaged in trade or the restaurant

³⁵ Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. Soglashenie mezhdru pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i pravitel'stvom Mongolii ob usloviyakh vzaimnykh poezdok grazhdan Rossiiskoi Federatsii i grazhdan Mongolii [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of Mongolia on the Conditions for Mutual Visits of Citizens of the Russian Federation and Citizens of Mongolia. Available at: http://www.kdmid.ru/docs.aspx?lst=country_wiki&it=/Agreement_RF_Mongolia_03.09.2014.aspx (accessed 12 March 2017).

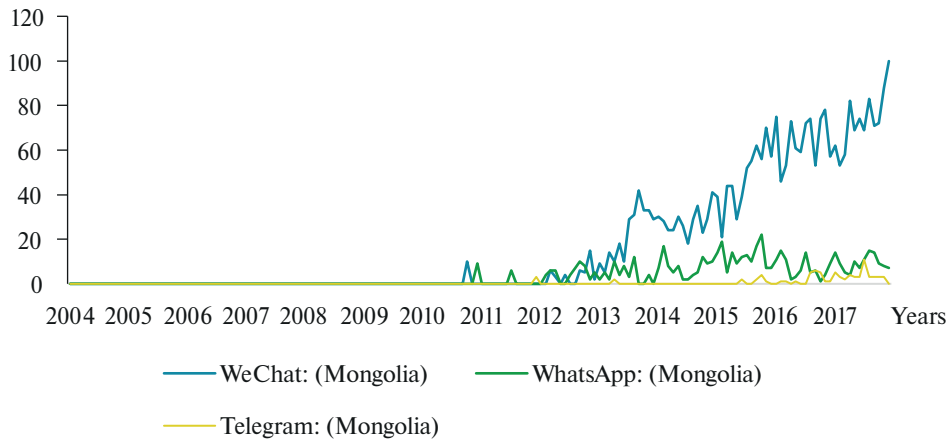


Figure 4. The Frequency of Google Search Queries for Messaging Services

Source: Google Trends. Available at: https://www.google.com/trends/explore#q=%2Fm%2F0h_9v3h%2C%20%2Fm%2F0gwzvs1%2C%20telegram&geo=KZ&cmpt=q&tz=Etc%2FGMT-3 (accessed 12 March 2017).

Table 5. Tourists to Mongolia from the Russian Federation, the PRC and the U.S., 2009–2015

Country/Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Average
RF	107911	121647	102738	83707	74468	73055	70668	90599
Points of Soft Power	1.07	1.21	1.02	0.83	0.74	0.73	0.7	0.9
U.S.	11335	12808	15423	15587	14701	13987	14420	14037
Points of Soft Power	0.11	0.12	0.15	0.15	0.14	0.13	0.14	0.13
PRC	181523	193730	200010	228547	178326	157561	145029	183532
Points of Soft Power	1.81	1.93	2	2.28	1.78	1.57	1.45	1.8

Source: Mongolian Statistical Information Service. Number of Inbound Tourists, by Country. Available at: http://www.1212.mn/tables.aspx?TBL_ID=DT_NSO_1800_003V2 (accessed 24 April 2016).

business. The attitude of the local population to the Chinese is not always friendly. Sino-phobia is inherent in the Mongolian state. This is due, first of all, to the historical heritage and the struggle for the independence of Mongolia, as well as the long period of interaction between two cultures. On the Chinese internet, articles appear with headlines such as “Why Don’t the Mongols Love the Chinese?” According to the people of Mongolia, themselves of Chinese origin, problems are often blamed on the Chinese, and the news of “faults” is widely replicated. Some researchers believe that sinophobia in Mongolia is related to cultural intervention by Beijing, including the appropriation of Mongolia’s historical and spiritual heritage, which evokes a negative reaction from the Mongolian elite [Terent’ev, 2016].

Table 6. Tourists to the Russian Federation, the PRC and the U.S. from Mongolia, 2009–2015

Country/Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Average
RF	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	158000	378 196	268 098
Points of Soft Power	0	0	0	0	0	1.58	3.78	0.76
U.S.	5012	5806	7065	7286	8390	10347	10713	7802
Points of Soft Power	0.05	0.058	0.07	0.072	0.083	0.1	0.1	0.07
PRC	576700	794400	994200	1.010 million	1.050 million	1.083 million	1.014 million	918716
Points of Soft Power	5.76	7.94	9.94	10	10	10	10	9

Source: Federal Agency for Tourism. Vyborochnaya statisticheskaya informatsiya, rasschitannaya v sootvetstvii s ofitsial'noi statisticheskoi metodologiei otsenki chisla v"ezdnykh i vyezdnykh turiststikh poezdok [Selected Statistical Information Calculated in Accordance with the Official Statistical Methodology for Estimating the Number of Inbound and Outbound Tourists]. Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation. Available at: <https://goo.gl/5JrgEG> (accessed 13 October 2017). (In Russian.); U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Yearbook of Immigration Statistics. Available at: <https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook> (accessed 13 October 2017). National Bureau of Statistics of China. An guo bie fen waiguo rujing youke [Foreign Tourists by Country]. Available at: <http://data.stats.gov.cn/easyquery.htm?cn=C01> (accessed 13 October 2016.) (in Chinese.)

Table 7. Assessment of the “Successful Social Model” Component

Country	The Indicator of Soft Power for 2010, Points
Russian Federation	0.0024
PRC	0.0086
U.S.	0.0006

Following from this analysis, it is now possible to calculate the aggregate indicator of the soft power of the PRC, Russia and the United States in Mongolia.

According to Graph 5, with 114.4 points China's total soft power index is much higher than that of the U.S. or Russia. At the same time, a significant contribution to the formation of a positive image is made by the components of “cultural and civilizational values” (47 points) and “foreign policy principles” (50.9 points). Russia is second with a total score of 94.8 points. It should be noted that the difference between US and Russia's scores by the cultural and civilizational values is less than 2 points. However, Russia surpasses the United States, but it has already lost significantly to China.

Comparing the results of the total soft power of the PRC, Russia and the United States in Mongolia, several conclusions can be drawn:

First, China and Russia are engaged in a fairly active political dialogue with Mongolia which means that for the “foreign policy principles” component they are far ahead of the

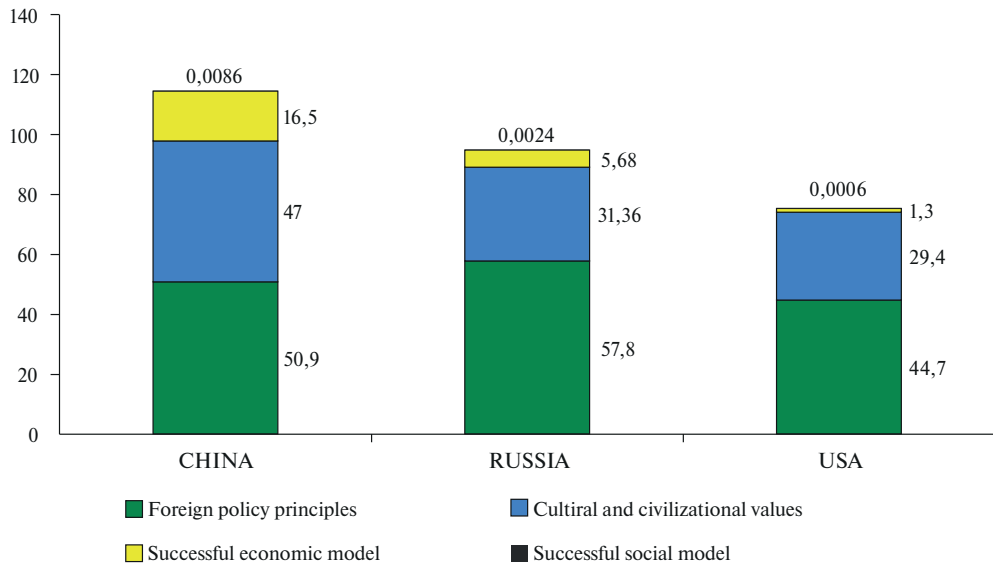


Figure 5. The Soft Power of the PRC in Mongolia in Comparison with the Russian Federation and the United States

Source: Compiled by the author.

United States. This is undoubtedly facilitated by geographical proximity, integration processes in the region and the commonality of a number of issues, including the regional and environmental security.

The decrease in the importance of the “money factor” suggests the need to use new mechanisms to promote an attractive image of the state, including cultural and civilizational values.

Second, the “successful economic model” component plays an important role and occupies one of the top lines in the relationship between Beijing with Ulaanbaatar, giving it a great momentum. China is several times ahead of Russia and the United States in that field. This component is not necessarily a driving element of soft power, but it definitely sets the tone for China’s interaction with Mongolia, and also creates the foundation for the promotion of the other components of soft power. Nevertheless, the influence of the “successful economic model” component has been decreased due to the economic crisis in Mongolia in recent years, traced in a reduction of trade turnover, investment and ODA. Reduction of the importance of the “money factor” means that it is necessary to use new mechanisms to promote an attractive image of the state, including cultural and civilizational values.

Third, China currently demonstrates the greatest experience in applying the “cultural and civilizational values” component. This has been thoroughly worked out by the Chinese side and is effective in Mongolia, pointing to Beijing’s influence. The indicators for Russia and the United States do not differ significantly, demonstrating both the decrease in Moscow’s activity in the promotion of the national language and the development of cultural and scientific cooperation, and also the quite significant successes of Washington in this direction.

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Appendix 1. Correspondence of Key Instruments and Soft Power Points of the Subject

Component	Instrument	Point of soft power
Foreign Policy Principles	1 high-level visit	1
	Simultaneous participation in an international organization	1
	1 Intergovernmental structure	1
	The level of eternal friendship / The level of comprehensive strategic partnership / Level of strategic partnership / Level of all-round partnership	1/0.9/0.8/0.7
Successful Economic Model	\$1 billion (trade turnover)	1
	\$1 billion (FDI)	1
	\$1 billion (external debt)	1
	Participation in integration project	1
	Calculation in national currency	1
	1000 registered companies with foreign capital	1
	\$100 million (ODA)	1
Cultural and Civilizational Values	1 Cultural centre	1
	1 centre for foreign language studies	1
	1000 students studying in the subject country	1
	1000 students studying in the country-object in the language of the country-subject	1
	1 branch of the university of the subject country	1
	1 joint university	1
	Participation in educational integration project	1
	The presence of a structure that controls scientific and technical cooperation	1
	10 unofficial cultural events of the subject country per year	1
	10 official cultural events of the subject country per year	1
	10 restaurants with national cuisine of the subject country	1
	10 films produced by the subject country, released in film distribution in the country-object for the year	1
	Domination of the social network of the subject country	1
	Broadcasting of the news agency	1
	Broadcast cable / satellite TV channel	1/0.9
	Broadcasting station	1
	100,000 tourists of the subject country	1
	100,000 tourists of the object country	1
	Visa-free regime / Special visa conditions	1/0.9
	Successful Social Model	1 million people in the country-object, identifying themselves with the titular nation of the subject country

Прикладной анализ политики «мягкой силы» КНР, РФ и США в Монголии¹

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В статье проводится комплексный анализ совокупной «мягкой силы» КНР в Монголии в период с 2006 по 2016 г. Для определения масштабов китайской политики в этой области приведены показатели двух влиятельных акторов региона: Российской Федерации и США. При этом в работе не только используется компаративный подход для оценки эффективности «мягкой силы» Китая, но и применяется количественный метод по подсчету soft power index на основе системы «мягкой силы», предложенной исследователем, и опыта британского аналитического центра The Institute for Government. Цель работы — определить степень эффективности политики «мягкой силы» КНР в Монголии.

Автор проанализировала инструментарий четырех компонентов «мягкой силы»: внешнеполитические принципы, успешная экономическая модель, успешная социальная модель и культурно-цивилизационные ценности. Во-первых, это позволило определить, какой из компонентов наиболее активно используется государством-субъектом и в наибольшей степени влияет на формирование привлекательного восприятия в Монголии. Во-вторых, удалось выявить основные изъяны реализуемых проектов КНР, РФ и США в данной стране, что наглядно демонстрирует недостаточную проработанность политики в этой области, в частности со стороны России, так как уже сейчас можно заявить о преобладании Китая в рамках различных аспектов: от экономического влияния до проникновения национального языка и культуры. КНР постепенно повышает роль культурно-цивилизационных ценностей в рамках политики «мягкой силы» ввиду ослабления значимости компонента «успешная экономическая модель». Это связано не только с замедлением темпов роста китайской экономики, но и с экономическим кризисом внутри самой Монголии.

Тем не менее автор приходит к выводу, что несмотря на довольно хорошие показатели, КНР также испытывает определенные трудности с реализацией своей политики «мягкой силы», так как среди населения Монголии распространены настроения синофобии и, как следствие, отсутствует главный результат «мягкой силы» — формирование привлекательного образа.

Ключевые слова: soft power index; «мягкая сила» Китая; Россия; США; Монголия, Институт Конфуция; МАПРЯЛ

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