

# АКТУАЛНИ ПРОБЛЕМИ В СЪВРЕМЕННАТА КИТАИСТИКА И ИЗТОКОЗНАНИЕ

Доклади от  
Втората международна конференция,  
посветена на 30-годишнината  
от откриването на специалност  
„Китаистика“ в СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“

Том 2

# CURRENT ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY CHINESE AND ORIENTAL STUDIES

Papers from  
the Second International Conference,  
Dedicated to the 30th Anniversary of  
the Establishment of the Chinese Studies Program  
at Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski"

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## ПРЕДГОВОР

Уважаеми колеги,

През октомври 2021 година се навършват 30 години откакто специалност „Китаистика“ за първи път отваря врати в СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“. Това е забележително събитие в историята на българското изтокознание, предшествано от почти 40 години натрупан опит и традиции в преподаването на китайски език и свързани с китаистиката дисциплини под формата на курсове и лекторати. Началото на преподаването на китайски език в България е поставено от изтъкнатия китайски лингвист проф. Джу Дъси и неговата асистентка Джан Сунфън-Канети през далечната 1953 г. Благодарение на изключителната отдаденост и професионализъм на двамата педагози и техните последователи, в периода до откриването на академична специалност „Китаистика“ са вече изградени основите на една бъдеща научна и преподавателска школа, създадени са първите учебни пособия за обучение по китайски език на българи, изградена е приемственост с формирането на екип от млади учени, които постепенно поемат щафетата на университетската Китаистика в България и я развиват в престижно образователно и изследователско направление. През 2018 г. специалност „Китаистика“ се обособява като самостоятелна катедра на Факултета по класически и нови филологии на Софийския университет, която предлага обучение в трите образователни нива на бакалавърска, магистърска и докторски програми. За изминалите 30 години около 250 студенти са завършили тази престижна специалност и голяма част от тях са намерили своята професионална реализация в необятното поприще на китайския език и култура.

Все по-важната роля, която играе Китай на световната икономическа, дипломатическа, технологична и културно-образователна сцена, както и изключително богатото културно-историческо наследство на китайската цивилизация правят Китаистиката привлекателна и перспективна научна сфера, а през последните години тя се утвърждава и като една от най-престижните специалности във Факултета по класически и нови филологии на СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“. Това разбира се е постигнато благодарение на изключителната посветеност и висок професионализъм на преподавателския състав на катедрата, както и на любовта, ентузиазма и трудолюбието на нашите студенти, които ни мотивират да поддържаме и развиваме нивото на специалността

и да бъдем в крак с най-новите изследователски постижения и практически търсения на времето.

В традиция на специалността се превръща организирането на юбилейни научни конференции, и именно по повод 30-годишнината от нейното основаване бе организирана Втората международна научна конференция „Актуални проблеми в съвременната китаистика и изтокознание“, която се проведе в онлайн формат на 19-20 ноември 2021 г. Юбилейната конференция се откри като важно международно събитие на нашата академична общност, в което взеха участие над 80 изследователи в областта на китаистиката и изтокознанието от България, Китай, Германия, Италия, Русия, Англия, САЩ, Мексико, Индия, Полша, Унгария, Чехия, Румъния, Турция, Гърция, Армения, Грузия и др. На академичния форум бяха представени най-новите изследвания по актуални въпроси в българската и световната китаистика и изтокознание и той предостави платформа за научни дискусии в голям брой тематични направления, обединявайки опита на различните поколения родни изследователи и давайки възможност за изява на млади учени и възпитаници на специалността.

В резултат от провеждането на конференцията е съставен и настоящият сборник в два тома. Той включва нови, актуални разработки в различни тематични направления на китаистиката и изтокознанието – от международни отношения и социално-икономическо развитие на Китай и региона на Азия, до литература, изкуство, философия, история и археология, езикознание, методика на чуждоезиковото обучение и други области. Надяваме се всеки от вас, който държи в ръцете си тази книга, да намери за себе си нови и интересни изследвания, перспективни идеи и искри на творческо вдъхновение.

Реализирането на проекта за юбилейната научна конференция, както и цялостната дейност по координиране, рецензиране, редактиране и подготовка за издаване на настоящия сборник се случиха благодарение на целия екип на катедра „Китаистика“ и колегите от други академични институции, участващи в редакционната комисия. Бих искала да изразя сърдечни благодарности към ръководството на Факултета по класически и нови филологии и фонд „Научни изследвания“ за подкрепата в реализирането и финансирането на проекта, както и на всички членове на рецензионния и редакционния колектив и на авторите на статии в юбилейния сборник, които допринесоха за осъществяването на това чудесно начинание!

Надяваме се да продължим заедно нашите научни търсения, конференции и срещи в необятното пространство на китайската духовност, традиции и съвременност!

Доц. д-р Антония Цанкова

Ръководител на катедра „Китаистика“

ФКНФ, СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“



## PREFACE

Dear colleagues,

In October 2021, we celebrate 30 years since the Chinese Studies Program first opened its doors at Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”. This is a remarkable event in the history of Bulgarian Oriental studies, preceded by almost 40 years of accumulated experience and traditions in teaching Chinese language and disciplines related to Chinese Studies in the form of elective language courses and specialized lectures. The beginning of Chinese language teaching in Bulgaria was set by the distinguished Chinese linguist Prof. Zhu Dexi from Beijing University and his assistant Zhang Sunfen-Canetti back in 1953. Thanks to the exceptional dedication and professionalism of the two educators and their followers, in the period until the opening of the academic program in Chinese Studies, the foundations of the future research and pedagogical school in Sinology had already been laid, and the first textbooks for Chinese language training for Bulgarians had been created. Moreover, academic continuity had been established with the formation of a team of young scientists who gradually picked up the baton of academic Chinese Studies in Bulgaria and developed it into a prestigious educational and research school. In 2018, the Chinese Studies Department was established as an independent academic unit at the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philologies of Sofia University. The Department offers training in the three educational levels of bachelor’s, master’s and doctoral programs in Sinology. Over the past 30 years, about 250 students have graduated from the Chinese Studies Program, and a large number of them have found their professional realization in the vast field of Chinese language and culture.

The increasingly growing role that China plays on the global economic, diplomatic, technological and cultural-educational scene, as well as the extremely rich cultural and historical heritage of the Chinese civilization, make Chinese Studies an attractive and promising academic major, and in recent years it has been recognized as one of the most prestigious programs in the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philologies of Sofia University. This accomplishment is due to the exceptional dedication and high professionalism of the teaching staff of the Department, as well as the love, enthusiasm and hard work of our students, who motivate us to maintain and develop the academic level of the Program and to keep up with the latest research achievements and practical pursuits of the time.

It has become a tradition of our Chinese Studies Program to organize international anniversary conferences, and it was on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of its foundation that

the Second International Conference “Current Issues in Contemporary Chinese and Oriental Studies” was organized and successfully held in online format on November 19-20, 2021. This conference was distinguished as an important international event for our academic community, attracting more than 80 researchers in the field of Chinese and Oriental studies from Bulgaria, China, Germany, Italy, Russia, England, USA, Mexico, India, Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Romania, Turkey, Greece, Armenia, Georgia, etc. The academic forum presented the latest research achievements on current issues in Chinese and Oriental studies and provided a platform for academic discussions in a large number of thematic areas, bringing together different generations of Bulgarian and foreign researchers and giving the opportunity for academic experience to young scholars and graduates of the Chinese Studies Program.

As a result of the conference, the present collection of papers in two volumes has been compiled. It includes the newest and up-to-date contributions in various thematic fields of Chinese and Oriental studies – from international relations and socio-economic development of China and the Asian region, to literature, arts, philosophy, history and archaeology, linguistics, methodology of foreign language teaching and other fields. We hope that every reader who holds this book in their hands will find for themselves some new and interesting research, promising ideas and sparks of creative inspiration.

The anniversary conference project, as well as all activities of coordinating, reviewing, editing and pre-publishing preparations of this collection of papers, were accomplished through the efforts of the entire team of the Chinese Studies Department of the Sofia University and the colleagues from other academic institutions participating in the editorial committee. I would like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to the management of the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philologies and the Scientific Research Fund of the Faculty for their support in the realization and funding of the project. I would also like to extend my sincere gratitude to all members of the reviewing and editorial committees, as well as to the authors of articles in the conference proceedings, who contributed to the accomplishment of this wonderful endeavor!

We hope to continue our scholarly explorations, conferences and encounters in the vast realm of Chinese spirituality, traditions and modernity!

Assoc. prof. Antonia Tsankova, PhD  
Head of the Chinese Studies Department  
Faculty of Classical and Modern Philologies  
Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”

## Поздравителен адрес

Уважаеми и много скъпи за мен колеги от България и света! Искам да ви поздравя с това огромно (разбира се, зависи от гледната точка) постижение: петдесетгодишнината от откриването в България, в Софийския университет, във Факултета по класически и нови филологии и в новата структура към него – Центъра за източни езици и култури – не на друго, а на специалност Китаистика („Що за хрумване?“, „Като че ли всичко друго ни е наред, та до китаистиката опряхме!“). В скоби тук, а може би и по-нататък цитирам буквално реплики и реакции на различни отговорни личности през времената.

Не мога да преценя с претенции за точност, но ми се струва, че половин век е време, достатъчно за една университетска специалност да се установи, стабилизира, оформи и обогати като комплекс от знания и умения, така че да е в състояние да „отглежда“ пълноценни кадри. Дори ако това е китаистика, специалност „рядка“, „екзотична“ и пр.

Преди това, обаче, има предшестваш период от приблизително четири десетилетия, когато тук-там се правят плахи стъпчици в тази посока, които, при мен поне, срещат як зид.

И този, и следващият период остават в съзнанието ми като епизоди, скици от едно стремително отминаващо цяло. Няма да правя анализи, няма да сумирам резултати, само ще нахвърлям няколко такива скици.

Един ранен епизод. На границата между 40-те и 50-те години на миналия век събирам кураж и отивам в китайското посолство в София с един-единствен въпрос: кога в България ще започне изучаването на китайски език. В посолството са свикнали с посещения на най-разнообразни личности, така че върлинещата хлапачка, оформена далеч не представително, не прави изключение. Сигурно не прави изключение и въпросът. Служебното лице от канцеларията, българин, търпеливо обяснява, че това сигурно предстои, най-малкото като част от правителствените взаимоотношения, но засега все още няма нищо конкретно. А междувременно край вратата на помещението сноват разнообразни по вид и по възраст китайци, без, както предполагам, настойчива потребност да бъдат там, но как да не надзърнеш и погледнеш!

След известно време в София се появиха петима китайски студенти, пратени да изучават българистика. Четири момчета и едно момиче. Движеха се винаги заедно, като едно изпъкващо на общия фон ято, оживени, забързани. Особено се открояваше тя –

стройна, изящна фигура с дълги черни плитки. Как да не я запомниш! По-късно, след години, станахме познати, а след това и приятели. Но първите впечатления от това чуруликащо ято останаха незабравими.

Две имена, две личности положиха първите камъни в основата на бъдещия градеж: професор Джу Дъси и преподавателката Джан Сунфън. Двете фигури, познати на всички ако не визуално, то най-малкото като имена, са също незабравими представители на своята страна. Професор Джу, пристигнал тук като лектор със специалната задача да открие изучаването на езика, оставяйки професионални ангажименти и задачи в Китай и в чужбина, и Джан Сунфън, вече живяла в България и опознала страната ни и езика ни до степен да бъде преводачка на лектора – две фигури в подножието на една от най-големите амфитеатрални аудитории на СУ, препълнена почти изцяло. Визуално – изискани, съдържани, на слух – абсолютно потвърждение за мелодичността, музикалността на езика, който преподават. Тогава аз, вече студентка в СУ, малко самоинициативно се движех известно време с тетрадка, в която записвах желаещи да изучават китайски език, достъп съвършено свободен. Аз тичам подир някого, друг тича подир мен по коридорите на университета, но в крайна сметка в аудиторията имаше като за начало над двеста души. И – тишина, в която ясно се чува казаното отдолу, от катедрата.

Професор Джу Дъси живееше със семейството си в центъра на София, недалеч от университета. При всяко негово връщане след работа вкъщи той се движеше по жълтите павета на булеварда последван минимум от петнадесет – двадесет души слушатели. Разбира се, водеха се разговори, но не това беше най-важното. Най-важното беше изумителното усещане да вървиш редом с професора или зад него и да изпитваш дълбоко чувство на тих възторг. А той се движеше винаги изискано оформен с лека върхна дреха, неизменна широкопола шапка и чанта в ръка, и цялото това шествие беше странно и, гледано от страни, безкрайно интересно.

Джан Сунфън пък живееше съвсем близо до университета, така че върволицата от изучаващи китайски език беше не толкова съпровождаща, колкото посещаваща дома ѝ, до степен че в някои моменти нейният съпруг и двамата ѝ сина се чувстваха сигурно като в хан. А тя, винаги неизменно усмихната, благожелателна, посрещаше, изслушваше въпроси или проблеми и – помагаше, с всички сили и начини. В дома ѝ, препълнен с книги, а тук-там и с художествени дреболийки от Китай, възникваше някаква особена, бих казала магическа атмосфера, а в центъра – тя, Джан Сунфън, дребничка, с фигура на момиченце (шегуваше се, че когато трябва да си купи обувки, намира ги само на детските щандове), но с невероятно силно поле на въздействие около себе си.

Началото на преподаването на китайски език в СУ беше внушително и тържествено. С годините все по-трудно се намираще място за тези факултативни занятия и накрая бе открит един фокуснически прост изход. На последния етаж на централната сграда се намира (надявам се и сега) библиотеката на ФКНФ, овално помещение в двата края на което има врати, водещи към коридори. Та една от тези врати беше заключена, а краят на коридора зад нея беше преграден – и се получи кабинет и библиотека и всичко останало, необходимо за изучаващите китайски език. И не беше никак лошо. Или пък – използването на таванските помещения над библиотеката, вече на самия връх на сградата, където, редом с кабинети и аудитории на класическа филология се гушеха мънички, за по-мако от десет души учебни стаички, с великолепни балкончета, населени от гълъби. Така че занятията по езика биваха доста често озвучавани, кога благозвучно, кога не съвсем... Гълъбите отвън, студентите отвътре.

Началото, като всички начала, очертаваше и подсказваше потребности, които не можеха да бъдат задоволени веднага. Един проблем бяха книгите на китайски език. Липсващи, недостъпни, те се превръщаха в някаква натрапчива идея и цел. Началото на 50-те години беше и начало на контакти между двете страни – Китай и България на всякакви равнища, във всякакви сфери. Една от тези сфери беше книгообменът. Прекрасна форма за опознаване, ако не беше езиковата бариера. Поради това доста институции получаваха книги, списания, научни поредици и пр. от Китай. Предполага се един кратък момент на ентузиазизирано разглеждане, прелистване, а после идваше удивително еднообразна реакция: получената литература се струпваше някъде, където няма да пречи много, и си оставаше там. Ето такива залежи търсеше групичка изучаващи китайския език, търсеше и получаваше разрешение да ги вземе и всички като мравки мъкнеха ценните находки към мястото на съхраняването им. Фетишизирането стигаше дотам, че някой възкликваше: „Чакайте, това канапче е от Китай, няма да го оставяме!“ Така че след време измежду книгите на китайски език изплуваха най-неочаквани издания по техника, справочници по метеорология, книги за селското стопанство...

И смешно, и не дотам, но при всички случаи чистосърдечно!

Нюанси, отсенки... Толкова ли е важно да ги помним! За мен лично – да! Всичко това изплува отнякъде, от подсъзнанието, и съживява, буди факти и преживявания, осветлява и оцветява реалността изпод сивия прах на времето.

Бих ви пожелала наред с огромното количество информация, професионални навици и умения, да запазите у себе си подобни нюанси. Защото така ще действа постоянно и докрая магията на този език, на този народ и на тази страна.

Желая ви да използвате максимално прекрасните възможности на това събиране! И  
накрая, както се полага да се каже днес – бъдете здрави!

Проф. Бора Беливанова

## Greeting speech

Dearest and most esteemed colleagues from Bulgaria and the world! I would like to congratulate you for this enormous (depending, of course, on one's point of view) achievement: the 50-year anniversary of the founding in Bulgaria, in Sofia University, at the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philology and its new Center for Eastern Languages and Cultures – of nothing other than the Chinese Studies program. (“What an odd idea?”, “Have all our problems been solved that we've now come to Chinese Studies?”). In brackets here and perhaps again later on, I literally quote remarks and reactions of different authorities throughout the years.

Though I cannot say with any degree of certainty, I feel that half a century is enough time for a university program to establish, stabilize, form and enrich itself as a complex of knowledge and competencies capable of “fostering” well-rounded professionals. Even if that program is Chinese Studies, a discipline that is “rare,” “exotic” and so on.

Prior to that, however, there is a preceding period of approximately four decades during which timid steps were randomly made in that direction, which, at least in my case, would result in running into a thick wall.

Both that period and the following one remain in my mind as episodes, as sketches of a fleeting whole. I will not analyze or sum up results, but will only outline several such sketches.

One early episode – sometime around the turn of the decade between the 40s and 50s of the previous century, I muster up the courage to make my way to the Chinese embassy in Sofia to ask a single question – when will Chinese start being taught in Bulgaria? The people at the embassy are accustomed to greeting all types of visitors, and I, the lanky kid, looking hardly presentable, am no exception. My question is probably not an exception either. The administrative official, a Bulgarian, patiently explains that this is likely forthcoming, at least as part of the relations between the two governments, but that there is nothing specific yet. All the while, Chinese people of varying age and appearance were passing along the doors of the premises without having, I assume, a pressing need to be there, yet how could one resist a peek?

After some time, five Chinese students appeared in Sofia who had been sent to study Bulgarian – four boys and a girl. They went everywhere together, as a conspicuous flock, lively and always in a hurry. She stood out most of all – a slender, graceful figure with long black braids. How could one not remember her? Later on, after years, we became acquaintances, and then friends. But the first impressions of this chirping flock remain unforgettable.

Two names, two figures laid the first stones in the foundation of what would come to be created: Professor Zhu Dexi and the teacher Zhang Sunfen. These two figures, known to all if not visually, then at least as names, are unforgettable representatives of their country too. Professor Zhu, leaving behind commitments and tasks in China and abroad, had arrived here as a lecturer with the special task of establishing the instruction of the language, and Zhang Sunfen, who had lived in Bulgaria and had gotten to know our country and our language to the degree that she acted as a translator for the lecturer. These two figures were sitting at the base of one of the biggest amphitheatric auditoriums in Sofia University, packed almost full. To the eye, they were elegant and restrained, while the ear received an absolute confirmation of the melodiousness and musicality of the language they were teaching. At that time, I, already a student at Sofia University, somewhat on my own initiative moved around with a notebook in which I wrote down those who wanted to learn Chinese, absolutely free of charge. We chased each other down the university hallways, yet in the end the auditorium had gathered at least two hundred people. And there – a silence in which one could hear clearly what was said from the pulpit below.

Professor Zhu Dexi lived with his family in downtown Sofia, not far from the university. Every time he returned home from work, he would walk across the yellow cobblestones of the boulevard followed by at least fifteen-twenty students. Discussions, of course, were held, but that was not the most significant part. What was most important was the wonderful feeling of walking next to or behind the professor and the profound sense of silent awe one experienced. He was always elegantly dressed, sporting a light coat, his signature wide-brimmed hat, and with a briefcase in his hand, and, to a bystander, the whole procession would seem strange and infinitely interesting.

Zhang Sunfen, on the other hand, lived very close to the university and the throng of people studying Chinese was not so much escorting rather than visiting her home, to the extent that at times her husband and two sons probably felt like they were at an inn. While she, always smiling and benevolent, would greet people, hear out their questions or problems, and help with everything she could. In her home – overflowing with books, including several small works of fiction scattered about, one could feel a special, I would say magical, atmosphere, and at its center was she – Zhang Sunfen, short and with a child-like figure (she would joke that whenever she needed to buy shoes, she could only find them in the children's section), yet with an exceptionally strong field of influence around her.

The beginning of the teaching of Chinese in Sofia University was grand and solemn. As the years passed it became increasingly difficult to find room for these optional courses, and in the end this issue was resolved with a very simple trick. The last floor of the central building holds



(I hope it still does) the library of the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philology, a large oval-shaped room with doors at its two ends that led to corridors. One of these doors was locked and the end of the corridor behind it was closed off, in effect creating a study room and library and everything else the students needed. And it was not bad at all. Or we would use the rooms above the library, close to the very top of the building, where alongside laboratories and auditoriums for classical philology were huddled small rooms for fewer than ten people that had magnificent little balconies populated by pigeons. Our language classes were thus quite often accompanied by various sounds, sometimes harmonious, sometimes not quite so... Pigeons on the outside, students on the inside.

The beginning, as is with all beginnings, outlined and hinted at needs which could not be met immediately. Chinese books were one of the problems. They were scarce, inaccessible, and they turned into an obsessive idea and goal. The early 50s marked the beginning of contact between the two countries of China and Bulgaria on all levels and in all spheres. One of these spheres was the exchange of books. A wonderful way for us to learn more about each other, were it not for the language barrier. By way of that exchange, many institutions received books, magazines, scientific periodicals, etc. from China. There was an initial period of enthusiastic browsing and skimming through the pages, and then would follow a bewilderingly unvaried reaction: the literature received would be piled somewhere where it wouldn't get too much in the way, and it would remain there. These were exactly the kind of stockpiles sought after by a group of students, which requested and received permission to take them away – and, like ants, they carried the precious finds to their place of storage. It would become such a fetish that someone would say “Wait, this piece of thread is from China, we're not leaving it!” So after a while between the books in Chinese one could stumble upon the most unexpected publications on engineering and technology, reference texts on meteorology, books on agriculture...

Both funny and, at the same time, not quite so, but either way it was all genuine and honest.

Nuances, shades... Is it that important to remember them? For me personally – yes! All this wells up from somewhere, from the unconscious, and it awakens and brings to life facts and experiences, it illuminates and gives color to the reality underneath the grey dust of time.

I wish that along with the huge volume of information, professional habits and skills, you will preserve within yourselves similar nuances. Because this is how the magic of this language, this nation and this country will continue to work ceaselessly and forever.

I wish you to make the best use of the wonderful opportunities of this gathering. And, at the end, as is customary to say nowadays, I wish you good health!

Prof. Bora Belivanova

## **Chinese Language Teaching at the University of Veliko Tarnovo, Bulgaria – Development and Current Status**

*Iskra Mandova & Polina Tsoncheva,*

*Veliko Tarnovo University “St. Cyril and St. Methodius”*

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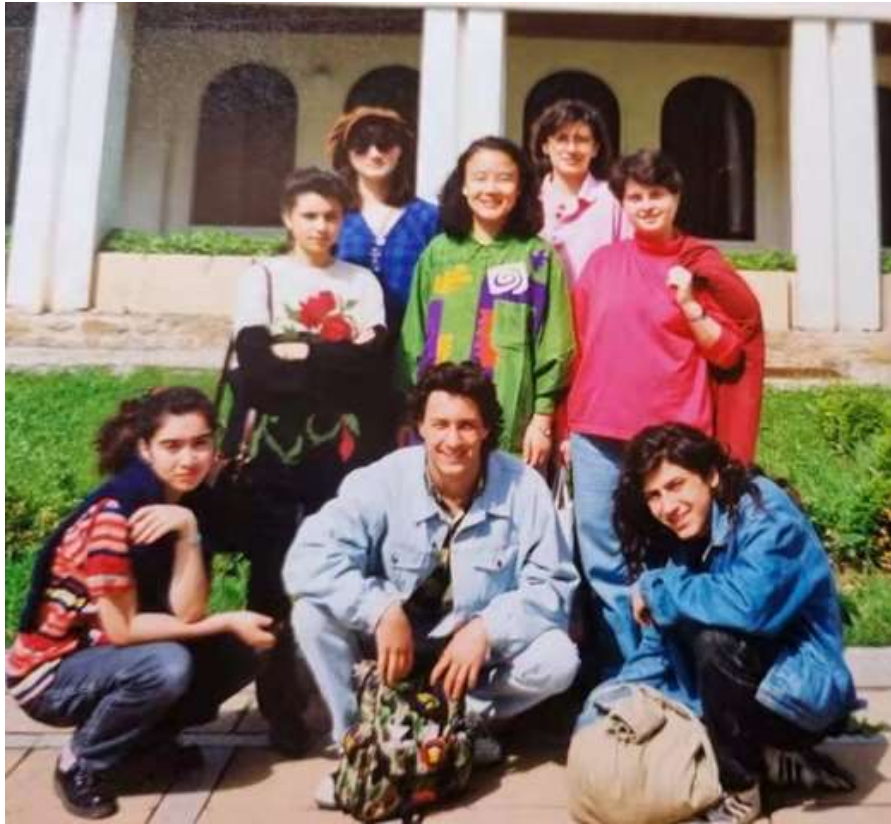
**Abstract:** The present paper presents the history of Chinese studies in the University of Veliko Tarnovo – the second higher education institution in Bulgaria that introduced Chinese language studying into the major of ‘Applied Linguistics’ in 1993, which was one of the kind at that time in Bulgaria. The main goal of this education program was to satisfy the needs of highly qualified interpreters – experts in two foreign languages. The authors trace back to the very establishment of the major the formation of all the academic staff, including Chinese lecturers and volunteers that have taught at UVT. The authors mark the changes in the Bulgarian educational legislation, which have had over the years an impact on the organization of the educational process in the major, and present the new majors introduced later at UVT, where students have the opportunity to study Chinese language.

**Keywords:** Chinese language study, University of Veliko Tarnovo, Applied linguistics

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In 1993, only two years after the founding of the Chinese Studies Program at Sofia University, *St. Cyril and St. Methodius* University of Veliko Tarnovo (UVT) was the second higher education institution in Bulgaria to introduce Chinese language studying at the Department of Classical and Oriental Languages (now, Department of Classical and Eastern Languages and Cultures) in the BA+MA program ‘Applied Linguistics’. Chinese was initially studied as a second foreign language. The idea of introducing this major came from the Dean of the Faculty of Modern Languages, Assoc. Prof. Stoyan Burov (now corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Prof. Dr. St. Burov). The need for competent translators with more than one foreign language required the training of highly qualified interpreters so the program “Applied Linguistics” tried to satisfy this need. The main goal for the graduating students is to become qualified translators with two foreign languages – the program was unique in Bulgaria at the time. The first two groups enrolled were Bachelor’s and Master’s combined degree graduates with a 5-year duration of study. The language combinations at the beginning were fixed by the management of the University and the Faculty and announced in the year of enrollment. The first languages of the group enrolled in 1993 (*Picture 1*) were Russian and French. In the same year, the first visiting

lecturer was Ms. Liu Qiangong (刘谦功) (*Pic. 1*, in the middle) from Beijing Language and Culture University.



*Pic. 1<sup>1</sup>*

The new program quickly gained popularity among the students. But in order to ensure the smooth introduction of new language combinations in the palette of already-offered foreign languages and provide the necessary teaching staff, after the enrollment in 1994 there was no admission for the next two academic years and the third group of students that chose to study Chinese was enrolled in 1997 – a Russian-Chinese language combination.

In 1994 when the second group of students entered the University, the Embassy of the PRC in Bulgaria sent as a part-time lecturer a Bulgarian language and literature graduate of Beijing Foreign Studies University, Mr. Li Jingyuan (*Pic. 2*, in the middle), who worked at the Embassy at that time. Mr. Li travelled from Sofia for his classes during 1994 and 1995.

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<sup>1</sup> The photos of the first and second Chinese-language groups enrolled at the University in 1993 and 1994 were kindly provided by Krasimir Dimitrov, Applied Linguistics – French and Chinese language graduate, years of study: 1993-1998 and Nikolina Chobanova, Applied Linguistics – English and Chinese language graduate, years of study: 1994-1999.



*Pic. 2<sup>2</sup>*

In 1995 within the bilateral agreement for education and culture cooperation in the field of education between the Ministry of Education and Science of Bulgaria and the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, a new Chinese language lecturer was sent to the UVT – Assoc. Arof. Xu Jiarong (*Pic. 3*, to the left), Lanzhou University.

Apart from the native speaker, as the students went deeper into their studies, they needed local lecturers – specialists in different fields of Chinese studies – Chinese linguistics, history and literature. After a lot of coordination and negotiations, in 1995 the Department of Classical and Eastern languages finally managed to find the most appropriate specialist in Chinese literature and devoted teacher Prof. Bora Belivanova PhD (*Pic. 3*, in the middle) who to this day continues to work and unreservedly support the Chinese Language Faculty members at the University of Veliko Tarnovo in their professional development.

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<sup>2</sup> The photo shows the students enrolled in Applied linguistics in 1994 and Mr. Li Jingyuan.



*Pic. 3*

In 1997 the curriculum of the program underwent a complete revision, in accordance with the Higher Education Act (HEA) and the Ordinance on Uniform State Requirements (EDI) for the acquisition of higher education in the majors within the ‘Philology’ professional field in 1996. The study plan was in line with the new guidelines and became the basis for the overall modernization of education with only the second language courses being compulsory – the first language was a matter of choice. The Chinese-language lecturer sent by the Hanban foundation for the next two-year period (1997-1999) was Prof. Wei Yongtian (*Pic. 4*) from Beijing Language and Culture University.

According to the Bachelor’s degree curriculum adopted in 1998, students had to complete eight semesters with a state exam and obtain a diploma for the professional qualification of ‘translator of two languages’. The state ordinance for acquiring a higher education with a Bachelor’s degree stipulated that the number of the second-language teaching hours must be at least 3000.



*Pic. 4<sup>3</sup>*

The teaching hours included in the study plan were 3720, 2130 of them intended for the second language, including 300 hours of theoretical disciplines. The Chinese language classes included an intensive course in the first semester, specialized translation in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth semesters and a practical course divided between the second and eighth semesters, with a minimum of 8 hours per week and a maximum of 12 hours per week. The theoretical disciplines included “History of Chinese Literature” (120 hours), “Morphosyntax of the Chinese Language” (120 hours) and “History and Culture of China” (60 hours), divided between lectures and seminars.

In 2004 the curriculum of the "Applied Linguistics" Program was revised and updated, in compliance with the latest state requirements (Decree 162 of 23.07.2002, SG No. 79 of 2002) provided for a full-time form of study (lasting eight semesters), with compulsory and elective courses. The set of compulsory courses provides the basics of a translator’s linguistic and theoretical knowledge in the field of linguistics, literature, history and culture of the respective country, and the elective ones are grouped in modules, corresponding to the two focuses in the training: 1. Linguistics and practice in oral and written translation; 2. Literature and culture.

Due to the rotation principle of the second languages offered by the Faculty of Modern Languages at UVT, in 1998-1999 and 1999-2000 academic years there was no Chinese language admission. Since the establishment of the education program, the local Chinese language teachers who have

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<sup>3</sup> Photo of the third Chinese language group enrolled in 1997, personal archive of Polina Tsoncheva.

worked at the University of Veliko Tarnovo were initially 4<sup>th</sup>-year students at Sofia University: Veselin Karastoychev (now senior assist. prof. with PhD in Sofia University) and Yordanka Tincheva (*Picture 5*), 4<sup>th</sup>-year students at UVT: Evgeniya Shulekova (Applied linguistics – English and Chinese, years of study 1994-1999), Nikolina Kalinova (Applied linguistics – English and Chinese, years of study 1994-1999), Tatyana Duleva (Applied linguistics – English and Chinese, years of study 1994-1999) and Yuliya Gencheva (Applied linguistics – English and Chinese, years of study 1994-1999).



*Pic. 5<sup>4</sup>*

Later, other lecturers travelling from Sofia to teach at UVT were: Professor Bora Belivanova (later full-time Professor at UVT, *Pic. 3*), Senior Assistant Professor Dr. Sofia Katarova, and Assistant Professor Maria Marinova (*Pic. 6, second on the left*). Other part-time teachers through the years were Georgi Zlatev, Polina Aneva, Svilena Encheva. At present (2021) Assoc. Prof. Dr. Iskra Mandova, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Polina Tsoncheva and Assistant Professor Dr. Teodora Yonkova – all graduates of UVT – teach on permanent employment contracts.



*Pic. 6*

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<sup>4</sup> Picture 5 was kindly provided by Marinka Pavlova, UVT graduate, years of study: 1997-2001.



According to the bilateral education and culture agreement between the Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of China, every one or two years the Chinese side sends qualified guest lecturers from China, thanks to whom the students have the opportunity to work with native speakers. From the very establishment of the major to the present day, guest lecturers and volunteers from the PRC at UVT have been:

- Liu Qiangong/ 刘谦功 – Beijing Language and Culture University, 1993-1995
- Li Jingyuan/ 李京元 – part-time lecturer at UVT, 1994-1995, Beijing Foreign Studies University graduate /Bulgarian Language and Literature/
- Xu Jiarong/ 徐家荣 – Lanzhou University, 1995-1997
- Wei Yongtian/ 隗永田 – Beijing Language and Culture University, 1997-1999
- Niu Yaqin/ 牛雅琴 – Beijing Language and Culture University, 1999-2002
- Li Xiaoqin/ 李晓琴 – Tianjin University, 2002-2004
- Ni Weiman/ 倪伟曼 – Huaqiao University, 2004-2006
- Gong Riying/ 宫日英 – Hainan University, 2006-2008
- Fu Li/ 付丽 – Harbin University, 2008-2010
- Yan Qiuxia/ 闫秋霞 – Taiyuan Normal University, 2010-2012
- Yin Hailiang/ 尹海良 – Shandong University, 2012-2014
- Zeng Chunying/ 曾春英 – Zhongnan University, 2014-2015
- Fu Lei/ 付蕾 – China University of Geosciences (Wuhan), 2015-2017
- Bu Yuanjun/ 卜元君 – China University of Geosciences (Wuhan), 2017-2019
- Wang Han/ 王涵 – Huazhong University of Science and Technology, 2017-2019 – volunteer
- Song Shuang/ 宋双 – Beijing Language and Culture University, 2018-2019 – volunteer
- Xu Qi/ 徐琦 – Beijing International Studies University, 2020-2021 – volunteer
- Liu Zitong/ 刘子童 – Northwest University of Politics and Law, 2019-2021 – volunteer
- Su Chang/ 苏畅 – Shaanxi Normal University, 2021-2022.

The development of Chinese studies and the study of Chinese as a first foreign language in an increasing number of secondary schools in Bulgaria led to the idea that Chinese should be included in the Bachelor's program "Applied Linguistics" as the first foreign language, and the applicants should pass an exam in Chinese or provide a certificate of Level 3 of the International

Chinese Language Proficiency Test – HSK. For the same reasons, as well as because of a lack of local teachers, another new Bachelor's program was launched at UVT, namely “Bulgarian and Eastern Language” (now “Bulgarian and Foreign Language”), Chinese being a possible choice for prospective students. The admitted students are trained in the professional field: 1.3. Pedagogy of teaching of ... (language), and the graduates receive the qualification “Teacher in Bulgarian language and literature and teacher in Chinese language”. As a result, the major was established as sufficiently flexible and dynamic one to be able to meet the rapidly changing social needs and attitudes of today's society. The main goals of this program are the acquisition of knowledge in the field of language, culture and literature of Bulgarian and the foreign language, as well as in the field of pedagogical theoretical and applied sciences.

The current curriculum of the Bachelor's program “Applied Linguistics with Two Foreign Languages” (Adopted by the Faculty Council, protocol No. 2/ 20.9.2016 and approved by the Academic Council, protocol No. 9/ 26.9.2016) is based on compulsory, elective and optional courses for both first and second foreign language, at a ratio of 60:30:10. The total number of classes in all courses of the second language is 1470 class hours. In addition to “pure” Applied Linguistics with only two foreign languages, in the last 5 years the Faculty of Modern Languages has offered: Applied Linguistics with Two Foreign Languages and the subjects of International Tourism; Information Technology, Business Communications or International Relations, in which Chinese can be studied as a second language. Some of the significant advantages of the new curricula are: a modular principle of education, allowing students to specialize, as well as the freedom of students to expand and deepen their knowledge and skills in the preferred field.

After the changes in the current curricula, the number of class hours of the theoretical disciplines has been reduced: “History of Chinese Literature” from 120 to 90, “Morphosyntax of Chinese language” from 120 to 90, but in view of the specifics of the program, considerable attention is paid to the differentiation of the class hours in translation training, emphasizing on the work with texts in the field of economics and law, film translation, translation of texts from social media, etc. Theoretical disciplines in the field of linguistics and literature are taught in Bulgarian and in Chinese, and create a basis for further specialization in various fields of Chinese studies, as well as for further development and updating of the acquired knowledge. The main goal of the training is to create professional translators who know the different types of interpretation and translation in the modern conditions of active interlingual and intercultural communication. This priority is enshrined in the curricula and is reflected in the content of the curricula of the programs as far as Chinese language learning is concerned.

Along with the efforts for the development of Chinese language learning at UVT, the first

large-scale step was the official opening of the Chinese Language and Culture Center on October 1, 2003, in the presence of the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Bulgaria – HE Xie Hansheng. The Center is one of the 17 foreign-language library and information centers at the University, located in the building of the Rectorate of UVT and the people in charge maintained active contacts with the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Bulgaria. Students and teachers had real opportunities to participate in courses and specializations in China, which contributed to improving the training of students and, accordingly, to the scientific growth of the teaching staff.

The next big step for the development of Sinology at UVT was the official opening of the Confucius Institute on October 10, 2012 in the presence of HE the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Bulgaria – Mr. Guo Yezhou and a delegation from the Chinese University of Geosciences in Wuhan, led by its vice-president, Prof. Tang Huiming. Two Confucius classrooms were opened later at *Vasil Levski* High School in Ruse and at *Hristo Botev* Primary School in Targovishte.

In 2014, the Confucius Institute at VTU became the second certified center in Bulgaria to conduct the HSK exam (Chinese Proficiency Test). The first exam was held on May 10 with a total of 15 students.

In January 2017, the Rector of UVT – prof. Hristo Bondzholov and the vice-president of BLCU – Prof. Liu Wei signed a Memorandum of Understanding for the establishment of Chinese Language Teachers' Training Center in UVT in cooperation with Beijing Language and Culture University. As a result, a European center for training and qualification of Chinese language teachers was opened, which was an exceptional success for the University. Two trainings have been held so far – in 2017 and in 2019.

The University of Veliko Turnovo hosted the national round of the “Chinese Bridge” competition for the first time on April 29, 2013. In 2015 for the first time UVT had a first-prize winner: the student Snezhana Stanilova (Applied Linguistics – Russian and Chinese). After that, in 2016 and in 2017 the first place of the Chinese language competition was won by UVT students: Tsvetomir Velikov (Applied Linguistics – French and Chinese) and Dimitar Dimitrov (Bulgarian and Chinese).

Since the beginning of Chinese language teaching in Veliko Tarnovo, UVT has signed cooperation agreements with several Chinese universities: China University of Geosciences (Wuhan), China Executive Leadership Academy Pudong, Beijing Language and Culture University and Tianjin Foreign Studies University.

In 2004 the first doctoral student started her program in Chinese literature. The topic of

her dissertation was *Chinese Literature in Bulgaria. Problems of Reception*.

In 2010 the second doctoral student in Chinese history was admitted in a PhD program at the Department of Classical and Eastern Languages Department. The topic of the dissertation was *Tang China, Byzantium and the Islamic World. Diplomatic, Economic, Cultural and Religious Relations*.

In 2014 Reny Stoyanova was the third doctoral student at the Department of Classical and Eastern Languages and Cultures. The topic of her PhD thesis was *Systematization of the Chinese Pantheon*.

The fourth doctoral student that made research in the sphere of Philology Teodora Yonkova was admitted in 2015, topic of the dissertation: *The Contemporary Bulgarian Community in Beijing, Peoples' Republic of China*.

Since the establishment of the Chinese language programs in UVT **144** BA students have graduated from UVT, and a total of **5** MA students with Chinese language (Translation studies program) and **4** PhD students (Polina Tsoncheva, Iskra Mandova, Reny Stoyanova, Teodora Yonkova).

### **Current status**

The educational and training process aims at developing certain skills and personal qualities that will provide students with professional knowledge in accordance with the needs of modern society and in view of the future of Bulgaria in the global family.

Chinese language teaching at UVT aims to provide the necessary knowledge and skills to achieve the following results:

- High degree of communicative competence in Chinese;
- Basic theoretical knowledge of Chinese grammar (morphology and syntax);
- A high degree of competence in terminology from various specialized spheres of scholarship and public life (economics, philosophy, politics, law, art, culture, etc.);
- Good professional qualification in interpretation and translation: linguistic, cultural, economic competence and skills for finding the interdependence between realia and the translated text;
- Competence in the field of geography, history and culture of China;
- In-depth knowledge of the main stages and trends in Chinese literature from antiquity to the present day;
- Skills for critical analysis and reasoned presentation of one's own position;
- Communication skills in an intercultural environment;

- Skills for objective assessment of one's own achievements;
- Teamwork skills;

And in the context of the above prospective results, the education also aims at preparation for the need of lifelong learning by stimulating critical thinking and creativity, and by using new communication technologies in the learning process.

To achieve the goals set, the curriculum is based on the following principles:

- Orientation of the training towards better potential realization of students;
- Awareness of translation as an act of linguistic and cultural transfer;
- Alternative subjects;
- Interactivity of the learning process;
- Modularity and interdisciplinarity.

The realization of the above skills is reflected in the content of the curricula. A particularly important place is given to the teaching of practical Chinese, which begins with an intensive course and is conducted throughout the study period. The aim is to train specialists who speak the language fluently and to form translation competence.

The disciplines included in the curriculum are periodically updated. This update gives students the opportunity to get acquainted with the latest trends in the field. The student can specialize in a particular field, which he should emphasize in his/her studies as a translator.

Given the expansion of Bulgaria's relations with Europe, Asia and the rest of the world, the objectives of the 'Applied Linguistics' Program with a second foreign language – Chinese correspond to the needs of the country in this regard. The training provides extensive specialized and general knowledge, which is in complete accordance with the needs of modern society and can ensure the successful realization of the students in modern conditions.

High language competence and wide-ranging training allow students to find professional realization in various areas of social and cultural life – translation, foreign language training, public relations, expertise in the field of culture, cooperation in trade companies and international associations, service and tourism, etc.

The acquired skills, as well as the readiness for continuous expansion of horizons and openness to innovations, are a guarantee for easier adaptation of students to the requirements of their professional career.

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The photos in the paper are part of the personal archives of the UVT graduates: Krasimir Dimitrov, 1993-1998; Nikolina Chobanova, 1994-1999; Polina Tsoncheva, 1997-2001; Marinka Pavlova, 1997-2001; Iskra Mandova, 2000-2004.

初创时期的新中国对外汉语教学及其教学效果 —— 以 1950 年首批匈牙利  
来华交换生为例<sup>1</sup>

黎敏,

北京外国语大学中文学院

**The Situation and Effect of Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language at Initial Stage in  
the PRC – Focus on the First group of Hungarian Exchange Students who came to  
China in 1950**

*Li Min,*

*Chinese School of Beijing Foreign Studies University*

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**Abstract:** In 1950, it was found of “Chinese Language Special Training Class for Eastern European Exchange Students”. During the two years of its existence which was considered as the initial period of teaching Chinese as a foreign language (TCFL) in the People’s Republic of China (PRC). The research on the teaching in this period from the perspective of students’ learning situation and effect is helpful to understand the development of TCFL at early stage. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to enrich such understanding. It will focus on the first group of Hungarian exchange students, from whose background, learning processes and learning effect the teaching situation and teaching effect are concluded, by analyzing the interviews with the Hungarian exchange students and the existing materials related to the special training class at Tsinghua.

**Keywords:** Chinese Language special training class for Eastern European exchange students, Hungary, teaching Chinese as a foreign language, history of Chinese Language Education

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Deng Yi, a teacher of "Chinese Language Special Training Class for Eastern European Exchange Students", gave a class to the first group of four Hungarian exchange students.  
Photo courtesy of Mr. Józsa Sándor.

中华人民共和国成立后，为解决与东欧国家交往所需的人才，中国与东欧的波兰、捷克斯洛伐克、匈牙利、罗马尼亚、保加利亚五国分别签署了互派交换生协议，1950年9月，“清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班”正式成立，专门负责东欧来华交换生的汉语预科教学，这是新中国对外汉语教学的起点。1952年中国高等院校调整中，专修班转入北京大学，北京大学为此成立了“北京大学留学生中国语文专修班”负责东欧交换生以及此后不断增多的其他国家留学生的汉语教学工作，直到1966年。因此，“清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班”（以下简称“专修班”）时期是新中国对外汉语教学的初创时期。此时来华的东欧交换生有着怎样的学习背景？其学习过程如何？取得了何种学习效果？这些是我们了解初创时期新中国对外汉语教学发展状况的窗口。以往对本时期对外汉语教学发展问题主要从“教”的角度进行探讨，但任何教学都是在教与学双方互动下进行的，因此，本文侧重从学习者的角度对这一时期的对外汉语教学进行观察，并把1950年12月来华的匈牙利首批交换生作为主要分析对象，从三个方面具体探讨所关注的问题。



## 一、匈牙利交换生的学习背景

学习者的学习背景是考察有效教学的重要因素<sup>2</sup>，学习者自身已有的知识水平、家庭背景以及教授他们的教师特点和学习环境等都是学习者学习背景的构成因素，并对其学习效果构成影响。以下将从这三个方面对首批匈牙利交换生的学习背景进行观察和分析。

### （一）首批来华匈牙利交换生的背景

二十世纪五十年代是中匈关系发展较为稳定的时期，作为社会主义阵营相互协作的一种体现，1950年6月，中国与东欧五国签署互派交换生协议后，匈牙利交换生的选拔就在匈牙利劳动人民党（匈牙利共产党的名称）的直接指导下展开。

根据《清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班暂行规程》规定，东欧交换生的入学条件为经东欧各国政府保送，由中央人民政府教育部核准，具有高中毕业以上文化水平并通晓俄文或英文者。<sup>3</sup>这表明专修班不仅对交换生的知识背景有明确要求，而且在经过其本国政府保送和中国教育部核准程序的过滤后，交换生的政治背景也有了保证。

首先，在交换生的知识背景上，首批匈牙利交换生在知识背景上最为一致的是学历。因为他们都已经从匈牙利顶尖高校罗兰大学不同专业本科毕业，高恩德（Galla Endre）的专业是德语和匈语，毕业他后留在该校德语系任助教；尤山度（Józsa Sándor）毕业于匈语和历史学专业，在外地小城中学任教；戴伯纳（Talas Barna）毕业于文学院哲学-心理学-政治经济学系，留在该校心理学院任教；梅维佳（Mészáros Vilma）毕业于该校法文系并已经是罗兰大学的教师了。知识背景是他们与罗、保、波、捷赴华交换生的一个差别，因为其他几国交换生，有些刚刚高中毕业，有些是在校大学生，还有的是从事过反抗法西斯活动的革命者。不过，这一特点并未持续，因为首批交换生两年的汉语预科学习结束后，转入不同大学的不同专业开始专业学习后，他们的学位问题显现出来，因为来华时其受教育程度不同，因此有些学生需要转

<sup>2</sup> Kyriacou C, *Effective Teaching in Schools: Theory and Practice*[M], Starley Thomes Publishers, 1997, pp. 5-7.

<sup>3</sup> 《清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班暂行规程》，清华大学档案，目录号 校办1，案卷号 52011. *Provisional Regulations of the Chinese Language Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University*, Tsinghua University Archives, Catalog number: School Office 1, Case file number 52011.

入本科学习专业，匈牙利的交换生则需转入不同大学的不同专业开始研究生学习。

1952年9月，中央教育部“鉴于新中国各研究部还没有上轨道，人民大学历史教研室只是对中国近代史方面一般问题的研究，没有专题指导。中国科学院中国近代史研究室不是研究部的性质，而是室内工作的助手，根据研究计划分头搜集资料进行研究，没有专人指导，无法满足研究生教学需要。同时建议今后一两年内暂停招收来华研究生”。<sup>4</sup>因此，到1956年叶桐（Juhász Ottó,1936-2019）、姑兰（Kalmár Éva,1938）这一批匈牙利交换生来华时，他们有的是大学在读本科生，有的是刚刚毕业的高中生。虽则如此，但学业优秀这一点仍是匈牙利对赴华交换生的基本要求，如1956年在塞格德大学读历史语言文学的叶桐就是因为成绩全优而入选赴华交换生。<sup>5</sup>

其次，在以政治面貌和出身为标准的政治背景上，首批匈牙利交换生来华时均已是匈牙利劳动人民党党员，这在此后也成为该国来华交换生的重要标准。无法一致的是学生的家庭背景，首批交换生中，有三位学生出身于工人家庭的，只有梅维佳出身知识分子，但她是西方马克思主义学派的创始人卢卡契·久尔吉（Georg Luacs）的门生。这种政治背景特点在1950年代匈牙利派来的交换生中具有延续性，比如叶桐出身于工人家庭，而姑兰则是匈牙利著名数学家卡尔玛·拉斯洛（Kalmár László,1905-1976）的女儿，1950年8月27日至9月2日，华罗庚率领中国代表团参加了在匈牙利举行的第一次数学会议，他在后来介绍匈牙利数学家的文章中，专门提到了姑兰的父亲卡尔玛·拉斯洛先生，说他是形式逻辑的工作者，也是马列主义专家。<sup>6</sup>

第三，在来华动因方面，首批匈牙利交换生均非自主选择，而是接受匈牙利劳动人民党中央的选派。1950年11月，毕业后刚在中学工作几个月的尤山度接到党中央干部局领导的电报，通知他在规定的日期到那里报到。他说：“我怀着激动的心情，按照当规定的日期抵达布达佩斯。在当时无产阶级专政条件下，这样的一封电报类似于征召入伍通知书。”<sup>7</sup>但是，在12位被选者中，8人马上就拒绝了这个选派，因为当时

<sup>4</sup> 教育部档案，匈牙利留学生转为研究生的答复意见，98-1952-C-125.0002. Ministry of Education Archives, Reply to comment on the transfer of Hungarian international students to graduate students, 98-1952-C-125.0002.

<sup>5</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Juhász Ottó (Ye Tong); Interview time: August 24th, 2017; Interview location: Astoria Costa in Budapest); Interviewer: Li Min.

<sup>6</sup> Hua Luogeng华罗庚. “Canjia Xiongyiali de shuxuehui de baogao” 参加匈牙利的数学会的报告 [Report on participation in the mathematical conference in Hungary]. Kexue Tongbao科学通报7（1950）：468.

<sup>7</sup> You Shandu尤山度（Józsa Sándor）. “Liushinian guanxi huimou -- yiwei 81 sui laoren、Xiongyiali shoupi

朝鲜战争已经爆发，美国人要用原子弹消灭朝鲜的消息弥漫在匈牙利，很多人怕去中国。<sup>8</sup>在党中央大楼的走廊上，尤山度见到了后来与他一起来到中国的另外三位应选者。党中央的一位部长接见了他们，他们第一次知道将被派往遥远的、已经战云笼罩的中国。在经过一个星期的思考后，他们四位被选者同意“承担了这一使命”。<sup>9</sup>谈到当年接受这个使命的原因时，尤山度说，当时朝鲜战争已经爆发，中国人民志愿军也已经奔赴朝鲜，因此她的母亲非常担心，但是一直出资供他上大学的舅舅则鼓励他去了解不同的生活。戴伯纳的父亲几年前去世，家里只有他一个孩子，如果去中国留学，母亲便可以得到来自教育部或者科学院的补助，他觉得这也是自己对母亲的一种帮助。<sup>10</sup>从选派过程看，虽然赴华留学不是交换生们的主动选择，但是他们都具有各自的积极动机，而且拥有拒绝党的选派的自由。<sup>11</sup>这种拥有一定自由度的选拔此后成为匈牙利选派赴华交换生的一种规制，而且随着中国政局渐趋稳定，两国交往更密切地展开，来华交换生的自愿性越来越强，1956年叶桐、姑兰等都是自愿服从选派，甚至自己报名参加选派而来。<sup>12</sup>

首批交换生对于遥远的中国所知不多。历史专业毕业的尤山度大学时学过一点中国古代史，但对近现代中国史一无所知，他脑海中的中国就是黄种人，很穷的国家，

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liuxuesheng de huiyi” 六十年关系回眸——一位81岁老人、匈牙利首批留华生的回忆 [A review of sixty years of relationships -- Memories of an 81-year-old, who is one of the first Hungarian students to study in China]. In European Institute of language and culture of Beijing Foreign Studies University, Eds. Studies in European Languages and Cultures. Beijing: Current Affairs Press (2009):269

<sup>8</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Tálas Barna (Dai Bona); Interview time: April 29th, 2017; Interview location: House of Tálas Barna; Interviewer: Li Min. .

<sup>9</sup> You Shandu 尤山度 (Józsa Sándor) . “Liushinian guanxi huimou -- yiwei 81 sui laoren、Xiongyali shoupi liuxuesheng de huiyi” 六十年关系回眸——一位81岁老人、匈牙利首批留华生的回忆 [A review of sixty years of relationships -- Memories of an 81-year-old, who is one of the first Hungarian students to study in China]. In European Institute of language and culture of Beijing Foreign Studies University, Eds. Studies in European Languages and Cultures. Beijing: Current Affairs Press (2009):269

<sup>10</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Tálas Barna (Dai Bona); Interview time: April 29th, 2017; Interview location: House of Tálas Barna; Interviewer: Li Min.

<sup>11</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Tálas Barna (Dai Bona); Interview time: April 29th, 2017; Interview location: House of Tálas Barna; Interviewer: Li Min.

<sup>12</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Juhász Ottó (Ye Tong); Interview time: August 24th, 2017; Interview location: Astoria Costa in Budapest; Interviewer: Li Min.

有自高自大的皇帝。<sup>13</sup>戴伯纳对中国的了解也限于他读过的几本有关中国解放战争的书中的内容。为了弥补这方面的不足，在赴中国之前，他们主动接触了1950年9月达到匈牙利的中国交换生，那是他们第一次近距离接触中国人，虽然闹出了在茶里放入朗姆酒和糖的笑话<sup>14</sup>，但是这表明在认识中国的意愿上，他们的态度是积极的。

学生自身的背景显示，首批来华匈牙利交换生特点是他们的学历水平相对高于其他几个国家的交换生，而且有一定的工作经验，更为成熟，意识到当时中国面临的重大问题——战争威胁，虽然对中国了解有限，但不缺乏了解中国的热情。这种背景特点也使他们在此后的专修班学习、生活中相对个性较强，比如他们不像其他国家交换生那样乐于跟中国学生接触，因为相比跟孩子气的中国学生交往，他们更愿意跟老师们交往<sup>15</sup>；在生活中，他们也较为自我，比如梅维佳比其他女交换生年长，而且师出名门，已经做过教师，加上生活习惯特殊，专修班后来不得不给她专门安排了一间宿舍。<sup>16</sup>

## （二）初创时期的对外汉语教学师资

师资建设是新中国对外汉语教学初创时期面临的重要问题。二战时期，在哈佛大学协助美国陆军专业训练计划（Army Specialized Training Program，简称ASTP）举办的汉语培训班中，赵元任任负责人，邓懿是他的主要助教之一。清华专修班成立后，清华大学教务长兼专修班主任周培源任命邓懿负责专修班的具体教学工作。在邓懿的主持下，通过推荐和考试的方式开始了专修班的师资建设。关于教师的资质，1950

<sup>13</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Józsa Sándor (You Shandu); Interview time: March 2nd, 2017; Interview location: House of Józsa Sándor; Interviewer: Li Min.

<sup>14</sup> You Shandu 尤山度 (Józsa Sándor). “Liushinian guanxi huimou -- yiwei 81 sui laoren、Xiongyali shoupi liuxuesheng de huiyi” 六十年关系回眸——一位81岁老人、匈牙利首批留华生的回忆 [A review of sixty years of relationships -- Memories of an 81-year-old, who is one of the first Hungarian students to study in China]. In European Institute of language and culture of Beijing Foreign Studies University, Eds. Studies in European Languages and Cultures. Beijing: Current Affairs Press (2009): 269.

<sup>15</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Józsa Sándor (You Shandu); Interview time: March 2nd, 2017; Interview location: House of Józsa Sándor; Interviewer: Li Min.

<sup>16</sup> Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University. “Xiong Yi fangtanlu” 熊毅访谈录 [Interview with Xiong Yi]. In Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University (Eds.), Purple Thorn Blossoms - A Commemoration of the Chinese Language Specialization Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (紫荆花开——清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班纪念). Beijing: Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University Internal Printing (2011):87.

年，在邓懿呈送给教育部的关于专修班教学情况的报告中谈道：“助教必须具有相当的文化水平，操纯正国语，而能用英文达意者，同时须对语言有兴趣，对工作有热情，除非有兴趣对工作感到枯燥无聊，就要影响学生读的学习情绪了”。<sup>17</sup>这个标准表明，她非常重视教师的基本素养、语音标准、外语能力和工作态度。而教师的基本素养既表现为符合相应政治条件，又表现为接受过高等教育。<sup>18</sup>按照这些标准，最初邓懿以口试形式对那些满足基本条件的被选者进行考试，考试内容包括“对教外国人有些什么看法”、“要做这个工作你想怎么做”等。<sup>19</sup>这样，陆续有在读或刚毕业的大学生充实教师队伍，如教师熊毅、傅惟慈，助教钟稷、冯忆罗。当然，那些满足基本师资标准且具有对外汉语教学经验的人是首选，如曾在燕京大学教过留学生的杜荣 1950 年秋首先入选，一年后，在英国教授过汉语、刚刚回国的王还也来到这里。随着第二批交换生的到来，师资缺口更大，教师改为由教育部从大学毕业生中选派，标准是出身和政治条件符合的中文系或外语系毕业生。<sup>20</sup>

对于教授东欧交换生汉语这项工作，邓懿说：当时是一穷二白，从零开始，“虽然在 ASTP 有两年经验，但教学对象不同、培养目标有异，还得另起炉灶。”<sup>21</sup>这意味着

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<sup>17</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. “Jiu Dong’ou liuxuesheng de yuwen xunlian wenti xiang Jiaoyubu de baogao” 就东欧留学生的语文训练问题向教育部的报告 [Report to the Ministry of Education on the language training of Eastern European students]. In Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University (Eds.), Purple Thorn Blossoms - A Commemoration of the Chinese Language Specialization Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University. (紫荆花开——清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班纪念). Beijing: Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University Internal Printing (2011): 50.

<sup>18</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. “Nanwang de suiyue” 难忘的岁月 [Unforgettable Years]. Beijing Daxue xuebao (Duiwai hanyu jiaoxue zhongxin chengli shi zhounian jinian zhuanke) 北京大学学报 (对外汉语教学中心成立十周年纪念专刊) (1994): 2.

<sup>19</sup> Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University. “Xiong Yi fangtanlu” 熊毅访谈录 [Interview with Xiong Yi]. In Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University (Eds.), Purple Thorn Blossoms - A Commemoration of the Chinese Language Specialization Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (紫荆花开——清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班纪念). Beijing: Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University Internal Printing (2011):82.

<sup>20</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. “Nanwang de suiyue” 难忘的岁月 [Unforgettable Years]. Beijing Daxue xuebao (Duiwai hanyu jiaoxue zhongxin chengli shi zhounian jinian zhuanke) 北京大学学报 (对外汉语教学中心成立十周年纪念专刊) (1994):3.

<sup>21</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. “Nanwang de suiyue” 难忘的岁月 [Unforgettable Years]. Beijing Daxue xuebao (Duiwai hanyu jiaoxue zhongxin chengli shi zhounian jinian zhuanke) 北京大学学报 (对外汉语教学中心成立十周年纪念

教学工作需要在摸索中展开。杜荣对当时经历的记述印证了这一点。首批交换生开始汉语学习后，学生学习差异逐渐加大，为此需要杜荣为学习好的学生另外成立一个班，但是教什么、怎么做，没有任何参考材料，只有自己摸索。<sup>22</sup>邓懿、杜荣是有过教授外国人汉语的经历的，那些刚入职的大学生们对此则更是茫然。但是对于此项工作的重要性教师们有基本认识和认同。熊毅说当时虽然她并不理解这项工作，也不知道该怎么教，但她认为这项工作是国家需要，有意义，对此有兴趣<sup>23</sup>，因此其工作态度非常积极。

由于师资、教学等筹备时间紧迫，新教师们来不及培训就投入到教学中。为此，专修班采取了一套行之有效的方法，比如最初没有现成的教材，邓懿就主持编写，现编现教，对编出的教材大家讨论，每周她还通过教务会议讨论、布置教学任务<sup>24</sup>；在备课、上课、批改作业、考试等教学环节上，专修班都有具体的规定，还采取教师互相听课，听后讨论得失，互帮互学的方式提高业务能力。这些方法无疑有助于新手教师们迅速成长。<sup>25</sup>因此，初创时期的新中国对外汉语教学在师资水平上整体较弱，但是制度化的教学机制，带动了教师群体的业务能力提升和专业意识的强化，使教学能够较快步入正轨。

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专刊) (1994): 4.

<sup>22</sup> Du Rong 杜荣. “Duiwai Hanyu hua cangsang” 对外汉语沧桑 [Vicissitudes of experience of Chinese as a Foreign Language]. Beijing Daxue xuebao (Duiwai hanyu jiaoxue zhongxin chengli shi zhounian jinian zhuan) 北京大学学报 (对外汉语教学中心成立十周年纪念专刊) (1994): 5.

<sup>23</sup> Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University. “Xiong Yi fangtanlu” 熊毅访谈录 [Interview with Xiong Yi]. In Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University (Eds.), Purple Thorn Blossoms - A Commemoration of the Chinese Language Specialization Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (紫荆花开——清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班纪念). Beijing: Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University Internal Printing (2011):82-84.

<sup>24</sup> Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University. “Xiong Yi fangtanlu” 熊毅访谈录 [Interview with Xiong Yi]. In Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University (Eds.), Purple Thorn Blossoms - A Commemoration of the Chinese Language Specialization Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (紫荆花开——清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班纪念). Beijing: Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University Internal Printing (2011):84.

<sup>25</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. “Nanwang de suiyue” 难忘的岁月 [Unforgettable Years]. Beijing Daxue xuebao (Duiwai hanyu jiaoxue zhongxin chengli shi zhounian jinian zhuan) 北京大学学报 (对外汉语教学中心成立十周年纪念专刊) (1994):3.

### （三）专修班的教学环境

班级规模与气氛、师生关系是狭义教学环境中的重要因素，班级规模合理，气氛融洽，师生关系良好都有助于提升学习者的学习效果。

#### 1. 班级规模及气氛

按照《清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班暂行规程》，东欧交换生应在1950年秋季学期开学时报到入学。但因各种原因，从1950年12月至1951年2月，罗、匈、保、波四国首批交换生先后达到中国；到1951年9月和11月捷克斯洛伐克交换生分两批达到后，33名首批东欧交换生才齐聚清华大学。由于这个客观原因，1951年2月，罗、匈、保三国学生首先组成班级一起上大班讲授课，然后分成小组上练习课。波兰学生到达后，专修班专门为他们单独开课，帮助他们赶上其他学生的进度，直到9月他们才加入班级上课。捷克斯洛伐克学生分两种情况，一是为零基础的学生单独开课，二是让有汉语基础的学生加入班级学习。到了1952年春，首批交换生进入第三学期的学习，学生学习程度分化严重，已经无法再以一个班的形式学习。为此，专修班将班级调整为以国别为单位，由一名教师负责该班的全部课程。所以，在三个学期的学习中，首批交换生的班级规模总体处于“流动”状态，一方面这不利于他们适应教学环境，造成一些交换生的不满；但另一方面这也使不同的师生有更多的机会接触、了解，对班级整体融洽氛围的营造较为有利。为了便于了解学生的学习和生活情况，专修班还让每个国家的交换生分别组成小组，本国交换生内部问题由他们自己开会解决，与学习、生活相关的问题则由组长将问题反映给教师寻求解决。专修班的重要问题都召开组长会向他们通报、讨论，研究解决办法。<sup>26</sup>师生在意见沟通上民主而及时。

专修班对每个国家的交换生都非常重视，虽然他们到达中国的时间前后不一，但是他们到达时都受到中方教育部、清华大学领导的迎接，为之举办欢迎会并宴请新来的交换生。欢迎会的一种“规制”就是先期到达的交换生不仅参加欢迎会，而且要致欢迎辞。集体参观、游览也是专修班经常举行的活动，这些都对营造班级的融洽气氛极

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<sup>26</sup> Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University. “Feng Yiluo fangtanlu” 冯忆罗访谈录 [Interview with Feng Yiluo]. In Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University (Eds.), Purple Thorn Blossoms - A Commemoration of the Chinese Language Specialization Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (紫荆花开——清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班纪念). Beijing: Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University Internal Printing (2011):73.

为有益。

## 2. 师生关系

据尤山度回忆，他们在中国留学的五年中（包括在专修班的一年半时间），师生之间从未发生过不愉快的事情。<sup>27</sup>从现有材料看，专修班的师生关系一直保持着融洽状态，这与双方对专修班教与学活动性质的认识不无关系。一方面交换生们都是经过各国政府部门选拔而来，他们明白自己的使命，有接纳和了解中国的内在动力；另一方面，教师们将专修班的工作视为一项伟大的工作<sup>28</sup>，说明他们对这项工作的重要意义有足够的认识。师生双方在对专修班教学的价值判断上形成共识，这有助于他们彼此在接纳、包容的基础上建立融洽关系。

在学习中，交换生们特别佩服那些教学理论和方法突出的教师，如邓懿；而邓懿经常请学生到家里做客，说明她也很重视与交换生们建立亲密的关系。在学习上有了困难，交换生们就去找熊毅、杜荣两位老师寻求帮助，老师们则常常利用业余时间辅导学生；生活上，助教冯忆罗、钟棣全身心投入，随时为学生解决问题。细心的冯忆罗还用自己的津贴购买一些小工艺品赠送给交换生们，让他们回国探亲时送给亲人，交换生们也从自己国家带回小礼品送给老师，比如匈牙利学生给老师带来特产萨拉米香肠。<sup>29</sup>教师的工作态度、对交换生表现出的善良友好也赢得了学生的信赖。时隔近70年后，尤山度还记得老师们到学生宿舍辅导学生的情境，他感到老师们非常耐心，很喜欢学生。这种情感一直保持了几十年，2010年专修班庆祝成立60周年时，当年的师生重聚清华大学，老师们对首批交换生记忆深刻，尤感亲切。<sup>30</sup>这些都是专修班

<sup>27</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Józsa Sándor (You Shandu); Interview time: Jul 17, 2017; Interview location: House of Józsa Sándor; Interviewer: Li Min.

<sup>28</sup> Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University. “Feng Yiluo fangtanlu” 冯忆罗访谈录 [Interview with Feng Yiluo]. In Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University (Eds.), Purple Thorn Blossoms - A Commemoration of the Chinese Language Specialization Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (紫荆花开——清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班纪念). Beijing: Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University Internal Printing (2011):76.

<sup>29</sup> Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University. “Feng Yiluo fangtanlu” 冯忆罗访谈录 [Interview with Feng Yiluo]. In Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University (Eds.), Purple Thorn Blossoms - A Commemoration of the Chinese Language Specialization Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (紫荆花开——清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班纪念). Beijing: Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University Internal Printing (2011):73-77.

<sup>30</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Józsa Sándor (You Shandu); Interview time: Jul 17, 2017; Interview location:



的师生关系良好的佐证。

从学习背景看，首批匈牙利交换生是匈牙利政府选派的第一批留华学生，国家的重视一方面带给他们对自我价值的肯定，另一方面也激励他们对本国的责任感，他们希望在中国的所学日后能在本国有所发挥<sup>31</sup>，这是其来华学习的重要动因，也是他们来华后对中国的学习和生活能够采取较为积极态度的一个原因。专修班的其他交换生也都由社会主义国家选拔而来，身份认同有助于拉近匈牙利交换生与他们的情感距离。而专修班的教师们也经过了包括政治标准在内的选拔，他们中间有不少是刚刚毕业的大学生，年龄与匈牙利学生相仿，所以匈牙利交换生们更愿意与这些年轻的教师交往，他们之间建立了没有秘密的关系。<sup>32</sup>总体上，匈牙利交换生的学习背景为他们获得良好学习效果提供了积极的条件。

## 二、首批匈牙利交换生的学习过程

对其学习过程的观察是了解匈牙利首批来华交换生获得相应学习效果的一个重要渠道。教师的工作态度与实际教学情况，师生的相互作用，专修班的管理策略以及学生的学习状态等是具体了解匈牙利首批交换生学习过程的几个重要方面。

### （一）教师的工作态度与实际教学情况

#### 1. 教师的工作态度

前文述及，专修班的师资标准中极为看重教师的工作态度。在实际教学展开后，教师们虽然业务能力有别，但对这项工作意义的认识、对教学目标的理解以及工作热情是一致的。当时教师们的日常教学任务繁重，“基础课每天讲授两小时，练习课两小时，大部分教师都是每周12节课，课后又不顾疲劳经常到学生宿舍进行辅导”，为了提高业务能力，他们挤出时间学习语言学、汉语方面的知识，参加编写教材，设计练习等<sup>33</sup>，绝大多数时间都用在了教学以及改进教学上。比如担任助教工作的冯忆罗、

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House of Józsa Sándor; Interviewer: Li Min. Interview materials. Interviewee: Józsa Sándor (You Shandu); Interview time: Jul 17, 2017; Interview location: House of Józsa Sándor; Interviewer: Li Min.

<sup>31</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Józsa Sándor (You Shandu); Interview time: Jul 17, 2017; Interview location: House of Józsa Sándor; Interviewer: Li Min.

<sup>32</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Józsa Sándor (You Shandu); Interview time: Jul 17, 2017; Interview location: House of Józsa Sándor; Interviewer: Li Min.

<sup>33</sup> Du Rong 杜荣. “Duiwai Hanyu hua cangsang” 对外汉语话沧桑 [Vicissitudes of experience of Chinese as a

钟棫，学期中他们除了帮助教学翻译外，还要负责交换生们的生活事务；到了假期，他们又承担起组织交换生赴外地参观等活动。在将近两年的时间里，他们没有休息日，也无暇访亲问友，交换生们提出的合理要求，无论大小，也无论是个人的还是集体的，他们都克服困难，尽力满足。确如教师们所言，他们“把整个身心和精力投入到这个看似渺小，实际上是很伟大的工作中去了”。<sup>34</sup>

如果说对教学的态度表现出教师们的敬业精神，那么对于专修班教学问题的积极思考、献计献策则表现出教师们的责任心。以邓懿为例，她在专修班的筹建和发展过程中倾注了不少心血。1950年7月她执笔撰写了《东欧留学生的语文训练问题向教育部的报告》，对教学内容、教学方法、教学条件等做了细致规划。1951年初，东欧交换生陆续到达后，根据学生母语背景不同，学习汉语的难度大等客观情况，邓懿作为教学主要指导者对教学计划进行修改并组织讨论，在此基础上1951年6月专修班推出了更符合东欧交换生两年汉语预科学习的计划，即《清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班两年教学计划草案（修正稿）》（以下简称“草案”），这个计划在此后的教学中得到遵循。邓懿在1952年7月撰写的《清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班工作总结》中，对近两年来专修班在教学上的探索工作进行了极为细致的梳理。特别值得一提的是，专修班还考虑到汉语预科教学与学生进入专业学习后的教学衔接问题，认为仅学习了三个学期汉语的首批交换生入系学习专业后恐怕会遇到语言上的困难，建议届时可以通过专家指导、中国同屋帮助或者由专修班教师专门准备人力代为解答这些学生语文方面的问题。<sup>35</sup>这类设计是专修班教师对东欧交换生培养的整体性考虑，在处于探索时期的对外汉语教学如何与学生的专业学习合理衔接问题上，这样的责任心显得

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Foreign Language]. Beijing Daxue xuebao (Duiwai hanyu jiaoxue zhongxin chengli shi zhounian jinian zhuanke) 北京大学学报（对外汉语教学中心成立十周年纪念专刊）（1994）:6.

<sup>34</sup> Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University. “Feng Yiluo fangtanlu” 冯忆罗访谈录 [Interview with Feng Yiluo]. In Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University (Eds.), Purple Thorn Blossoms – A Commemoration of the Chinese Language Specialization Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (紫荆花开——清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班纪念). Beijing: Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University Internal Printing (2011):76-77.

<sup>35</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. “Qinghua Daxue Dong’ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban gongzuo zongjie” 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班工作总结 [Summary of the work of the Chinese Language Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (1952)]. Beijing Language and Culture University Archives, transcribed by He Ling, Research Librarian, Beijing Language and Culture University Library.

极为必要而可贵。

## 2. 专修班的实际教学情况

由于缺少经验和参考，针对首批东欧交换生的汉语预科教学主要在探索中进行，这一特点在教学方法和教学内容上都有所体现。

在教学方法上，专修班结合学生的反馈及时反思和调整，体现了以学生为中心的特点。对匈牙利学生来说，汉语的语音、语法、汉字学习都存在困难，最初为了学生掌握标准的语音，专修班花了大量时间指导学生进行语音练习，要求学生每周听六小时录音，但实施之后，因学生深感单调而调整为口语练习加听录音。在汉字学习方面，起初为了降低难度，教材中汉字只在词汇中出现，课文则采用罗马字拼音，但教学中发现，学生依赖拼音太久会造成拼音转为汉字阶段的困难，因此教师们很快采取在课文中开始使用汉字的方式，尽量让学生多看多念汉字，但不要求会写，这样一方面可以使学生逐渐习惯汉字的结构、形状，一方面不会使他们因为专注于汉字学习而影响投诸于语音、语法方面的学习时间，以分散难点的方式解决零起点的东欧交换生初学汉语的困难。<sup>36</sup>从学生的情况看，一些人对学习汉语有畏难情绪，认为汉语太难，特别是年龄大的学生，对学好汉语缺乏信心；也有学生认为中国语法无系统，因此对教师的教学没信心。针对这些想法，专修班一方面采取说服的方式，鼓励有畏难情绪的学生要有勇气和决心去克服各种困难，通过肯定学生已经取得的成绩帮助他们树立信心<sup>37</sup>；另一方面从教学上做出调整，如针对语法问题，教师们通过加强语法解释系统化，重点解释语法难点等方法<sup>38</sup>，帮助学生克服语法学习的困难，并以良好的

<sup>36</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. “Qinghua Daxue Dong’ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban gongzuo zongjie” 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班工作总结 [Summary of the work of the Chinese Language Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (1952)]. Beijing Language and Culture University Archives, transcribed by He Ling, Research Librarian, Beijing Language and Culture University Library.

<sup>37</sup> The summary of teaching in the past six months and the teaching plan of this semester – the report of class teacher Comrade Sheng Chenghua at the first teacher-student meeting of this semester (关于半年来的教学总结及本学期教学计划——班主任盛澄华同志在本学期第一次师生大会上的报告) (1951), Tsinghua University Archives, Catalog number: School Office 1, Case file number 52001.

<sup>38</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. “Qinghua Daxue Dong’ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban gongzuo zongjie” 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班工作总结 [Summary of the work of the Chinese Language Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (1952)]. Beijing Language and Culture University Archives, transcribed by He Ling, Research Librarian, Beijing Language and Culture University Library.

学习效果打消了学生对教师教学能力的疑虑。由于学生母语不同，会英语的人很少，俄语的掌握程度也参差不齐，这给最初的教学造成很大困难，比如教师在对语法、字词讲解时，需要用英语给学生讲，然后由英语好的匈牙利学生用匈语讲给其他匈牙利学生，这种方式引起一些学生的不满。为了克服这个困难，专修班从第二学期开始就更加注重采用直接法，尽量摆脱翻译，让学生熟悉借助汉语听课的方法。

在教学内容上，依据教学目标，专修班在对学生的需求进行分析的基础上进行设计。比如有学生希望从政治上多了解中国，这恰好与“通过中国语文的学习，使对中国政治文化及其他方面获得初步认识”<sup>39</sup>的专修班教学目标相一致，因此专修班一方面组织他们参观卢沟桥、与志愿军英模座谈，了解中国人民的抗日战争和抗美援朝<sup>40</sup>；另一方面在教材中加入关于中国革命的内容，比如七一、八一、平型关、长征等，到第三学期还加入了一些原作，如毛泽东的《论人民民主专政》、魏巍的《谁是最可爱的人》等，同时还将对这些教学材料的正确解读作为原则性问题加以重视，为交换生从政治上了解中国提供充分的资源。又如，有些学生重视专业学习，轻视语言学习，希望按照专业选读自己的研究材料，对此专修班认为本阶段东欧交换生的任务是了解中国，需要充实关于中国的一般知识，其专业问题可通过教师加强对课文思想内容的阐释和利用口语练习检查听课效果的方式予以解决。<sup>41</sup>这些处理方式说明学生的要求是在服从专修班教学目标基础上得到满足的，这为他们更扎实地打好汉语基础提供了条

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<sup>39</sup> Qinghua Daxue Dong'ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班 “Qinghua Daxue Dong'ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban liangnian jiaoxue jihua cao'an (xiuzheng gao) 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班两年教学计划草案（修正稿） [Draft Two-Year Teaching Plan for the Chinese Language Specialization Program for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (Revised Draft) (1951)]. Tsinghua University Archives, Catalog number: School Office 1, Case file number 520011.

<sup>40</sup> Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University. “Feng Yiluo fangtanlu” 冯忆罗访谈录 [Interview with Feng Yiluo]. In Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University (Eds.), Purple Thorn Blossoms - A Commemoration of the Chinese Language Specialization Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (紫荆花开——清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班纪念). Beijing: Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University Internal Printing (2011):77.

<sup>41</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. “Qinghua Daxue Dong'ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban gongzuo zongjie” 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班工作总结 [Summary of the work of the Chinese Language Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (1952)]. Beijing Language and Culture University Archives, transcribed by He Ling, Research Librarian, Beijing Language and Culture University Library.

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从上述两方面情况看，交换生们在专修班的学习中有敬业而富有责任心的教师指导，学生反馈的教学问题则得到专修班的积极回应、调整和改进。在学习需求上构成了师生双向良性互动，及时发现问题并着手解决，师生双方均以积极的态度对待面临的困难和问题，这对形成有效教学极为有利。

## （二）专修班的管理策略

与教学一样，当时对于留学生的管理也是一个探索的过程，其内容涉及学习与生活两方面。

首先，在学习上，专修班极为关注学生对汉语学习的认识，因为这直接影响到他们学习的积极性以及对教学纪律的遵守。1951年9月召开了专修班师生大会，针对有些交换生认为来中国不完全为学习中文，通过翻译著作和现实生活都可以了解中国的想法，班主任盛澄华解释了现阶段学好包括听说读写在内的中国语文的重要性，强调这是“能和那一国家的人民真正获得思想上与情感上的交流，能通晓那一国语言是最有利的条件之一”。<sup>42</sup>以国家间交往的需要为切入点，对认识上有偏差的学生进行说服教育，这对由各国选拔出来的党员、团员交换生来说易于接受，他们明白自己的使命，也怀有学成之后服务于自己祖国的热情。比如尤山度就很清楚，在中匈交往已然展开的情况下，匈牙利懂汉语的人才奇缺，而他们这一代人大多抱有服务于国家的意愿，这是那个时代的特点，就像二战后匈牙利老百姓拥有义务参加布达佩斯重建的热情一样。<sup>43</sup>

其次，在纪律方面，首批交换生初到中国时，对中国高校的纪律要求并不了解，对纪律约束也不习惯，加上因水土不服生病，出勤情况很坏，甚至影响到学习进度。<sup>44</sup>对于这些纪律问题，专修班先收集各国学生小组书面或口头提出的意见，先后五次

<sup>42</sup> The summary of teaching in the past six months and the teaching plan of this semester – the report of class teacher Comrade Sheng Chenghua at the first teacher-student meeting of this semester (关于半年来的教学总结及本学期教学计划——班主任盛澄华同志在本学期第一次师生大会上的报告) (1951), Tsinghua University Archives, Catalog number: School Office 1, Case file number 52001.

<sup>43</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Józsa Sándor (You Shandu); Interview time: Jul 17, 2017; Interview location: House of Józsa Sándor; Interviewer: Li Min.

<sup>44</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. “Qinghua Daxue Dong’ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban gongzuo zongjie” 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班工作总结 [Summary of the work of the Chinese Language Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University, 1952]. Beijing Language and Culture University

召开教学问题讨论会，找出影响纪律的主要原因，他们发现学生因到达时间先后不一，进度不同，打乱了教学计划；教师与学生之间缺乏媒介语，借助俄语翻译常带来语法说明上的偏差<sup>45</sup>，引起学生在课堂上的讨论，课堂纪律难以控制等<sup>46</sup>，都是构成交换生纪律涣散的原因。为此，专修班召开师生大会，将目前存在的问题、问题的原因以及解决问题的方法传达给学生，明确以请假制度保障教学。会上还对匈牙利学生小组提出的定期公布学习成绩，进行学习友谊赛的建议予以肯定<sup>47</sup>，对个别纪律差的学生提出批评。从请假这个管理措施制定的过程看，专修班充分调动学生参与，尊重他们的想法，让制度更容易被了解和贯彻。其实际效果是，虽然一些不习惯受纪律约束的学生认为请假是形式主义，但是此后因为教学逐步走上正轨，学习变得很紧张，除病假外学生很少缺勤。<sup>48</sup>

### （三）交换生的学习状态

学生的学习状态与其学习动机紧密相关。尤山度说，二战以后很多年轻人如果有机会去大学学习，大部分人都很认真。所以，他们来到专修班以后，每天上午上四节课，下午是练习和辅导，晚上主要还是学习，练习汉字等等，学习强度很大，但他们从未对此抱怨。那时，清华大学每天晚上十点熄灯，熄灯后他们都自觉点着蜡烛继续

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Archives, transcribed by He Ling, Research Librarian, Beijing Language and Culture University Library.

<sup>45</sup> The summary of teaching in the past six months and the teaching plan of this semester - the report of class teacher Comrade Sheng Chenghua at the first teacher-student meeting of this semester (关于半年来的教学总结及本学期教学计划——班主任盛澄华同志在本学期第一次师生大会上的报告) (1951), Tsinghua University Archives, Catalog number: School Office 1, Case file number 52001.

<sup>46</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. "Qinghua Daxue Dong'ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban gongzuo zongjie" 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班工作总结 [Summary of the work of the Chinese Language Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (1952)]. Beijing Language and Culture University Archives, transcribed by He Ling, Research Librarian, Beijing Language and Culture University Library.

<sup>47</sup> The summary of teaching in the past six months and the teaching plan of this semester - the report of class teacher Comrade Sheng Chenghua at the first teacher-student meeting of this semester (关于半年来的教学总结及本学期教学计划——班主任盛澄华同志在本学期第一次师生大会上的报告) (1951), Tsinghua University Archives, Catalog number: School Office 1, Case file number 52001.

<sup>48</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. "Qinghua Daxue Dong'ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban gongzuo zongjie" 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班工作总结 [Summary of the work of the Chinese Language Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (1952)]. Beijing Language and Culture University Archives, transcribed by He Ling, Research Librarian, Beijing Language and Culture University Library.

学习。<sup>49</sup>清华大学的中国学生曾对交换生们的刻苦精神记述说，交换生们碰到中国学生就尝试着用汉语跟他们谈话，要中国学生纠正自己的发音；他们身上常带着生字本，中国学生教一句，他们就认真记下来；他们每个人有一个固定的语伴，每天一个小时对他们进行辅导。<sup>50</sup>互助也是交换生们克服最初学习困难的一种方法，在课堂上，英语或俄语好的学生，帮助给其他同学翻译老师讲解的内容，当然这得益于融洽的班级氛围。

由于匈牙利交换生均已本科毕业且已经工作，他们来华的目的之一是搜集未来博士论文的资料<sup>51</sup>，所以相较其他国家交换生，他们从事专业研究的愿望较强。在教师到其宿舍为之进行汉语学习辅导时，他们更多谈的不是关于汉语的问题，没有起到汉语辅导的作用。对此，专修班以水平较差的学生为准，为交换生列出课外读物，有余力的学生在完成这些阅读任务之后，可以查阅自己专业方面的参考书<sup>52</sup>，这类措施为满足学生个性化的学习需求创造了条件。

与课堂教学相比，让交换生们能更真切了解中国的是专修班为他们组织的各类参观活动。给交换生们留下深刻印象的是他们每次出行，中国方面都调动军队护卫。尤山度记得1951年暑假他们去杭州灵隐寺参观时，每到一座大殿都“遇到”一批“游人”，后来按照当时的惯例大家一起跳舞时，他摸到了舞伴腰上的枪。<sup>53</sup>1951年，新中国内部的敌对势力尚未肃清，镇压反革命运动尚未结束，外部有抗美援朝正在进行，因此，交换生们每次参观，中方都需要付诸大量的人力为他们提供安全保障。比如他们参观的灵隐寺附近就是一大批国民党军队的俘虏劳动改造的地方，那些“游人”是中方

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<sup>49</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Józsa Sándor (You Shandu); Interview time: Jul 17, 2017; Interview location: House of Józsa Sándor; Interviewer: Li Min.

<sup>50</sup> Qinghua xuanchuan tongxunzu 清华宣传通讯组. “Dong’ou tongxue zai Qinghua” 东欧同学在清华 [Eastern European students in Tsinghua]. Guangming ribao 光明日报 (14th September, 1951).

<sup>51</sup> Aiwa 卡尔玛尔·爱娃 (Kalmar Eva). “Beijing huiyi suipian” 北京回忆碎片 [Fragments of Beijing Memories]. In Hungarian-Chinese Friendship Association (Eds.), Hungarian Rhapsody in Beijing, Internal Printing (2014):49.

<sup>52</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. “Qinghua Daxue Dong’ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban gongzuo zongjie” 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班工作总结 [Summary of the work of the Chinese Language Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (1952)]. Beijing Language and Culture University Archives, transcribed by He Ling, Research Librarian, Beijing Language and Culture University Library.

<sup>53</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Józsa Sándor (You Shandu); Interview time: Jul 17, 2017; Interview location: House of Józsa Sándor; Interviewer: Li Min.

派来保护他们的军人。就是在这种困难条件下，专修班组织他们参观了名胜古迹、工厂、农村，他们真实观察到新中国成立带来的社会变革。

首批匈牙利交换生在专修班的学习过程，既是他们适应中国的教学、管理方式的过程，也是他们倒逼新中国对外汉语教学迅速发展过程，双方磨合的结果是匈牙利学生从更多角度体验了新中国的成长，加深了他们对中国的理解，新中国的对外汉语教学也在教学、教材、教法以及留学生管理制度等方面逐步完善。

### 三、交换生的学习效果

学习效果是教学效果的直接反应，它包括即时性学习效果与长效性学习效果两方面，二者可以结合实际教学效果和学生的评价进行观察。

#### （一）即时性学习效果

即时性学习效果主要包括两个方面，即教学目标的实现情况与学生取得的实际学习成绩。

1950年7月，邓懿《就东欧留学生的语文训练问题向教育部的报告》中将专修班的预期教学目标定为“在一年内掌握普通的中国语文解决一般生活问题”。<sup>54</sup>1951年6月修正后的“草案”中，第一学年的教学目标是：“1.建立良好的发音基础；2.掌握1500字左右的常用字汇；3.了解并运用基本的语法；4.能写清晰、正确的汉字，能以口语应付日常生活”。<sup>55</sup>1951年9月，班主任盛澄华对首批交换生半年来的学习情况做了总结。他说半年来的成绩体现在学生一般都打下了较好的发音基础，一些学习刻苦的学

<sup>54</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. “Jiu Dong’ou liuxuesheng de yuwen xunlian wenti xiang Jiaoyubu de baogao” 就东欧留学生的语文训练问题向教育部的报告 [Report to the Ministry of Education on the language training of Eastern European students]. In Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University (Eds.), Purple Thorn Blossoms - A Commemoration of the Chinese Language Specialization Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (紫荆花开——清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班纪念). Beijing: Office of Foreign Student Work of Tsinghua University Internal Printing (2011):50.

<sup>55</sup> Qinghua Daxue Dong’ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班 “Qinghua Daxue Dong’ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban liangnian jiaoxue jihua cao’an (xiuzheng gao) 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班两年教学计划草案（修正稿） [Draft Two-Year Teaching Plan for the Chinese Language Specialization Program for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (Revised Draft)(1951)]. Tsinghua University Archives, Catalog number: School Office 1, Case file number 520011.



生已经开始用汉字写短文，成绩出色，试行政治课后，反映良好等方面。<sup>56</sup>具体来看，在语音方面，交换生们在第一学期每天用在听录音上的时间一度达到6小时，在高强度的训练下，第一学期结束时有5/6的学生语音达到了标准，其中匈牙利学生的情况仅次于最好的罗马尼亚学生。在汉字方面，因教学经验不足，启蒙阶段汉字出现少，学生接触汉字晚，所以第一学期结束时，首批交换生掌握汉字为1200个。在第一学年结束时，首批交换生口语已经能应付日常生活，4/5学生能够用浅显文字表情达意。<sup>57</sup>由此看，第一学年的教学目标基本达到。

关于第二学年的教学目标，“草案”中规定：“1.加学2000字左右的常用字汇；2.进一步掌握中国语法；3.能写通顺的文字；4.能作简单的口头报告与演讲；5.能使用字典、辞典等工具书阅读一般书报。”<sup>58</sup>教育部为专修班规定的是1950年9月至1952年9月两年学习计划，但由于首批交换生到达的时间不一，专修班实际开课时间是1951年2月，因此，到1952年暑假前，首批交换生实际只学习了三个学期，此时，他们大都已经掌握2000个汉字和3500个词汇，口语能应付日常生活，4/5的学生能用浅显通顺的文字表情达意，能够进行简单的报刊阅读并对教材中的理论文进行讨论，虽然没有对东欧学生适用的字典，但他们已经可以根据英汉、俄汉字典辅助学习了。当然，学生特点不同，对不同知识的掌握情况各有特点。如匈牙利学生中，梅维佳的年龄稍长，语音纠正困难，但是她的语法知识掌握得非常好，在1951年第一学期期末考试中，她的笔试成绩是匈牙利学生中最高的。上述这些即时性学习效果表明，专修班实

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<sup>56</sup> The summary of teaching in the past six months and the teaching plan of this semester - the report of class teacher Comrade Sheng Chenghua at the first teacher-student meeting of this semester (关于半年来的教学总结及本学期教学计划——班主任盛澄华同志在本学期第一次师生大会上的报告) (1951), Tsinghua University Archives, Catalog number: School Office 1, Case file number 52001.

<sup>57</sup> Deng Yi 邓懿. “Qinghua Daxue Dong’ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban gongzuo zongjie” 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班工作总结 [Summary of the work of the Chinese Language Course for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (1952)]. Beijing Language and Culture University Archives, transcribed by He Ling, Research Librarian, Beijing Language and Culture University Library.

<sup>58</sup> Qinghua Daxue Dong’ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班 “Qinghua Daxue Dong’ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban liangnian jiaoxue jihua cao’an (xiuzheng gao) 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班两年教学计划草案（修正稿） [Draft Two-Year Teaching Plan for the Chinese Language Specialization Program for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (Revised Draft) (1951)]. Tsinghua University Archives, Catalog number: School Office 1, Case file number 520011.

现了既定的教学目标，为交换生们进入专业学习提供了必要的条件。

## （二）长效性学习效果

所谓长效性学习效果是指阶段性学习对学生此后的学习以及职业发展产生的影响。具体到首批交换生，长效性学习效果需要通过对他们在进入专业学习以及此后的社会性工作中所取得的成绩进行观察，这些是对其汉语预科学习效果以及它施以影响的学生的学习、研究兴趣的检验。

在结束专修班汉语预科学习后，交换生们进入不同大学开始了专业学习。与其他国家交换生进入本科学习不同，匈牙利交换生们都开始了研究生学习。高恩德、梅维佳就读于北京大学中文系，尤山度、戴伯纳先分别就读于北京大学的历史系和经济系，1953年二人分别转入中国人民大学革命史教研室和政治经济学教研室学习。在专业学习期间，有些人已经展露了自己的专业倾向，比如高恩德1953年初就开始跟翻译家孙用合作翻译裴多菲（Petöfi Sándor, 1823-1849）的诗，1954年10月他们合作翻译的《裴多菲诗选》由人民文学出版社出版，至1962年，该书共再版6次，出版十多万册。同时，在学期间他还撰写发表了《裴多菲的中国之路》（1952年）、《裴多菲·山道尔》（1954年）等文。受王瑶等北京大学名师影响，他对中国现代文学，特别是鲁迅研究产生浓厚兴趣，这些为他日后成为匈牙利鲁迅研究专家以及将中国现代文学介绍到匈牙利打下了坚实基础。1954年，戴伯纳得到中国人民大学校长吴玉章的支持，获得独自赴天津、上海等地进行关于中国政治经济调查的机会，这次调查为他的硕士毕业论文《中国资本主义工商业的社会主义改造》提供了可靠的一手材料。

1955年毕业回国后，戴伯纳、高恩德立刻被委派到匈牙利驻华使馆工作，尤山度则进入匈牙利外交部。在中匈两国交往中，特别是在中国重要领导人毛泽东、周恩来、朱德等出席的与匈牙利有关的外事活动中，他们都担任过翻译，真正成为沟通两国关系的桥梁。1957年以后，尤山度、高恩德先后回到罗兰大学中文系任教，他们是第一代以规范的现代汉语进行中文教学的匈牙利本土教师，他们的加入还拓展了该系的研究领域，使以往重视中国古代历史、文学、宗教研究的学脉延伸至中国近现代历史与中国现当代文学的研究。尤山度1966年以《中国与奥匈帝国》为题完成了他的博士论文，高恩德的《“五四”运动和中国新文学的开端》（1959年）、《中国的新诗》

（1959年）、《匈牙利文学在中国》（1968年）等都可视为这种拓展研究学脉的标志性成果。1958年后，戴伯纳进入匈牙利科学院经济研究所专门从事中国经济问题研究。虽然从上个世纪60年代初到70年代末近20年时间里，由于无法获得中国经济数字，

使他的研究陷于停顿，直到中国改革开放，但到 2017 年时，他已经发表 100 多篇文章，出版了《中国经济和政策》、《中国政治经济改革》等四部专著，这些成就奠定了他作为匈牙利中国问题顶级专家的地位。

### （三）交换生对在华留学经历的评价

学习者对学习经历的评价也是考察教学有效性的一个变量，对学习经历持何种评价一定程度上反映了学习者的学习体验与感受，积极的评价意味着学习者对学习过程的肯定、接纳，如果学习者的评价与教学目标一致，说明教学取得了预期的成效。

在“草案”中，除了语言上的教学目标以外，还包括“通过中国语文的学习，使对中国政治文化及其他方面获得初步认识，以加强东欧新民主主义国家与中国人民间在文化上，思想上及情意上的交流”。<sup>59</sup>关于“对中国政治文化及其他方面获得初步认识”这一目标，从前述匈牙利交换生在此后的学习以及工作经历、研究成果看，专修班的教学实现了这个目标。而“在文化上，思想上及情意上的交流”目标则可从交换生对这段学习生活的评价中进行观察。

对在中国的留学生活，戴伯纳的评价是：那是“决定我一生命运和工作的阶段”。<sup>60</sup>高恩德认为“那是很幸福的时光，我在中国从未感到陌生，我习惯了那里的一切”，“你们国家那时还不富裕，对我们却照顾得无微不至”。<sup>61</sup>尤山度说他的一生中最喜欢他在中国的留学时代和后来在北京外国语大学做客座教授的时代<sup>62</sup>，他说去中国留学“彻底改变了我的人生”，当时的老师都是非常优秀的教师，到 1955 年留学生活接近尾声时，“我已深感在中国生活就像在家一样”。<sup>63</sup>这些基调接近的表述说明他们对在中国的

<sup>59</sup> Qinghua Daxue Dong'ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班 “Qinghua Daxue Dong'ou jiaohuansheng Zhongguo yuwen zhuanxiuban liangnian jiaoxue jihua cao'an (xiuzheng gao) 清华大学东欧交换生中国语文专修班两年教学计划草案（修正稿） [Draft Two-Year Teaching Plan for the Chinese Language Specialization Program for Eastern European Exchange Students at Tsinghua University (Revised Draft) (Jun,1951)]. Tsinghua University Archives, Catalog number: School Office 1, Case file number 520011.

<sup>60</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Tálás Barna (Dai Bona); Interview time: April 29th, 2017; Interview location: House of Tálás Barna; Interviewer: Li Min.

<sup>61</sup> Hou Fengjing 侯凤菁. “Xiongyali de hanxuejia” 匈牙利的汉学家 [Sinologists in Hungary]. Liaowang zhoukan 瞭望周刊 (1987):34.

<sup>62</sup> Interview materials. Interviewee: Józsa Sándor (You Shandu); Interview time: March 2nd, 2017; Interview location: House of Józsa Sándor; Interviewer: Li Min.

<sup>63</sup> You Shandu 尤山度 (Józsa Sándor) . “Liushinian guanxi huimou -- yiwei 81 sui laoren、Xiongyali shoupi

学习生活评价积极，充满感情。从这个意义上说，专修班的教学实现了“在文化上，思想上及情意上的交流”目标。

### 结语

从以上对首批匈牙利交换生的学习背景、学习过程和学习效果的观察分析可以看到，师生意识形态一致的背景容易形成师生、生生的双向认同、宽容和理解，这为解决新中国对外汉语教学初期面临的各种困难提供了积极的条件；同时，教师倾力教学，学生刻苦学习，师生在教与学的总体目标上趋于一致，这是本时期教学效果能够令人满意的重要前提。经过这段基础性的汉语学习，专修班的教学实现了其教学目标，并成功地使由此获得的教学效果支撑了学习者此后的学习、工作、研究。在应对教学、管理中的各种问题中，新中国的对外汉语教学积累了宝贵的经验，为它此后逐步发展为一个独立学科奠定了基础。因此，在新中国对外汉语教学史上，清华专修班的教学具有特殊意义。

此外，谈及本时期对外汉语教学效果，不能忽视的是它在人才培养上的显著成效。1959年3月24日，费正清（John King Fairbank）在华盛顿举行的亚洲研究协会第十一届年会的主题发言中说：“事实上，美国的亚洲专家很少有深入亚洲生活的经验。其知识来自学习而非源于生活，常常是资料掺和着想象。我们在美国国内工作，生活于亚洲的现实之外，远离亚洲的日常情感和心灵视界”，他认为，这样的缺欠使亚洲革命与西方学术之间接触不充分，造成相关研究的浅薄，他说：“作为学者，我们通常不能洞悉、体验或感受亚洲人生活中的革命性变化。结果是，我们理解不了其激情的内涵及变化的价值，因此就不能解释它们。”<sup>64</sup>与费正清所说的那个时代美国的亚洲研究学者相比，经过专修班的培养，首批东欧来华交换生显然获得了得天独厚的了解中国现实的机会，他们不仅在课堂上学习了中国革命、政治、文学、历史等知识，而且通

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liuxuesheng de huiyi” 六十年关系回眸——一位81岁老人、匈牙利首批留华生的回忆 [A review of sixty years of relationships – Memories of an 81-year-old, who is one of the first Hungarian students to study in China]. In European Institute of language and culture of Beijing Foreign Studies University, Eds. Studies in European Languages and Cultures. Beijing: Current Affairs Press (2009): 268-270.

<sup>64</sup> Fei Zhengqing 费正清 (John K. Fairbank). “Pushuo mili: Meiguo de Yazhou yanjiu” 扑朔迷离：美国的亚洲研究 [Floundering: Asian Studies in the United States]. In Zhu Zhenghui (Eds.), American Scholars on American Chinese Studies (2009:81-82). Shanghai: Shanghai Dictionary Press.

过参观、听讲座等教学活动以及日常观察真实感受了新中国社会变化的内涵和价值，这些不仅拉近了他们与中国的距离，而且此时他们所获得的对中国的认知、感受，构成了他们从事中国研究、中国文学翻译以及中匈交往的理解基础。这些不仅是对新中国对外汉语教学发展初期教学有效性的一个诠释，而且也启发我们今天对通过对外汉语教学培养什么样的人物的思考。

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## Източноазиатски култури в детските градини и началните училища

*Николина Кирилова–Лафчиева,  
Софийски университет „Св. Климент Охридски“*

### East Asian Cultures in Kindergartens and Primary Schools

*Nikolina Kirilova–Laftchieva,  
Sofia University „St. Kliment Ohridski“*

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**Abstract:** This paper presents a program for teaching children additional educational activities in East Asian languages and cultures, which is based on the themes in foreign language curricula and which does not aim to achieve a level equivalent to A1 at the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, but to build a positive attitude towards the study of East Asian languages and cultures and, above all, a sense of national identity when presenting socio-cultural information about China, Korea and Japan.

**Keywords:** East Asian Cultures, Chinese Culture, Korean Culture, Japanese Culture, kindergartens, primary Schools.

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През 2012 г. е създадена Асоциация на училищата с преподаване на китайски език<sup>1</sup>. Членуващи училища до момента са: 18 СОУ „Уилям Гладстон“, гр. София; 51 СОУ „Елисавета Багряна“, гр. София; ОМГ „Акад. Кирил Попов“, гр. Пловдив; ПГЕЕ „М.В. Ломоносов“, гр. Горна Оряховица; СОУ „Максим Горки“, гр. Стара Загора; МГ „Д-р Петър Берон“, гр. Варна; СОУ „Цар Симеон Велики“, гр. Видин. Други средни и висши учебни заведения, които не са членове на Асоциацията, но са афилирани към Институт Конфуций в София, са следните: 138 СОУ „Проф. Васил Златарски“, гр. София; ПТГЕ „Хенри Форд“, гр. София; ЮЗУ „Неофит Рилски“, гр. Благоевград; Русенски университет „Ангел Кънчев“, гр. Русе; ПУ „Паисий Хилендарски“, гр. Пловдив; Френска гимназия „Антоан дьо Сент Екзюпери“, гр. Пловдив; ПГ по КТС, гр. Правец.

Японски език се изучава в 18 СОУ „Уилям Гладстон“ и 138 СОУ „Проф. Васил Златарски“ в гр. София, както и в СУ „Васил Левски“ в гр. Русе. Вж. повече за обучението по японски език в България на сайта на Посолството на Япония в Република

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.confuciusinstitute.bg/en/friends/association-of-chinese-language-schools>.



България<sup>2</sup>.

През 2011 г. открих паралелка с корейски език в 18 СОУ „Уилям Гладстон” и съставих учебната програма за 8 клас, а през 2020 г. инициирах формиране на паралелка „Организатор на туристическа агентска дейност” с интензивно изучаване на чужд език английски език, втори чужд – корейски език в 138 СОУ „Проф. Васил Златарски”.

През 2015 г. Институт Конфуций – София<sup>3</sup> организира курс не само за деца на 7–14 години (вж. фигура 2), но и за деца на 4–6 години (вж. фигура 1).



Фигура 1. Курс за деца (4–6 години)



Фигура 2. Курс за деца (7–14 години)

<sup>2</sup> [https://www.bg.emb-japan.go.jp/itpr\\_bg/bg\\_jap\\_relations\\_culture.html](https://www.bg.emb-japan.go.jp/itpr_bg/bg_jap_relations_culture.html).

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/confuciusinstitute.bg>.

Въпреки че Институт Конфуций – София организира курс по китайски език в детските градини, програма за обучение на децата за допълнителна образователна дейност по източноазиатски езици и култури все още не е предлагана. Програмата за обучение на децата за ДОД, която да е представена на български език, е необходим документ за участие в конкурса за избор на изпълнител на ДОД според чл. 10, ал. 8 от Правилата за осъществяване на допълнителни образователни дейности в общинските детски градини на територията на Столична община. Аналогична е ситуацията в началните училища. Целта на публикацията е да се предложи подобна програма, а задачите са да се анализират учебните програми по китайски, корейски и японски езици.

Във всичките учебни програми по чужд език пише, че обучението по чужд език в начален етап е насочено към овладяване на основни знания, умения и отношения, свързани с общуването и с изграждането на комуникативни компетентности на ученика, при което в края на IV клас се очаква учениците да постигнат ниво, еквивалентно на ниво А1 по Общата европейска езикова рамка. Тематичните области, езиковите средства и речевите дейности в програмите са ориентирани към интересите, възрастта и опита на учениците и следват спираловидния принцип, който дава възможност за повтаряемост, за постепенно разширяване и задълбочаване на знанията, уменията и компетентностите и се отнася за всеки следващ клас и етап на обучение. Поставя се акцент върху чуждата култура. Очакваните резултати по четирите умения: слушане, четене, говорене и писане се основават на Приложение № 2 към чл. 6, ал. 1, т. 2 от Наредба № 5 от 30.11.2015 г. за общообразователната подготовка.

Учебните програми по китайски език са утвърдени със Заповед № РД09–2556/03.10.2019 г. В учебните програми по китайски език за 1 клас<sup>4</sup> и 2 клас<sup>5</sup> тематичните области са:

- I. Това съм аз
  - II. Това е моят свят
  - III. Аз опознавам и опазвам природата
  - IV. Аз опознавам света
- Празници – рожден ден, Коледа

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<sup>4</sup> [https://www.mon.bg/upload/21623/UP\\_kitajski\\_1kl.pdf](https://www.mon.bg/upload/21623/UP_kitajski_1kl.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.mon.bg/upload/21624/UP\\_kitajski\\_2kl.pdf](https://www.mon.bg/upload/21624/UP_kitajski_2kl.pdf).

В учебната програма по китайски език за 3 клас<sup>6</sup> се въвеждат китайски културни реалии:

- Градове в Китай – Пекин, Шанхай, Ханджоу, Суджоу, Сиан, Цюфу
- Забележителности – Великата китайска стена, Забранения град, Летния дворец, Храма на небето, Теракотената армия
- Празници – Китайска Нова година („Пролетен празник”, 春节), „Празник в средата на есента” (中秋节)

В учебната програма по китайски език за 4 клас<sup>7</sup> новите знания са:

- Митология, Мита за Пангу, Мита за Нюуа
- Китайски бойни изкуства, Тайдзицюен
- Цигун
- Китайски изкуства, Калиграфия, Изрязване на хартия, Китайски възел, Китайска живопис

Учебните програми по корейски език са утвърдени със Заповед № РД РД09–2211/05.09.2019 г. Тематичната област „Аз опознавам света” в учебната програма по корейски език за 1 клас<sup>8</sup> съдържа Традиционни корейски приказки и герои, Корейски традиционни празници, а в учебната програма по корейски език за 2 клас<sup>9</sup> – Празници – рожден ден, Коледа, Корейска Нова Година и други популярни празници, Република Корея – столица и обичаи, Държавите по света.

В учебната програма по корейски език за 3 клас<sup>10</sup> тематичната област „Аз опознавам света” съдържа:

- Корейски традиционни къщи 한옥 (екстериор и интериор на 한옥, градини)
- Традиционно корейско облекло 한복 (различни видове 한복; елементите на 한복)
- Традиционна корейска кухня 한식
- Традиционни корейски и български ястия

<sup>6</sup> [https://www.mon.bg/upload/21625/UP\\_kitajski\\_3kl.pdf](https://www.mon.bg/upload/21625/UP_kitajski_3kl.pdf)

<sup>7</sup> [https://www.mon.bg/upload/21626/UP\\_kitajski\\_4kl.pdf](https://www.mon.bg/upload/21626/UP_kitajski_4kl.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> [https://www.mon.bg/upload/20832/UP\\_KorejskiE\\_1klas.pdf](https://www.mon.bg/upload/20832/UP_KorejskiE_1klas.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> [https://www.mon.bg/upload/20833/UP\\_KorejskiE\\_2klas.pdf](https://www.mon.bg/upload/20833/UP_KorejskiE_2klas.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> [https://www.mon.bg/upload/20834/UP\\_KorejskiE\\_3klas.pdf](https://www.mon.bg/upload/20834/UP_KorejskiE_3klas.pdf)

- Обичаи на хранене и обноски на масата
- География на Корея и на България (географско положение, градове и население, природни забележителности, острови)

В учебната програма по корейски език за 4 клас<sup>11</sup> тематичната област „Аз опознавам света” съдържа:

- Митологични създания и легенди
- Традиционни музикални изкуства (사물놀이, 판소리, 탈춤)
- Традиционна корейска кухня 한식
- Традиционни корейски и български ястия
- Обичаи на хранене и обноски на масата
- Популярни корейски и български песни и изпълнители
- Популярни филми и сериали

Учебните програми по японски език са утвърдени със Заповед № РД09–2431/26.09.2019 г. Тематичната област „Аз опознавам света” в учебните програми по японски език за 1 клас<sup>12</sup>, 2 клас<sup>13</sup> и 3 клас<sup>14</sup> съдържа Празници – рожден ден, Коледа, японски празници, а в учебната програма по японски език за 4 клас<sup>15</sup> – Български и японски сезонни празници, Моята ваканция, Япония – известни градове и природни обекти.

През 2013 г. с подкрепата на Фонд „Руски мир” е издадено методическото пособие за учители „Руски език като чужд в детската градина”, което съдържа учебни програми по руски език и за деца на 4–5, 5–6 и 6–7 години (Birova 2013: 70). Въз основа на темите в горните програми по чужд език предлагам следната учебна програма по източноазиатски култури за втора възрастова група – 4 – 5-годишни (вж. таблица 1), която съгласно цикличния принцип се повтаря и актуализира в трета възрастова група – 5 – 6-годишни, четвърта възрастова група – 6 – 7-годишни и така нататък.

<sup>11</sup> [https://www.mon.bg/upload/20835/UP\\_KorejskiE\\_4klas.pdf](https://www.mon.bg/upload/20835/UP_KorejskiE_4klas.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> [https://www.mon.bg/upload/21410/UP\\_JaponskiE\\_1klas.pdf](https://www.mon.bg/upload/21410/UP_JaponskiE_1klas.pdf)

<sup>13</sup> [https://www.mon.bg/upload/21411/UP\\_JaponskiE\\_2klas.pdf](https://www.mon.bg/upload/21411/UP_JaponskiE_2klas.pdf)

<sup>14</sup> [https://www.mon.bg/upload/21412/UP\\_JaponskiE\\_3klas.pdf](https://www.mon.bg/upload/21412/UP_JaponskiE_3klas.pdf)

<sup>15</sup> [https://www.mon.bg/upload/21413/UP\\_JaponskiE\\_4klas.pdf](https://www.mon.bg/upload/21413/UP_JaponskiE_4klas.pdf)

Таблица 1. Учебна програма по източноазиатски култури за втора възрастова група 4 – 5-годишни

Тема	Брой часове (2 часа – нов материал; 2 часа – практическото му прилагане)	Умения	Нови понятия
1. Чужд език	4	<b>Речеви умения:</b> слушане, говорене, четене и писане, които са в основата на езиковите компетентности, необходими за изграждане на умения за живот	Пинин, йероглифи
1.1. Китай и китайският език	4		Хангъл, йероглифи
1.2. Корея и корейският език	4		Хирагана, катакана, йероглифи
1.3. Япония и японският език	4		
2. Междупредметни връзки	4	Ключови компетентности, както и междупредметни връзки: <b>умения за учене</b> , културна компетентност и <b>умения за изразяване чрез творчество</b> и други; връзка с образователните направления български език и литература, математика, околна среда, изобразително изкуство, музика, конструиране и технологии, физическа култура на основание чл. 28, ал. 2 от Наредба № 5 от 03.06.2016 г. за предучилищното образование	Традиционни корейски приказки и герои...
2.1. Обичам България	4		Играта Го и други логически игри...
2.2. Настолни игри	4		Япония – известни градове и природни обекти...
2.3. География	4		Китайски изкуства, Калиграфия, Китайска живопис...
2.4. Изобразително изкуство	4		Традиционни музикални изкуства (사물놀이, 판소리, 탈춤)...
2.5. Музика	4		Изрязване на хартия, Китайски възел...
2.6. Занаяти	4		Китайски бойни изкуства, Тайдзицюен...
2.7. Спорт и развлечения	4		

3. Празници	4	<b>Детето умее да:</b> – Отбелязва в календар на празниците рождени и именни дни на деца в групата – Разпознава битова и празнична среда и показва готовност и умения да се включи в подготовката на честването на националния празник, на значими официални празници, както и на местни празници на общността – Сравнява предмети, които са част от фолклорната празнична среда, и използва поздравя при употребата им (мартеници, китки, венци, тояжки, маски и др.)	Празници – Китайска Нова година („Пролетен празник”, 春节), „Празник в средата на есента” (中秋节)
3.1. Вечерта срещу Нова година – Последният ден от годината			Корейски традиционни празници
3.2. Нова година (Соллал) – Първият ден от първия месец	4		Български и японски сезонни празници
3.3. Рожден ден на Буда – Осмият ден от четвъртия месец	4		
3.4. Тано (端午) – Двете петици или Петият ден от петия месец	4		
3.5. Чхилсок (七夕) – Седмият ден от седмия месец	4		
3.6. Чхусок (Фестивал по пълнолуние в знак на благодарност за реколтата, 秋夕) – Петнадесетият ден от осмия месец	4		
3.7. Драматизация на приказка	4		
4. Заключителен празничен концерт	4		

Последователността на темите и количеството на определените часове, отредени за всяка тема, могат да се променят в зависимост от спецификата на групата и интересите на децата. Например вместо дадени празници могат да се предложат повече драматизации на приказки: китайска, корейска и японска.

**Ситуация № 1 – Корея и корейският език.** Вариант за реализация на първата ситуация за Корея и корейския език е учителят да ги сравни с България и българския език. В началото на урока се задават следните въпроси:

- Знаете ли на кой полуостров се намира България? (на Балканския полуостров)
- Кое е цветето символ на България? (маслодайната роза)
- Коя титла е била давана на владетеля в България? (цар)
- Кой владетел в българската история почитаме като „Велики“? (цар Симеон Велики)
- Кога Светите братя Кирил и Методий създават първата българска азбука *глаголицата*? (още в средата на 9 век през 855 година)
- Кога по поръчка на цар Симеон Велики ученикът на Кирил и Методий Климент Охридски създава *кирилицата*, която ползваме и до днес? (началото на 10 век около 900 година)

След това учителят въвежда нов материал:

- Подобно на България, която се намира на Балканския полуостров, и Корея се намира на полуостров, а именно, на Корейския полуостров.
- Цветето символ на Република Корея е вид роза, хибискусът.
- Крал е титла, която е била давана на владетеля в Корея.
- В корейската история също има владетел, когото почитат като „Велики“ – Крал Седжонг (роден 1397 – починал 1450).
- Корейската азбука *хангъл* е създадена средата на 15 век (1443 година) по поръчка на Крал Седжонг (Antova 2019: 9).

При финализирането на урока учителят сравнява също функциите на китайския език в Корея и Япония с функциите на българския език в Източна Европа и латинския език в Западна и Централна Европа през периода на Средновековието (Fedotov 1997: 7).

**Ситуация № 2 – Нова година (Соллал) – Първият ден от първия месец.** Тук пак може да се направи сравнение: първо, между Нова година в България и Корея; второ, между слънчевия и лунния календари. Подобно на България, която празнува Нова година на първи януари, в Корея първи и втори януари по слънчевия календар са обявени за национални празници. Корея празнува също Нова година по лунния календар, която е в края на януари или началото на февруари.

Лунният календар се основава на движението на луната около земята. Месеца има двадесет и девет или тридесет дни, а годината се състои от дванадесет месеца. Това означава 354 дни годишно, за разлика от Слънчевия календар, според който годината има 365 дни. Разликата от 11 дни се компенсира на всеки тридесет и три месеца в един допълнителен „високосен“ месец, съдържащ 30 дни (Choy 1999: 99).

**Ситуация № 3 – Драматизация на приказка.** Във връзка с корейския фолклор,

който често включва и съответно обработена митология, може да се каже, че корейците и българите сме братовчеди по линия на прабългарите. Митът за *Тангун* – *родоначалникът на корейците* показва, че ние сме имали един и същ небесен бог, когото прабългарите наричали *Тангра*, а корейците *Тангун*. И корейската приказка *Бащата и тримата синове* твърде много прилича на българската легенда за прабългарския хан Кубрат и неговите синове (Choy 1998: 3).

В заключение трябва да се каже, че за разлика от вече прилаганите програми, чиито цели са учениците да постигнат ниво, еквивалентно на ниво А1 по Общата европейска езикова рамка, целите на предложената програма за обучение на децата за допълнителна образователна дейност по източноазиатски езици и култури са учениците да изградят положително отношение към изучаването на източноазиатски езици и култури и преди всичко чувство за национална идентичност при поднасяне на социокултурната информация за Китай, Корея и Япония посредством сравнителен анализ. За децата учебният материал по отделните езици е сложен, защото същевременно овладяват българския език и развиват речта, а повечето от тях учат и английски език. Затова наблягането на източноазиатските култури, от една страна, ще ги улесни, от друга страна, ще им помогне за останалите предмети, за по-доброто разбиране на българската култура благодарение на сравнението с чуждестранни.

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## Current Reforms in the Education Policy of PRC

*Maria Guleva,*

*Moscow State University*

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**Abstract:** The problem of reforming the educational system and the search for optimal development directions in the 21st century has become one of the key issues on the social and economic development agenda of China.

In the last few years, there have been interesting development in the education segment of the PRC, which are sure to play an important role in the future development of the country. The increasing involvement of the authorities and the government's close attention to the normative regulation of all the "new" areas of education are becoming more and more evident.

**Keywords:** China, extracurricular education, online education, reforms, gaokao exam, teaching and learning workload, EdTech

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China's education system is currently undergoing an interesting and important long-term transformation, and the changes taking place here and now are undoubtedly of great interest for the development of modern education in general.

The aim and objective of this research are to outline the reforms currently taking place in the education sector in the PRC, to assess their preconditions and to make assumptions about the future development of the sector.

According the Ministry of Education in 2021, the Chinese labor market acquired more than 9 million new university graduates.<sup>1</sup> This number is steadily increasing year on year, each time presenting a particular challenge to the Chinese labor market.

The main goal of every graduate is to find a well-paid and prestigious job. In order to qualify for such jobs, yesterday's student must be a graduate of a famous institution of higher education, whose entrance is guaranteed by high scores on the *gaokao* exam (高考) – the National College Entrance Examination.<sup>2</sup> Passing that exam with the best scores possible is a

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<sup>1</sup> Xinhua, China will have 9 mln new college graduates this year: [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2021-05/13/c\\_139943253.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2021-05/13/c_139943253.htm).

<sup>2</sup> The gaokao is officially known as the National Higher Education Entrance Examination. The Chinese characters

dream come true not only for teenagers, but first and foremost for their parents. The aim of the whole education process for a Chinese child from birth to school graduation is to achieve good *gaokao* results. That's not an easy task, especially considering the regional educational disparities between urban and rural areas. The quality of education in schools, the qualifications of teachers, and the degree of development of educational infrastructure all vary considerably from province to province, from Eastern to Western China. In order to guarantee outstanding results, Chinese parents are ready to spend disproportionately high sums just to get their child into the best university, find a prestigious job and subsequently help them financially in the future. The fact that the education of a child from birth to university requires a huge financial investment on the part of parents is believed by many to be the reason for not having a second child in the family. Despite the abolition of the one-child policy in 2015, Chinese families are not considering having another child. According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China, the number of newborns fell by almost 31% between 2019 and 2020. While in 2019, for example, the ratio of kindergarten teachers to babies was 1:17, with the current rate of population growth, by 2025 the problem of enrolling children in kindergartens and primary schools will be solved by itself, as the teacher to pupil ratio will not even exceed 1:10.<sup>3</sup> The Chinese authorities, who in May 2021 went so far as to allow families to have three children altogether in order to even out the demographic imbalance that China will face in the future, are worried about the current situation.

Chinese parents have their own arguments. According to the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, a family living in Shanghai spends an average of 840,000 yuan (about \$130,000) on raising a child from birth to the age of 15, of which more than 500,000 yuan is spent on education.<sup>4</sup> Shanghai is certainly not the most representative example for the national

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for *gaokao* literally mean «high exam» (高考). This is an examination that is taken by Chinese students in their third and final year of high school in June. It is also the lone criterion for admission into Chinese universities. The *gaokao* generally includes tests of Chinese literature, mathematics and a foreign language. If students choose liberal arts as specialty in high school, they need to take additional tests related to history, politics and geography. If they choose science, they'll take physics, chemistry and biology tests. Before or after students take the *gaokao*, they need to fill in a form listing the colleges they want to get into. Every college will have a lowest intake score which varies by province, and if students meet that requirement, they can be admitted.

<sup>3</sup> Jiemodui, China's Online Education Submits the Answer Sheet, What Do You Learn? <https://en.jmdedu.com/Article/722>.

<sup>4</sup> Reuters, Explainer: The cost of having a child in China. <https://www.reuters.com/world/china/cost-having-child-china-2021-06-01>.

average, but almost all of the sources mentioning family spending on education refer to a figure between 70-80% of the total family budget.

More than 75% of Chinese teenagers under 18 regularly attend extracurricular classes. Because of the enormous learning pressure in China, in recent years the term “chicken child” (“鸡娃”) has emerged in the society, to refer to children brought up in this intensive style of parenting, which leads to excessive load and stress.

Parents in China send their children to extracurricular institutions or tutors, where students can get help with core subjects, improve their skills, take classes in sports, the arts or other subjects, and volunteer or participate in other activities for which they can later earn bonus points to enter higher education institutions. However, such a race is bound to have an impact on the psychological state of children.

The high cost of education has become a stumbling block in promoting equal access policies. At a time when some families can afford applying to a variety of tutors, enrolling at supplementary education schools and purchasing expensive online learning applications, others, living in more remote regions of the country and sometimes lacking not only stable Internet and extracurricular institutions, but also an accessible school nearby, are qualitatively behind in preparing for their final exams.

This problem is becoming increasingly acute in recent years, and it is probably this factor, in addition to demographics, that has prompted the reforms currently being undertaken by the authorities.

Alleviating and resolving social contrasts and providing more equalized opportunities for education have been identified as important areas of work for the Chinese central government.

One of the first areas that the authorities have focused on is the rapidly developing field of online education. In recent years, China has seen a boom in the development of this segment. The number of users has grown from 104 million in 2016 to 423 million in 2020. The online education market is estimated to have grown from RMB 221 billion in 2016 to nearly RMB 500 billion in the pandemic year of 2020.<sup>5</sup>

Although Chinese authorities themselves initiated the creation of a national online platform during the pandemic, as well as the slogan “School classes are suspended, but education is not stopped”, it is the companies in the online education segment that will now suffer the most from the new government measures.

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<sup>5</sup> Xinhua, 资本漩涡下的在线教育 [http://www.xinhuanet.com/fortune/2021-01/18/c\\_1126992636.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/fortune/2021-01/18/c_1126992636.htm).

The regulation of the supplementary education system and the regulation of EdTech companies began gradually, with the first steps in this direction having been taken as early as 2017. For example, in Shanghai, Chengdu and some other cities, local authorities launched a campaign against school competitions, which are an additional burden and a source of stress for students, and create a tense atmosphere of competition among them. Such events were clearly regulated by local education departments and all competitions (online and offline) that were not on the approved lists were banned.

In 2018 the Office of the State Council first published guidelines on the need to standardize the activities of all extra-curricular education institutions. Within the same year, gradual inspections of educational licenses, educational infrastructure, teachers' qualifications, etc. were started.

In March, during the annual session of the National People's Congress, the supplementary education segment again attracted global attention. Among the topics discussed were the heavy burden on children in various classes with tutors and on various online platforms, which it was proposed to inspect in the near future. At the same time, the authorities pointed out that education should not be focused only on getting high scores, that all institutions involved in supplementary education should undergo a quality check of the training provided, and the intrusive advertising of tutoring should be monitored by the structures responsible for it.

At the end of May, the Chinese authorities approved a preliminary draft document on reducing student workload in two areas: schooling and further education. In the past few years, a similar call for a reduction in the excessive workload of students has been heard with increasing frequency.

From mid-June 2021, the Ministry of Education announced the opening of a special department to control after-school institutions. The main functions of the new body will be: 1) to supervise the work of these institutions related to pre-schools, primary schools and secondary schools, and to develop policies for the operation of these educational institutions; 2) to develop together with the relevant educational structures the content of training, criteria for teaching staff, the amount and timing of classes (including online and offline activities), pricing issues and formation of a legal framework for the activities of these educational organizations and institutions; 3) to regulate the competitions for primary and secondary school students; 4) to give a timely response to all problems that arise in the field of additional after-school education at the level of compulsory education. The creation of such a structure

indicates the high attention of the authorities to the development of the sector and its importance for the improvement of the whole educational system.

On July 24, 2021 the Office of the State Council officially published the “Guidelines for progressive reduction of student workload in compulsory and extracurricular education”. The document contains provisions on the regulation of further education institutions, the need to reduce the teaching load, provisions on financing, teaching time and content, pricing policy, prohibition of advertising and other matters.

- The opening of new institutions of extracurricular education is temporarily suspended. Organizations already in operation must undergo appropriate inspections and re-register as non-profit organizations.
- The content of education shall be the subject to strict inspection. Classes that are not included in the list of subjects in the nine-year compulsory education program are prohibited. It is strictly prohibited to use foreign educational programs as the basis of classes. Among the types of work online the function of scanning finished homework and identifying right and wrong answers, which has become popular among the children, should be excluded. According to experts, such functionality does not contribute to the development of the logical thinking of students.
- Organizations engaged in supplementary education cannot enter foreign financial markets and raise foreign capital. Foreigners are not allowed to own all or part of the shares of compulsory education companies.
- Pricing should be checked and excessive overpricing should be avoided.
- The times and duration of extracurricular activities are strictly regulated and no lessons are allowed on weekends, public holidays or holidays.
- All teachers must have relevant documents confirming their qualifications. Foreigners are not allowed to conduct any classes for primary and secondary school students.
- It is forbidden to carry out advertising campaigns in the media and other venues in order to attract the attention of users.

The new measures and requirements relate to the 9-year compulsory education program and its constituent subjects such as Chinese, Literature, Mathematics, English and others. Sports and art classes, which have become popular in recent years, are not subject to the new restrictions, so it is believed that the supplementary education segment is likely to undergo some change of direction and many major education companies will take the path of transforming their operating models.

Over the past six months, not only the CPC and the Ministry of Education, but also local authorities have begun to pay special attention to extra-curricular educational structures. For example, Beijing authorities have announced the forthcoming inspection of the quality of education in all extra-curricular organizations, as well as the development of criteria for evaluating their work. In addition, separate documents have been issued in Beijing and Shanghai on the advertising of extra-curricular activities and on the inadmissibility of any guarantees on improving academic achievement and admission to higher education institutions. The Shandong Provincial Education Department has issued a circular to prevent schools from holding classes during holiday periods and organizing children for additional online or offline lessons.

In June 2021, a Chinese media company conducted a survey among more than 8,000 Chinese users, some of whom are professionals in the field of education and parents affected by the introduction of new measures to regulate student workload.<sup>6</sup>

Some facts obtained after the analysis of the survey seem to be quite interesting as they characterize parents' attitudes towards the measures introduced by the authorities. For example, to the question "Should any (online/offline) classes on holidays and weekends at additional education institutions be banned" more than 70% of respondents answered "No". Almost as many, over 60%, believe that such measures will not bring the expected result and are unlikely to be a solution to reduce the children's load. At the same time, more than half of those polled expressed their willingness to look for private tutors for their children if all the courses are closed.

New requirements for the operation of supplementary education institutions have already been sanctioned; nevertheless, further steps to implement these provisions will still be taken at regional levels. It is evident that there will be some changes in the system for training schoolchildren. For example, there was a growing suggestion that schools should be the ones to set up extra-curricular activities for their students to help them with their own curriculum and preparation for exams. By October 2021 99% of the 143,000 compulsory education schools provided after-school services, with a student participation rate of 89.7%.<sup>7</sup> Over 70% of the students attended the whole course 5 days a week, with a teacher participation rate of 89.8%.

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<sup>6</sup> Jiemodui, Will Individual tutors stand to win from China's clampdown on after-school training? <https://en.jmdedu.com/Article/780>.

<sup>7</sup> Outlook New Era, 学生负担减量 优质教育增量 “双减”带来哪些变化 [https://www.lwxsd.com/pc/info\\_view.php?tab=mynews&VID=18384](https://www.lwxsd.com/pc/info_view.php?tab=mynews&VID=18384).



It is said that after implementing the reform, the students will have more time and opportunities to participate in outdoor activities, physical exercise, artistic activities and labor activities.

China's education system has in recent years become a very complex and structured system, with all participants interlinked with one another. It seems that the three years required to implement all the new measures will not be enough to fundamentally transform the learning process, but it is clear that the Chinese authorities will continue to focus on developing the whole educational system. Such an experience could undoubtedly be of interest to the whole international educational community.

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我们要学多少汉字？  
——基于《国际中文教育中文水平等级标准》的考察

陈森,

上海外国语大学, 希腊亚里士多德大学孔子学院

**How many Chinese characters must we learn? —— A Study Based on the Chinese Proficiency Grading Standards for International Chinese Language Education**

*Sen Chen,*

*Shanghai International Studies University, Confucius Institute at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

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**Abstract:** Aiming at the problem of Chinese characters teaching in international Chinese education, this article compares several previous standards or syllabuses, and analyzes their quantitative requirements for Chinese characters teaching and learning from three aspects: “total amount of Chinese characters”, “staged quantification” and “reading and handwriting”. Based on the “Chinese Proficiency Grading Standards for International Chinese Language Education”, this article analyzes the new requirements of Chinese character teaching under the current new situation.

**Keywords:** Chinese characters, TCSOL, Standards

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## 1. 引言

在汉语学习的过程中, 很多学生都想知道 HSK 的每一级需要掌握多少汉字? HSK 3 级对应的是 B1 等级吗? 面对此类问题, 其实很多老师也不太清楚到底每个阶段的学生应该学多少汉字。有些老师很“善良”, 觉得汉字对于学生来说太难了, 他们学不会, 我们应该“体恤”学生, 让他们少学一点汉字, 或者某些汉字只要求会认就好了, 不过分要求他们会写。一些汉语教材在编排上面也没有将汉字列在突出的位置和给予应有的重视, 而是花了大量篇幅在词语的学习和语法点的解释上, 这些都导致很多学生会说, 会听, 但是不会读, 更不会写。也许有的师生认为, 对于汉字, 会说会读就够了, 不用非得会写。

真的是这样吗？

2021年7月1日，由中华人民共和国教育部和国家语言文字工作委员会共同研制并颁布的《国际中文教育中文水平等级标准》正式在全球范围内实施。这在国际中文教育领域是一件划时代的大事。该标准全面适用于国际中文教育的学习、教学、测试和评估。它不是课程大纲，也不是 HSK 考试大纲，而是课程大纲和考试大纲的上位文件和制定依据，在它之前的三十多年里，中国已经颁布过几部跟汉语教学相关的大纲或标准，那么它和之前的几部汉语标准相比，呈现出了哪些变化？它对国际中文教育中的汉字教学有哪些新的要求？对汉语水平考试有哪些新的要求？汉语学习者到底应该学习多少汉字？本文将带着这些问题进行探究。

## 2. 汉语标准

### 2.1 过往的几部汉语标准

表 1 八部汉语等级标准对汉字的要求

年份	标准/大纲	对汉字的总要求
1988 年	《汉语水平等级标准和等级大纲》（试行） <sup>1</sup>	会读并会写 5168 个词语 对应的汉字
1992 年 /2001 年	《汉语水平词汇与汉字等级大纲》 <sup>2</sup>	共 2905 个。 共至少会写 2485 个。
1996 年	《汉语水平等级标准与语法等级大纲》 <sup>3</sup>	共 2905 个。 共至少会写 2033 个。
2007 年	《国际汉语能力标准》 <sup>4</sup>	无
2008 年 /2014 年	《国际汉语教学通用课程大纲》（修订本） <sup>5</sup>	会听说读写 2500 个汉字
2009 年	《HSK 考试大纲》（修订版） <sup>6</sup>	5000 个词语对应的汉字

<sup>1</sup> 中国对外汉语教学学会. 1988. 北京语言学院出版社

<sup>2</sup> 国家汉语水平考试委员会办公室. 2001. 经济科学出版社

<sup>3</sup> 国家对外汉语教学领导小组办公室. 1996. 高等教育出版社

<sup>4</sup> 国家汉语国际推广领导小组办公室. 1997. 外语教学与研究出版社

<sup>5</sup> 孔子学院总部/国家汉办. 2014. 北京语言大学出版社

<sup>6</sup> 孔子学院总部/国家汉办. 2015. 人民教育出版社

/2015年		
2010年	《汉语国际教育用音节汉字词汇等级划分》 7	掌握共计 3000 个
2021年	《国际中文教育中文水平等级标准》 <sup>8</sup>	共 3000 个。 共至少会写 1200 个。

如上表 1 所示，从 1988 年到 2021 年，中国制定了一系列关于国际中文教育的中文水平标准，我们按照时间顺序，分别来看看他们对汉字学习有什么样的要求。

1988 年的《汉语水平等级标准和等级大纲》的前言部分说“...(该大纲)是进行对外汉语教学总体设计、制定教学大纲、编写各级教材以及作为进行课堂教学和测试的重要依据。”具体由“《汉语水平等级标准》《词汇等级大纲》《语法等级大纲》《功能、意念等级大纲》(暂缺)《文化等级大纲》(暂缺)组成。”其中，《汉语水平等级标准》共分汉语水平为五个级别：一级、二级、三级、四级、五级。每个级别内部以“听、说、读、写”为纲，对汉语能力进行了描述。这部等级大纲中并没有对汉字部分进行详细的大纲规定。但是在每个等级内的“读”和“写”这两项技能里，我们能看到这部标准对不同等级汉语学习者学习汉字的要求。由于种种条件限制，当时只制定出了《汉语水平等级标准》的一至三级。我们在这里引述如下：

### 【一级】

读：能够认读甲级词（1011 个）及其所涉及的全部汉字。

写：“能够书写最基本的日常生活（如衣、食、住、行、介绍个人、家庭情况）、简单社交（如问候、感谢）和有限学习（如课堂活动）需要范围内的甲级词（1011）个及其所涉及的全部汉字...能够模仿课文写出篇幅在 300 字以内的记叙性短文...能够写简单的便条、通知等应用短文...”

### 【二级】

读：能够认读甲乙两级词（共 3082 个）及其所涉及的全部汉字。

写：“能够书写基本的日常生活和一定学习需要范围内的甲乙两级词（共 3028 个）及其所涉及的全部汉字...能够在两小时内就熟悉的题材写一篇不少于 500 字的记叙文。”

<sup>7</sup> 中华人民共和国教育部、国家语言文字工作委员会. 2010

<sup>8</sup> 中华人民共和国教育部、国家语言文字工作委员会. 2021

### 【三级】

读：能够认读甲乙丙三级词（共 5168 个）及其所涉及的全部汉字。

写：“基本掌握一般性日常生活、社交、学习和一定工作需要范围内的甲乙丙三级词（5168 个）及其所涉及的全部汉字。能够在两小时内写出不少于 700 字的命题作文。”

1992 年的《汉语水平词汇与汉字等级大纲》是词汇跟着汉字走的，是典型的“二维基准”模式（李行建，2021）。它包含词汇等级大纲和汉字等级大纲。在其前言中说，它“作为我国初等、中等和高等汉语水平考试的主要依据、作为我国对外汉语教学总体设计、教材编写、课堂教学和成绩测试的重要依据。”“它不是一般的教学大纲，而是一种规范性的水平大纲”（见第 13 页）。其中的汉字大纲共收录汉字 2905 个，包括甲级字 800 个，乙级字 804 个，丙级字 590 个，丙级字附录 11 个，丁级字 670 个，丁级字附录 30 个。这个分类的依据是国家语委对现代汉语常用字的分级：一级常用字 2500 个，二级常用字 1000 个，一级和二级常用字共 3500 个。“对于汉语教学来说，基础及基础后阶段要掌握常用字 2000~2200，高级阶段要掌握常用字和次常用字 700~900，这样共掌握常用字和次常用字 2900 个”<sup>9</sup>。此外，关于汉字部分，大纲中说：“属甲、乙两级常用词（共 3000），所含字种在 2500 常用字范围内的，一律要求四会（复用式掌握）；所含字种在 2500 常用字~3500 次常用字之内，可要求三会。属丙级次常用词（2000 词），所含字种在 2500 词常用字范围，要求四会。所含字种在 2500 之外，则要求三会或两会（领会式掌握）。属丁级通用词（3000 词），所含字种在 2500 常用字范围内，要求四会。所含字种在 2500~3500 之内（次常用字），可要求三会或两会。所含字种在 3500 以外，可要求一会。”<sup>10</sup>。总的逻辑是甲、乙、丙、丁四个级别的汉字是以甲、乙、丙、丁四个级别的词汇为准的。我们总结一下，根据上述的描述可以看出，这部大纲要求我们至少要掌握 2905 个的汉字，其中会至少能“听说读写”2485 个汉字<sup>11</sup>，除此之外的汉字，则可按照实际需要要求“三会”“两会”或“一会”（读）。

1996 年的《汉语水平等级标准与语法等级大纲》是对之前几部大纲的发展和补充。

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<sup>9</sup> 参见第26页序言

<sup>10</sup> 参见大纲序言

<sup>11</sup> 参见第26页

标准分汉语水平为三等：初等水平，中等水平，高等水平。五级：一级标准、二级标准、三级标准、四级标准、五级标准。其中初等水平包含一级和二级，中等水平包含三级，高等水平包含四级和五级。每一级标准都由话题内容、语言范围和言语能力三个要素组成。<sup>12</sup>这套标准的教学对象主要是来中国学习的四年制留学生，所以在教学时长的实际上也是以4年为主。1992年的《汉语水平词汇与汉字等级大纲》和1996年的《汉语水平等级标准与语法等级大纲》是分阶段研制的姐妹篇，同属于一个编写理念。

2007年颁布的《国际汉语能力标准》只是从各个方面描述了汉语学习者的语言能力要求，并没有对具体语言要素的量化指标。

2008年颁布的《国际汉语教学通用课程大纲》对汉语水平的划定是五级，但是在2014年的修订本里则调整到了六级，与现有的汉语水平考试一致。原因是2009年“汉语水平考试”迎来了一次革新，由以前的“初等、中等、高等”变成了现在的HSK1~6级框架。这次修订加强了与新版汉语水平考试的关联，该大纲将语言综合运用能力分为语言知识、语言技能、文化能力、策略四个板块。附录的《常用汉字表》（一~六级）对汉字数量的规定是：一级150个，二级共300个，三级共600个，四级共1000个，五级共1500个，六级共2500个。对于这些汉字，大纲在每一个等级的“目标及内容”中的“语言知识”部分描述为：“一级，掌握150个常用汉字，做到听说读写四会。二级，掌握300个左右常用汉字，做到听说读写四会。三级，掌握600个左右常用汉字，做到听说读写四会。四级，掌握1000个左右的汉字，做到听说读写四会。五级，掌握1500个左右常用汉字，做到听说读写四会。六级，掌握2500个左右的常用汉字，做到听说读写四会。”从技能描述里面我们能够看到，对于这些汉字，学生们要全面掌握听、说、读、写技能。

创制于2010年的《汉语国际教育用音节汉字词汇等级划分》是汉语国际教育领域

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<sup>12</sup> 其对汉字的规定是：“一级水平甲级汉字800个（其中85%要求会写），二级水平甲乙两级汉字1604个（其中85%要求会写），三级水平甲乙丙三级汉字2205个（其中80%要求会写），四级水平甲乙丙三级汉字及丁级汉字的一半共计2555个（其中75%会写），五级水平甲乙丙丁四级汉字2905个（其中70%要求会写）。”此外，在写作（汉字书写）能力要求上面，大纲描述道：“一级，模仿课文写300字以内的记叙文。二级，两小时内写题材熟悉的记叙文。三级，两小时内写出命题作文，字数600字以上。四级，两小时内写出命题作文，字数700字以上。五级，两小时内写出命题作文，字数800字以上。撰写毕业论文，字数不少于5000字。”

第一个国家标准。这部标准设计了音节、汉字、词汇这“三维基准”。该标准说“本规范适用于汉语国际教育总体设计、教材编写、课堂教学、课程测试、工具书编写...”。它规定，汉语国际教育用的汉字分为一级（初级），二级（中级），三级（高级）。一级汉字 900 个，二级汉字 900 个，三级汉字 900 个，三级附录汉字 300 个。共计 3000 个。此外并没有对具体书写技能做出描述。

2015 年修订后的最新版《HSK 考试大纲》中并没有单独对汉字的要求，而只有对词汇量的要求。然而从 HSK 三级开始，试卷中就不再出现拼音标注了，因而对汉语学习者的汉字读、写能力其实是一直存在的。具体每个等级所要求的词汇量见下表 2。

## 2.2 与《欧洲语言共同参考框架》比较

表 2 HSK 考试大纲与《欧框》的比较<sup>13</sup>

HSK				《欧框》对应级
级别	词汇量	周学时	学习时间	别
一级	150	2~3 课时	一学期	A1
二级	300	2~3 课时	二学期	A2
三级	600	2~3 课时	三学期	B1
四级	1200	2~3 课时	四学期	B2
五级	2500	2~3 课时	五学期	C1
六级	5000 及以上			C2

《欧洲语言共同参考框架》(CEFR)是一部影响深远的语言大纲。《欧框》的制定有欧洲一体化的现实需求驱动，也正因为如此，《欧框》具有明显的“欧洲性”，这不仅表现在其服务于欧盟的语言政策，也表现在其考虑的语言也主要是欧盟国家的官方语言，几乎没考虑到像汉语和阿拉伯语等非欧洲“本土”语言的特征.....就汉语而言，会听说和会读写之间的差异与欧洲语言相比是非常大的。事实上，这些差异也是欧洲语言使用者学习汉语时经常提及汉语难学的主要原因（张新生，2021）。汉语和欧洲语言的主要差异是汉字、音节、以及汉字与音节的关系，这都是欧洲语言中所没有的，也是《欧框》没有涉及的。因此，简单地用《欧框》来套用汉语恐怕是行不通的。那么表 2 中

<sup>13</sup> 参见孔子学院总部/国家汉办. 2015. HSK考试大纲. 人民教育出版社



的 HSK 与《欧框》的等级对比是否真的是一一对应的关系？以 HSK3 级为例，学习者在一个半学年内学会 600 个词语或许没有什么难度，但其所获得的语言能力是难以完成《欧框》B1 级所描述的日常生活基本交际任务的（张新生、李明芳，2019），更别说这 600 个词语所对应的汉字了。

受到 CEFR 的影响，欧洲有些国家已经制定了结合当地情况的汉语教学大纲或考试大纲。法国、英国、瑞典、意大利和荷兰都已经推出了汉语作为第二语言的教学大纲，爱尔兰政府也已经宣布 2022 年将汉语正式列入其高考外语科目（张新生，2019）。汉语也不例外，《欧洲汉语能力标准》European Benchmarks for the Chinese Language (EBCL) 就是在这种背景下产生的，它是依据 CEFR，从欧洲语言教学实际情况出发制定的汉语能力标准。该标准目前仍然是唯一一个由欧盟自主制定的非欧洲语言能力标准（张新生，2021）。由于种种原因，这个标准目前只有 A1 和 A2 两个等级，我们来看看它对于汉字的要求。它规定 A1 要掌握口头交流的词汇量 590 个，掌握 320 个汉字（会认和会写）。A2 口头交流词汇量 1245 个，掌握 630 个汉字（会认和会写）。

除了汉字之外，我们将 HSK 考试大纲中规定的词汇量与《欧框》指导下的相关欧洲语言能力标准要求做比较就会发现 HSK 各级别的词汇量与《欧框》体系内的其他语言标准相比少很多。以 A2（HSK 2）为例，HSK 要求 300 个词语，英语要求 1500~2500 个词语，德语要求 1000 个词语，俄语要求 1300 个词语，《欧标》要求 1245 个词语（张新生，2019）。由于汉字量与词汇量密切相关，因此，不论是从汉字角度观察还是从词汇角度观察，我们可以说，当前的 HSK 考试大纲以及国际中文教育水平标准对于学习者有点“仁慈”了。

### 3. 《国际中文教育中文水平等级标准》

#### 3.1 时代背景

2020 年，虽然受到疫情的影响，但全年仍然有 38 万人参加了 HSK、HSKK、YCT、BCT 考试，有 1.5 万名中文学习者申请了线上的和线下的国际中文教师奖学金。目前，全球已有 70 多个国家将中文纳入国民教育体系，4000 多所国外大学开设中文课程，2500 万人将汉语作为第二语言进行学习。参加汉语水平考试的人数累计超过 560 万，参加各类中文测试的人数累计达到 3800 万，中国以外学习和使用中文的人数已接近 2 亿（马箭飞，2021）。

时代的变化首先体现为教学内容的变化。随着“中文+”需求增加，“一带一路”沿线国家的“中文+职业”教育方兴未艾。其次体现为高级汉语研究型人才的现实需求，现有

的教学标准难以支撑高级汉语水平人才的评估。在这些背景下,《国际中文教育中文水平等级标准》应运而生。

### 3.2 《国际中文教育中文水平等级标准》对汉字的规定

《国际中文教育中文水平等级标准》构建了三等九级的体系。一至三级为初等,四至六级为中等,七至九级为高等。《等级标准》既有对每一等的汉语水平的界定,又有对每一级汉语水平的描述。每一等的描述都是从语言材料、社会交际、话题表达、交际策略、中国文化与跨文化交际能力、语言量化指标等角度进行总体说明的。语言要素的量化在初等和中等的六级内有明确的划分,在高等内不作划分。每一级的汉语水平等级以“3+5”的方式呈现。“3”指言语交际能力、话题任务内容、语言量化指标三个层面。“5”指听、说、读、写、译五种基本语言技能(李亚男,2021)。与2010年的《汉语国际教育用音节汉字词汇等级划分》相比,《标准》将以前的“二维基准”“三维基准”扩展到了音节、汉字、词汇、语法这“四维基准”。

从下表3中的描述我们来看看该《标准》对汉字的量化要求。

表3 《标准》对汉字的量化要求

等次	级别	汉字	手写汉字
初等	一级	300	100
	二级	300/600	100/200
	三级	300/900	100/300
中等	四级	300/1200	100/400
	五级	300/1500	150/550
	六级	300/1800	150/700
高等	七~九级	1200/3000	500/1200
总计		3000	1200

注:表中“/”前的数字为新增数,“/”后的数字为累计数。

《等级标准》和以前的标准相比,呈现出了一些变化。

对初级的汉字量要求更高了。我们把它和2008年颁布的《国际汉语教学通用课程大纲》做个比较可以发现,《标准》中的“初等一级”所要求的300个汉字,在《国际汉

语教学通用课程大纲》中是二级的水平（二级要求会认会写 300 个汉字）。“初等三级”所要求的 900 个汉字，在《国际汉语教学通用课程大纲》中几乎是四级的水平（四级要求会写会认 1000 个汉字）。

读写分离。《等级标准》根据汉字的流通度、常用度、构词能力、文化内涵等因素，提出汉字的认读与手写适度分离的原则，将手写汉字按照等级单独列出，并将初等汉字表的 900 个汉字及从中等汉字表中选出的 300 个汉字分为三等：初等手写汉字 300 个、中等手写汉字 400 个、高等手写汉字 500 个，一共 1200 个。也就是说，对于所有的汉语学习者来说，一共要掌握 3000 个汉字，在这 3000 个汉字中，要求至少会写 1200 个。事实上，这种“汉字认读和汉字书写分离”的原则一直是中国本土小学语文教材的通行做法。中国小学语文课本中，在识字阶段，每篇课文后面都有两个汉字表，一个是“认读汉字表”，另一个是“书写汉字表”。《等级标准》中的这个理念也体现了新时代汉字教学的进步和创新。《等级标准》还提出了两个 5% 的概念（刘英林，2021）。这里对汉字的量化指标并不是固定不变的，在每一等每一级里都允许有两个 5% 的灵活掌握的空间，一个是替换 5%，一个是增减 5%，在教学过程中可以因地制宜。反观之前的几部标准，都并没有对读和写做出分离的要求，导致教材编写者和学习者对此模糊不清。

### 3.3 对教材编写的启示

我们以主流的四部教材为例来看看其中的汉字部分的面貌。

《HSK 标准教程》<sup>14</sup>是根据 HSK 考试打造的，共有六个级别。我们选取第一册、第二册、第三册来看看其中的汉字部分是怎样编排的。第一册只对 17 个基本笔画和 52 个独体字有书写要求。第二册只对 14 个独体字有书写要求。第三册的汉字部分通过每一课“旧字新词”Word game 的形式学习若干新词语，而所用的字多数都是之前学过的字，因此，不能算是新字。整本书的词语一共有大约 70 个。这样看来，前三册的汉字部分加起来不过 150 个汉字。远远低于《等级标准》所要求的 900 个汉字。而这套教材的编写初衷是与 HSK 挂钩的。也就是说，学生学完第三册，应该达到的水平是 HSK 3 级。现行 HSK 考试的一级和二级试卷中所有出现的汉字都以加拼音的形式出现，并没有凸显对汉字认读和书写的相关要求。三级考试中的所有汉字皆无拼音标注，最后一题包

<sup>14</sup> 姜丽萍. 2014. HSK标准教程. 北京语言大学出版社

含少量的汉字书写。《跟我学汉语》<sup>15</sup>从第一册开始的每一课都设置汉字板块，学习若干汉字的结构和笔顺书写，字数偏少，且比重不大，不够详细，不是每一个字都有笔顺展示的。《体验汉语》系列教程<sup>16</sup>分为基础教程、中级教程和高级教程三个级别。我们选取其中的基础教程能看到，每一课除了介绍基础的笔画、笔顺等知识外，只有很少的几个汉字作为专门的汉字部分来展示的。字数偏少。

《新实用汉语课本》（第2版）<sup>17</sup>的一大特色是对汉字的重视，每一课后面都有大量的汉字，要求学生在学完该课后全部会认会写。反观其他的教材如《HSK 标准教程》《跟我学汉语》《体验汉语》等，则将大量的篇幅用在了词汇和语法的教学上，如果对照《等级标准》来看，在汉字的编排上有明显的不足。此外，现行的教材中很少有将汉字的认读和书写分离的。《新实用汉语课本》每课后面的汉字，根据《教师用书》的建议，则要求学生全部“会认并且会写”，这是以前的课程大纲中比较通行的理念及做法。综上所述，我们认为《新实用汉语课本》在汉字认读和书写方面做的是最好的。相信在《国际中文教育中文水平等级标准》的指导下，不远的将来一定会有不仅重视汉字，而且对汉字的编排更科学的新教材问世。

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<sup>15</sup> 陈绶等. 2014. 跟我学中文. 人民教育出版社

<sup>16</sup> 姜丽萍. 2006. 体验汉语. 高等教育出版社

<sup>17</sup> 刘珣. 2010. 新实用汉语课本（第2版）. 北京语言大学出版社

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## 儒家道德教育与近代道德教育

Vivek Mani Tripathi (智辉),

广东外语外贸大学

### **Confucian Moral Education and Modern Moral Education**

*Vivek Mani Tripathi,*

*Guangdong University of Foreign Studies*

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**Abstract:** With the development of modern science and technology, while people's living standards have greatly improved, people have become more and more aware of the importance of education to social development. Many educational concepts and educational systems have emerged to build a harmonious and developed society.

In China, Confucianism is a classics school that people have always advocated. As the founder of Confucianism, Confucius has made great contributions to education in China and the world. Confucius' educational thoughts have always been regarded as educational classics. However, with the development of modern industry, human society has entered into economic prosperity and during the period of material civilization, people's lifestyles and ways of thinking have also undergone tremendous changes. Confucius' educational philosophy has caused controversy in contemporary society. Is the ancient Confucius's educational thought still applicable to contemporary education? In this paper researcher has tried to make a simple analysis of Confucius' educational thought and moral ethics.

**Keywords:** Confucius, Confucianism, educational thought, modern society

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#### 一、孔子及其教育思想:

孔子（公元前 551 年 9 月 28 日～公元前 479 年 4 月 11 日），子姓，孔氏，名丘，字仲尼，鲁国陬邑（今山东省曲阜市）人，祖籍宋国栗邑（今河南省夏邑县），中国古代伟大的思想家、政治家、教育家，儒家学派创始人，被后世尊称为孔圣人、素圣，其思想对中国和世界都有深远的影响，其人被列为“世界十大文化名人”之首。随着孔子影响力的扩大，祭祀孔子的“祭孔大典”一度成为和中国祖先神祭祀同等级别的大祀。习近平主席在纪念孔子诞辰 2565 周年会上首次提出：“要努力实现传统文化的创造

性转化、创新性发展，使之与现实文化相融相通，共同服务以文化人的时代任务。”<sup>1</sup>孔子的思想是中华民族传统思想、传统教育和传统道德的重要组成部分，对中国民族精神、时代精神的形成和发展发挥着重要影响，具有独特的现实价值和时代意义。

孔子一生唯以教书育人为终极目标，创办私学，平等地接纳每一个阶层的学生，且学费仅需少量的财物或食物即可。据说他一生培养三千门生，其中有贤人七十二位，而最杰出的则是“孔门十哲”，孔子向学生们宣扬自己的政治主张、治国理念和道德伦理思想，曾带领部分弟子周游列国十四年，晚年修订六经（即《诗》《书》《礼》《乐》《易》《春秋》）。孔子西去后，其弟子及再传弟子把孔子及其弟子的言行语录和思想记录下来，整理编成《论语》，该书被奉为儒家经典，<sup>2</sup>同时孔子的思想也由这些门徒所继承和发扬光大，成为了中国传统文化中的重要有机组成部分。秦始皇统一全中国之后，实施了严酷的法治政策以维护其统治。到秦始皇三十四年至三十五年，禁私学、焚书坑儒、“以法为教，以吏为师”等政策的实施意味着秦朝的专制统治达到顶峰，从而引发了大规模地农民革命运动导致王朝覆灭。秦朝的统治失败引起了汉统治者的警惕。为了更持久地维护其封建“大一统”的统治，汉朝初期统治者对各类思想采取相对开明的政策，经过几十年的休养生息后，到公元前140年，汉武帝采纳了董仲舒“罢黜百家”、“独尊儒术”的建议，把推崇仁义道德和纲常伦理为核心的儒家思想正式确定为王朝的正统思想，由此奠定了儒家学说在中国思想界的统治地位。<sup>3</sup>

孔子思想的时代内涵也随着社会变化发展而不断扩充，符合时代需要的精华被保留了下来，而那些有违时代发展的糟粕则被剔除或得到了新的阐释，例如孙中山先生对儒家传统的“忠”进行了新的解释：在过去，“忠”的对象主要是指古代的帝王和封建皇帝，而在新民主主义革命之后，中国的封建帝制已经被推翻，尽管没有皇帝了，但“忠”还是要讲的。他说：“我们的忠字可不可以用之于国呢？我们现在说忠于君，固然是不可以，说忠于民可不可呢？忠于事又可不可呢？我们做一件事，总要始终不渝，做到成功。如果做不成功，就是把性命牺牲亦所不惜，这便是忠。”<sup>4</sup>，正因为儒家思想的内涵不停随着时代变化和发展，所以直至今日，孔子的教育方法和教育理念仍然在中

<sup>1</sup>习近平.习近平在纪念孔子诞辰2565周年国际学术研讨会暨国际儒学联合会第五届会员大会开幕会上的讲话[N].人民日报,2014年9月25日第2版.

<sup>2</sup>网络资源：[http://yishu.sdnews.com.cn/ytkx/201702/t20170214\\_2199436.htm](http://yishu.sdnews.com.cn/ytkx/201702/t20170214_2199436.htm).

<sup>3</sup>杨韶刚.道德教育心理学.[M]上海教育出版社,2007,第48页.

<sup>4</sup>同上,第89页.

国乃至世界范围内都焕发着蓬勃的生机。习近平总书记多次强调弘扬中华优秀传统文化的必要性，指出当代教师应当主动继承中国优秀传统文化的基因，积极挖掘并弘扬儒家文化的现代性价值。<sup>5</sup>

孔子在道德教育方面倡导仁、义、礼、智、信，这些思想是中国传统社人文情怀和家国情怀的体现，对中国德育教育具有借鉴指导意义，孔夫子注重修身养性，提出修身、齐家、治国、平天下的理想，是中华优秀传统文化思想之一，是中国宝贵的民族精神财富。当代教师把孔子的教育理念引入课堂具有十分重要的现实意义，首先是有利于在当代中国新青年中传播中华优秀传统文化；其次是引入孔子的教育思想有助于学生理想人格的塑造，孔子曰：“道之以德，齐之以礼，有耻且格”，增强学生的责任感和担当感，帮助学生在德智体美劳全面、健康地成长符合中国当前对青年的要求；从宏观角度来看，把孔子的思想和道德教育引入当代课堂有利于为中国培养有思想、有道德、有文化的新时代人才，能为中华民族的伟大复兴和中国梦的实现提供巨大助力。

然而，尽管我们拥有优良文化教育传统，当代中国学校道德教育的实效性并不尽如人意，这样的现状与党和国家的高度重视与要求，与国家和社会对学校道德教育投入的大量人力、物力和财力相比，反差较大。究其成因，纷繁复杂。从德育心理学角度看，这与学校道德教育未能很好地遵循个体品德发展的心理规律不无关系。当代中国心理学主要重视研究人的认知发展规律，却不太重视研究人的品德发展规律。<sup>6</sup>由此，尽快把“素质教育”落实到课堂中，切实提高学生的道德修养和民族责任感是关乎中国国家命运的重事、要事，是值得所有中国教育行业从业者关切的事情。

## 二、孔子的教育理念和方法：

### （一）有教无类，因材施教

首先孔子提倡公平的教育理念，主张“有教无类”（《论语·卫灵公》）。孔子认为在教育面前人人平等，不能因为贫富、贵贱、智愚和善恶而排斥他们，这实际上是一种超前的、理想的教育理念，是儒家教育理念中教育平等观的重要体现，他说：“自行束

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<sup>5</sup>姚思宇. 孔子修身思想融入中学生德育教育研究[D]. 西安理工大学, 2021年, 第1页.

<sup>6</sup>杨韶刚. 道德教育心理学. [M] 上海教育出版社, 2007年, 第1页.



脩以上，吾未尝无诲焉。”<sup>7</sup>据，冯有兰先生考证，以六艺教一般人，打破教育的阶级壁垒，使六艺民众化，大规模招收学生而教育之，孔子是第一人<sup>8</sup>。孔子之“道”核心在于“仁”，在他看来，“仁”是道德的最高境界，其要义是“爱人”<sup>9</sup>，所谓的人就是天下所有的平民百姓，是兢兢业业以求生活的普罗大众，因此有教无类也是孔子“仁”之思想的重要体现。

其次学生有各自的性格、想法，也有不同的成长环境，这就要求教育者必须针对学生的特点给予适当的教育，如果一位教师的教育方式十分呆板，对所有的学生都采用同样的教育方法，那教学效果恐怕难尽人意。针对因材施教的教育理念，至圣先师孔子是这么做的：当孔子的弟子同问到“仁”时，樊迟的资质比较愚钝，孔子就对他讲“仁”就是爱人；司马牛“多言而躁”，孔子就对他说“仁者，其言也讷”（《论语·颜渊》），并告诫他言语需要谨慎；仲弓对待其他人不但不够温和，而且行事较为鲁莽，孔子便教育他要宽容对待他人，正所谓“己所不欲，勿施于人”（《论语·卫灵公》）。由此可见，即使是面对同样的一个问题，孔子给出的答案也不尽相同。网络的高速发展不仅仅给教学带来便利，同样也造成了挑战，学生可以轻而易举地接受大量地信息，而这些良莠不齐的信息不可避免地会对学生的思想造成影响从而导致教学对象的差异化，这是教育工作者必须注意的问题，如果不考虑学生的差异化的问题，则在教学工作中一直使用古板的教学方式可能会导致教学效果欠佳。<sup>10</sup>

## （二）启发诱导，循序渐进

学习是一个长时间的过程，不可能一蹴而就，这要求教育工作者们要遵循学生学习的一般规律，耐心、有方法、有技巧地引导学生学习，启发学生的学习动机。孔子所主张“循循善诱”的教学方法，仍然值得我们学习。孔子主张“不愤不启，不悱不发，举一隅不以三隅反，则不复也。”（《论语·述而》）的启发式教育，也就是说，不到他努力想弄明白而得不到的程度不要去开导他；不到他心里明白却不能完善表达出来的程度不要去启发他。如果他不能举一反三，就不要再反复地给他举例了。”孔子的教育经验告诉我们当代教育工作者如何去引导学生自主思考，激发学生自主学习的积极性，帮

<sup>7</sup>杨伯峻.论语译注[M].北京:中华书局,2009:96.

<sup>8</sup>冯有兰.中国哲学史:上[M].重庆:重庆出版社,2009:46-47.

<sup>9</sup>丁勇.孔子教育思想及对当代特殊教育的启示[J].现代特殊教育,2021(19):4-9.

<sup>10</sup>王琴琴,杨少龙,李黎.孔子的教育方法对高校教学的启示[J].汉字文化,2021(20):56-57.DOI:10.14014/j.cnki.cn11-2597/g2.2021.20.023,第1页.

助学生树立终身学习、自主学生的理念是教育工作者工作的重要命题。除此之外，孔子还奉行“以友辅仁”(《论语·颜渊》)的环境熏陶教育，力行“内省不疚”(《论语·颜渊》)的自我教育，践行“多闻，择其善者而从之”“多见而识之”(《论语·述而》)的实践教育，尝试“何哉，乐所谓达者”(《论语·子路》)的反问教学。由此可知，孔子在对弟子教育时，并不是急于直接传授现成的理论知识和相关原则，而是选择启发学生思考，教给他们“知”与“善”。

### (三) 言传身教，以身作则

孔子曰：“士志于道，而耻恶衣恶食者，未足与议也。”(《论语·里仁》)孔子认为，只有将教育事业视为自己生命的全部，才能用自己的生命去呵护和实践教育。所谓“闻斯行诸”，比起口头上的语言，教育工作者以身作则地在现实生活中儒家传统文化观、教育观能对学生产生潜移默化的影响，孔子曰：“其身正，不令而行；其身不正，虽令不从。”(《论语·子路》)孔子十分注重教师自身行为的规范，强调教师行为对学生的影响，试想，一位自己不认真学习、不反省自己、不慎言慎行的教师如何能教导出优秀的学生呢？。曾子曰：“吾日三省吾身，为人谋而不忠乎，与朋友交而不信乎，传不习乎？”(《论语·学而》)孔子用身体力行的方式，告诫弟子不论是与朋友交往，还是学习，都需要自我反省。像孔子那样教学，要求现代教育工作者以孔子经典教学场景为示范，以自己创造的教学现场为呼应，形成穿越时空、融为一体的场景叠现。<sup>11</sup>

## 三、孔子“仁义礼智信”的教育思想对当代教育的启迪

### (一) 仁爱：

仁爱是孔子思想中的核心理念，主要是指一种高尚的品德，孔子是仁学的开创者，他提出“仁者爱人”“克己复礼为仁”的思想。仁爱中的“仁”字就是由人和二组成的，说明了仁表示的是人和人之间的关系，那么仁爱就表示人和人之间相爱的关系。仁爱是道德修养的最高境界和精神追求，其他的美德都要在仁爱的基础上才能更好地发展，一个人要想拥有真正的美德，都必须以仁爱为前提。孔子非常注重人的德育教育，注重人的品格的修养，他认为仁爱是最善良，最根本的品德，是决定一切的基础，不管是作为古代人还是当代人，都应该不断培养自己爱人的品格，不断地提高自身的道德修养，小人和君子的区别就在于道德的培养，只有不断完善自己的人格修

<sup>11</sup>杨九俊.“闻斯行诸”：像孔子那样教学[J].江苏教育研究, 2021(29):13-15. DOI:10.13696/j.cnki.jer1673-9094.2021.29.003.

养，才能成为真正的君子。

在现代的道德教育思想中，我们也强调仁爱的重要性，教育后代要学会处理好人与人之间的关系，要学会分享，学会爱他人。关于这一点，我们必须承认孔子的仁爱观对中国，对世界的人们对于德育教育的贡献。所以我们必须认真学习孔子的语录，研究分析孔子的仁爱观，为当代的德育教育提供好的素材。

### （二）礼乐：

礼乐的思想是中国的传统思想，在孔子的德育思想中也占有重要的地位。礼乐分为“礼”和“乐”，“礼”的意思就是希望通过规范人的行为，要求人们遵守人与人之间的等级关系，让整个社会有序地运行。在中国的古代有很多的封建等级制度，不同的人有不同的等级，人们的身份也不相同。在家庭中，后辈的人要尊敬长辈，在社会上，等级低的人要服务等级高的人。而“乐”的意思就是要融洽上下级之间的矛盾关系，要注重发挥“乐”的作用，不同等级的人才能融洽相处。

孔子主张以“礼”为社会道德规范，包括政治等级制度、伦理道德规范、一切交往礼仪等，要求人们遵循“礼”所规定的诸多封建等级秩序。当然，在现代教育中，我们都应该用礼来约束自己的行为，对待自己的长辈，领导都要有礼貌，礼是每个人生活的最基本的东西，在社会交际的过程中，如果每个人都能够以礼相待，利用礼去调节人与人之间的关系，这样就能让社会协调发展，和谐发展。但是在现代社会中，我们越来越强调人与人之间的平等的关系，孔子的礼教思想在现代社会中有了很大的争议，在某种程度上，孔子的礼教思想有一定的专制主义，把人们限制在了迂腐顽固的传统文化中，关于这一点，我们就必须要批判地学习和接受，把其中好的部分运用到现代的教育中，不好的部分就要改进之后再实践。

### （三）忠恕：

忠恕是仁爱的主要方面，是仁爱的行为体现。忠恕也分为“忠”和“恕”，“忠”的意思就是对人对事的真诚的态度，它主要就是指做人一定要对国家、对事业、对朋友都要忠诚，要在做人做事的时候，正确地认识到自己所处的位置，例如，下级要按照上级的命令和指示处理事情，臣子对君主也一定要忠诚，一名学生在学习的过程中也要体现忠的原则，就是说学生要用忠来严格要求自己，犯了错误要及时改正。“恕”的意思即学会宽恕别人，站在别人的角度考虑问题，来解决人与人之间的矛盾。就像中国的一句很有名的名言说的那样，“己所不欲，勿施于人”。

“忠恕”主要是介绍人与人之间的相处的方法，这是一种积极和主动的道德原则。

忠恕就是要对自己和他人负责，多为别人着想，这样才能实现社会中人与人之间的和谐共处。这在现代生活中是一个很好的道德准则，教导我们要从内心里对社会，对他人有负责，宽容的态度，在现代生活中，如果我们人人都能够懂得“忠恕”的价值，并且可以实行它，就可以消除人与人之间的隔阂，化解人与人之间的一些不必要的矛盾，人与人之间的关系就可以变得更加和谐。

#### （四）明智：

明智有几个不同层次的意思，第一，对于自己来说，明智就是要有自知之明，自己要了解自己的优点和缺点，要对自己的品德性情都有了解，这就是智慧的体现。“明”就是指一个人能够反思自己的错误并且加以改正，提升自己的内在品质。孔子认为，一个人要想实现自我修养和智慧的提升，一定要怀有一颗善良的心和达观的胸怀。第二，明智是指一种分析事物的能力。拥有智慧的人一定要拥有分析问题和解决问题的能力，拥有智慧不能只是拥有思想上的高度的觉悟，在现实生活中也一定拥有解决问题的智慧。在孔子看来，要好好地认识理解仁义，并把它转化成自己的内心信念，就一定要做到坚守仁义，不违仁义。

明智告诉我们一定要保持自己的头脑清醒，既要在思想上有觉悟，也要在实际生活中有实践能力，这种思想完全能够适用到现代生活中，现在的很多学生都被外界指责只能在学校里考试，可是出了学校就不能把自己的知识应用到实际生活中，所以孔子的明智思想是现代教育必须要学习的地方，我们一定要注重在德育教育中对学生的明智思想的培养，要让他们既能很好地认识自己，又能表现出优秀的实践能力。

#### （五）诚信：

孔子提出诚信的思想是希望社会可以通过诚信的观念有一种和谐融洽的氛围。信，是儒家的传统伦理准则之一。孔子的“信”有两种含义，一个是信任，就是取得别人的信任，二是要对别人讲信用，就是自己对别人要诚实，说真话。孔子认为，在社会生活中，信是人立身处世的基点，是社会和谐的基础，是国家巩固统治的法宝。

孔子主张包括诚信在内的素质教育是第一位的，文化知识的学习是第二位的，这非常符合现代的教育理念，孔子的诚信理念是今天我们建立诚信社会的理论基础，对自己来说，诚信是我们安身立命的基础和前提，没有了诚信，我们会失去朋友，难以在社会上生存，对于国家来说，诚信也是治理国家不可缺少的，有了诚信，一个国家不仅能够取得自己国民的信任，更能够在国家间的交往中拥有良好的合作关系，有利于国家的长期发展。所以，孔子的诚信思想毫无疑问是对现在社会的和谐发展有很

大的现实意义。

#### 四、总结

从上面的分析中可以看出，孔子的德育思想有很大一部分都需要我们学习，但是也有不好的地方需要我们注意，比如孔子的礼乐思想在现代社会中就有一定的封建主义色彩，但他的明智，诚信思想却很符合现代的教育思想。但是不能否认的是，孔子的德育思想不仅对当时的社会产生了巨大的影响，也对现代社会的价值观产生了巨大的推动作用。因此，我们只有结合现代社会的现实情况，对孔子的德育思想进行正确的评价，才会对现代教育思想的提升有所帮助。大学生处在身心发展的关键时期，是世界观、价值观、人生观成熟的重要人生时期，需要教育工作者对他们进行悉心的引导与栽培。弘扬并传承中华优秀传统文化，借鉴孔子修身思想，激发内心的道德自觉，将道德他律转换为道德自律，积极学习修身理论知识，不断提高修身认知<sup>12</sup>，结合时代新知识、新思想、新经验，培养正确的道德意识，不断提高个人道德修养，即便没有外在的约束，也能秉持内心的道德准绳，懂得分辨是非对错，坚定理想信念，做到慎思慎独，自省自悟，在独处时，要学会反思自己的所思所行，发现不足及时改正，同时不能墨守成规，固守己见，需要见贤思齐，努力提升自己的学术水平并完善自己的道德修养，在日常生活中注重培养修身认知，善于修身，学会修身。<sup>13</sup>

孔子认为社会要稳定发展，就要提升群众的道德修养和品质，只有每个人都具有高尚的道德品质和丰富的知识结构，才能够促进社会的稳定和进步。道德修养的提升也是孔子德育教育的核心内容。但也是因为这样，孔子过于强调道德的作用，结果导致了轻视法律在社会生活中的重要作用，特别是在现代生活中，法律是国家不能缺少的一部分，作为个体也必须重视法律，遵守法律的规章制度。孔子的这种重视道德教育而忽视科学技术的发展的思想阻碍了中国古代科技的发展。所以，在现代教育重，我们不能只把教育的重心放在道德教育上，更要培养学生的实践动手能力，让学生全面发展。

孔子是中国历史上伟大的教育家,他的教育思想内容丰富,对中国和世界教育产生了重大影响。孔子的道德教育思想是其教育思想的重要组成部分,有着非常丰富的思想内

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<sup>12</sup> 卢晓琳. 孔子修身思想推进大学生自我教育研究 [D]. 西华大学, 2019. DOI:10.27411/d.cnki.gscgc.2019.000167.

<sup>13</sup> 姚思宇. 孔子修身思想融入中学生德育教育研究[D].西安理工大学, 2021年. 第23页.

容,对后来社会的道德教育奠定了深厚的历史基础,到现在为止也有着深刻的阐释力和生命力,对新时期的德育工作有着一定的理论和现实意义。所以,要做好新时期的德育教育工作,就必须学好旧时期的儒学思想,认真分析研究不同时期的德育教育思想,才能更好地发展当代地德育教育思想体系。孔子的儒学思想在中国流行了数千年,也被当代社会上的很多国承认,世界上有越来越多的人开始学习儒学,研究孔子的言论思想,并把他们应用到自己的实际生活当中。但是,任何历史人物,包括孔子,他们的言论都会与他们的时代有关系,所以肯定会有历史的局限性,这就要求我们现当代的教育工作者做到“取其精华去其糟粕”,在学习的过程当中,我们一定要批判地吸收学到的知识,把好的方面发扬光大,把不好的方面加以改进,为当代的德育教育做出贡献。总之,将儒家教育思想中有价值的内容和现代的教育思想相结合,一定能够更好地推动中国当代教育的发展。

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## Горчивата история на „Шоколад“ – военна повест от ново време

Нора Чилева,

Пекински университет за езици и култури

### The Bitter Story of *Chocolate* - a new type of a kangri novel

Nora Chileva,

Beijing Language and Culture University

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**Abstract:** The first part of the paper gives a brief description on literature works that use as a theme Chinese People’s War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-1945) – in Chinese 抗日战争 kangri. Such works are very popular in China but rarely discussed or translated in Bulgaria. The second part of the paper focuses on the novel *Chocolate* by Xiao Hang published in 2015. It is suggested as an example of a successful novel which follows some of the traditions in writing kangri novels while at the same time shows a diversity. The author has chosen a protagonist of a foreign origin – the Canadian surgeon Norman Bethune (Dr. Bai). At the end the paper states that the War-of-Resistance theme still has a great influence on the Chinese authors though the focus and purpose of kangri novels has changed significantly.

**Keywords:** kangri novels, Chinese People’s War of Resistance Against Japan, Xiao Hang, Norman Bethune

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*Произведения, които използват като тематика Анти-японската война*

През периода 1937-1945 година в Китай се появяват произведения, чиято тематика е Анти-японската война. В началото на военните действия тези творби са представени от кратки форми като стихове и песни. Голяма популярност придобива китайският поет и драматург Тиен Хан 田汉 Tian Han (1898-1968), който е автор на сборник с около 300 поеми. По време на борбата срещу японския окупатор Тиен Хан написва 12 либрета за китайска опера и сформира трупи, с чиито представления да окуражава войниците на фронта. Негово дело е и „Марш на доброволците“ 《义勇军进行曲》 (Yi yongjun jinxingqu), който е химн на КНР.

По-късно се появяват т. нар. канжъ сяошуо 抗日小说 (kangri xiaoshuo) - военни романи за съпротивата срещу японската агресия. Към канжъ сяошуо спадат различни по обем разкази, повести и романи. Ролята им е най-вече да възпитават в национално самочувствие и гордост от военните постижения, готовност за саможертва в името на родината и често имат идеологическа окраска. Сред писателите, които се изявяват във

военна тематика, свързана с японската окупация са Дин Лин, Ли Сяомин, Хан Анцин, Мао Дун, Ду Лян, Лиу Джъся и редица други.

Дин Лин<sup>1</sup> (1904-1986) 丁玲 Ding Ling е една от най-известните китайски писателки на 20. век в границите на страната и в чужбина. Към *канжъ сяошуо* спадат разказите ѝ „Неизстрелян патрон“ (1937) 《一颗未出膛的枪弹》 (Yike wei chutang de qiangdan), „Нощ“ (1941) 《夜》 (Ye), „Когато бях в село Ся“ (1941) 《我在霞村的时候》 (Wo zai Xiacun de shihou). В „Неизстрелян патрон“ авторката описва проявата на героизъм и патриотизъм у момче от Китайската червена армия, което предпочита да го убият с нож вместо да изхавят за него един патрон. Той смята, че патроните са ценни и са предназначени за унищожаване японския враг. „Когато бях в село Ся“ разкрива съдбата на пленена от японците девойка, която благодарение на местната организация успява да преодолее всички унижения и издевателства, на които е била подложена. Момичето настоява да се върне към шпионската си дейност, но е изпратена да учи далеч от дома, за да започне нов живот. Като цяло войната в произведенията на Дин Лин служи като рамка, в която са обрисувани страданията и трудностите, през които минават нейните герои, а в тона на авторката преобладават патос и героизъм.

„Гърмежи в равнината“ 《平原枪声》 Pingyuan qiang sheng на Ли Сяомин (1920-2007) 李晓明 Li Xiaoming и Хан Анцин (1932—1967) 韩安庆 Han Anqing е изключително популярен роман. В центъра на действието е младежът Ма, който се връща в родното си село, за да мобилизира съселаните си в борбата срещу японския враг и да прогони всички предатели. Това се оказва една доста трудна задача, но с цената на много жертви целта е постигната. Романът е написан в типичния за онова време приповдигнат дух, за който е характерна победата на доброто. През 2001 е преработен и се превръща в успешна филмова продукция.

Сред многото творби на Мао Дун<sup>2</sup> (1896-1981) 茅盾 Mao Dun с по-голямо значение е романът „Разпад“ 《腐蚀》 (Fu Shi). В „Разпад“ авторът използва за рамка

<sup>1</sup> Дин Лин е името на Дзян Уей 蒋伟 Jiang Wei, позната е и с псевдонима Бин Джъ 彬芷 Bin Zhi. Повече информация за произведение на Дин Лин („Слънце над река Сянган“), преведено от руски на български език можете да откриете на [www.tarkaleta.com](http://www.tarkaleta.com).

<sup>2</sup> Мао Дун е псевдоним на писателя Шън Дъхун 沈德鸿 Sheng Dehong с второ име Йенбин 雁冰 Yanbing. Повече информация за произведение на Мао Дун, преведено на български можете да откриете на [www.tarkaleta.com](http://www.tarkaleta.com) („Пред разсъмване“).



превратът в Уаннан 皖南事变 (Wannan Shibian) от 1941 година. Творбата е написана под формата на дневник на една шпионка. Чрез произведението си авторът цели да заклейми фашистката шпионска система.

За 70-тата годишнина от основаването на Китайската народна република осем издателства полагат съвместни усилия и издават „Колекция от 70 романа в чест на 70 години от създаване на Нов Китай“<sup>3</sup> 《新中国 70 年 70 部长篇小说典藏》 (Xin Zhongguo 70 nian 70 bu Changpian Xiaoshuo Diancang). Тематиката на сборниците обхваща най-вече периода на Народно-освободителната война (1946-1950), процеса на изграждане на нов Китай (1949), но сред тях има и произведения, които засягат анти-японските военни действия.

Сред тях се откроява романът „Железопътни партизани“ 《铁道游击队》 Tiedao youji dui, написан от Лиу Джъся 刘知侠 Liu Zhixia и публикуван за първи път през 1954 г. Той описва група миньори и железопътни работници, които сформират тайната партизанска организация „Летящите тигри“, за да ограбват оръжие от японския окупатор и да снабдяват с него китайските войници. Романът се състои от 28 глави и послеслов, и е написан по реална история. През 1956 г. е екранизиран във филм, носещ същото име.

Друг роман от тази колекция „Проблясваща сабя“ 《亮剑》 Liangjian на Ду Лян 都梁 Du Liang отразява периода на съпротивата срещу Япония (1931-1945), минава през Народно-освободителната война и стига чак до основаването на Нов Китай и Културната революция (1966-1976). През 2005 година е излъчен телевизионен сериал с изключително голяма популярност, който е базиран почти изцяло върху романа на Ду Лян и носи същото име „Проблясваща сабя“ (Drawing Sword).

Прави впечатление, че по-голямата част от писателите на разкази и романи с военна тематика не само са съвременници на Анти-японската война, но активно участват във военната пропаганда, например Ли Сяомин, Хан Анцин, Дин Лин. Това дава възможност на авторите да предадат живия дух на времето в творбите си. В свое изследване Джоу Миндзя 周珉佳 Zhou Minjia разглежда *канжъ сяошуо* и отбелязва, че фокусът на повествованието се измества от изобразяване на героичност и саможертва в по-ранните произведения към реализъм и хуманизъм в по-съвременното творчество.

<sup>3</sup> Пълният списък с включените произведения може да бъде намерен на:

<https://baike.baidu.com/item/新中国70年70部长篇小说典藏/23778099>

Забелязваме, че почти всички романи, които се радват на широка популярност биват превърнати във филмови сериали или друг тип филмова продукция, като по този начин достигат още по-масово до китайската публика.

Неизменно възниква въпросът защо времето на съпротива срещу японската окупация, един толкова тъмен и кървав период от китайската нова история продължава да вълнува съвременните китайски автори и какво отличава творбите, написани от автори-съвременници на войната от тези създадени в по-късен етап.

*За произведението „Шоколад“*

Повестта „Шоколад“ е публикувана през 2015 година в едно от най-емблематичните литературни списания в страната „Китайски писатели“ 中国作家 Zhongguo Zuojiā (Chinese Writers) на Асоциацията на китайските писатели 中国作家协会 Zhongguo Zuojiā xiehui и Китайската писателска издателска група 中国作家出版集团 Zhongguo Zuojiā Chubān Jítuān. С този брой списанието бележи 30 години издателска дейност (1985-2015), 70 години от народната борба срещу японския агресор и 70 години от победата над фашизма във Втората световна война (най-често наричана в Китай Световна антифашистка война). Изхождайки от времето, в което е публикувана повестта условно можем да я отнесем към най-новото поколение *канжъ сяошуо*. Към него принадлежат и фантастични романи с тематика Анти-японската война 穿越抗日小说 chuan yue kangri xiaoshuo, но те не са предмет на анализ и преглед в настоящата разработка.

Това, което отличава „Шоколад“ от други разкази или романи на същата военна тематика е включването на китайския национален герой с чуждестранен произход-доктор Норман Бетюн. Участието на чужденци в китайските романи по принцип е твърде ограничено, като изключим японския окупатор, чийто образ се рисува само в черни краски. В своите бележки<sup>4</sup> авторът споменава, че повестта се нуждае от персонаж, който да придаде колорит на разказа, а също така да обедини героите в една обща дейност, в цел, свързана с ролите на главните герои в народно-освободителното дело. Най-подходящ се оказва изключително популярният в Китай доктор Бетюн (д-р Бай). Но кой всъщност е Норман Бетюн и защо почти няма китаец, който да не е чувал за него?

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<sup>4</sup> Лична кореспонденция с автора.

### За Норман Бетюн

Д-р Норман Бетюн Henry Norman Bethune (1890-1939) 白求恩 Bai Qiu'en<sup>5</sup> е канадски хирург. Той участва в испанската гражданска война (1936-1939) и счита, че войната в Испания и китайската съпротива по време на Японската окупация са част от една и съща война - тази срещу фашистите. При единствената си среща с Мао Дзедун обсъжда създаването на военна фронтова клиника за ранените китайски войници, която наскоро след откриването е бомбардирана от японските окупатори. Това съвсем не отказва д-р Бетюн и той продължава да събира средства за медикаменти, обучава китайски лекари и сестри, оперира стотици ранени войници. Едно от най-големите му постижения в Китай е въвеждането на паралелното кръвопреливане, за което сам дава кръв. При едно провеждане на операция, ранява ръката си, развива сепсис и умира. Това изключително натъжава Мао Дзедун и той възпява героизма и сериозното отношение на Бетюн към избраната от него благородна професия в кратко есе. Есето е озаглавено „В памет на Норман Бетюн“ 《纪念白求恩》 Jinian Bai Qiu'en и е част от „Трите есета“<sup>6</sup>. Включено е в задължителната учебна програма на учениците, но се чете и от бъдещите лекари и сестри, избрали да вървят по стъпките на Норман Бетюн.

Д-р Норман Бетюн е единственият чужденец, на който Мао Дзедун посвещава творчество и единственият чужденец, превърнал се в национален герой на Китай с популярност в подобни мащаби. Промяната на ролята му като героичен образ разглежда в своя разработка Ниу Баосиу 牛保秀 Niu Baoshu. Там авторът на базата на исторически документи обяснява ролята на образа на Норман Бетюн за възпитанието на определени

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<sup>5</sup> 白求恩 (Bai Qiu'en), Бай Циу-ън е по-популярното име на д-р Норман Бетюн. Бай - бял (Бай - китайска фамилия, съвпадаща донякъде със звученето на фамилията Бетун) и Циу-ън букв. „търся милост“. Другото китайско име на Норман Бетюн е Буо Цин. В повестта се споменава, че под капака с надпис „Медицински екип на Буо Цин“ има медицински инструменти и лекарства в помощ на китайската национално-освободителна армия.

<sup>6</sup> *Трите есета* 《老三篇》 Lao Sanpian са три кратки произведения, написани от Мао Дзедун. Есетата са „В служба на народа“ 《为人民服务》 (8 септември 1944 г.), „В памет на Норман Бетюн“ 《纪念白求恩老三篇》 (21 декември 1939 г.) и „Старият глупак, който мести планината“ 《愚公移山》 (11 юни 1945 г.). Те обикновено се отпечатват в три отделни книжки, имат образователна цел и излагат концепцията на Китайската комунистическа партия за безкористна служба в името на народа, за всеотдайност и труд в полза на другите, за упоритост и борбен дух. Целият текст „В памет на Норман Бетюн“ на английски:

[https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2\\_25.htm](https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2_25.htm)

Целият текст „В памет на Норман Бетюн“ на руски език вж. <http://library.maoism.ru/Betune.htm>

качества и ценности в китайската нация като чувство на отговорност, прецизност във всяка една дейност, повдигане на борбения дух на военните, професионализъм в работата (най-вече на медицинските лица) и мн.др. Образът на канадския хирург се използва и в дипломацията като мост между китайската и западната (особено канадската) култури.

Медал за постижения в областта на медицината носи името на Норман Бетюн (白求恩奖章 Bai Qiuen Jiangzhang), а също така няколко болници, организации, стипендии за обучение по медицина, медицински списания и др.

Образът на д-р Бай в „Шоколад“ е изграден върху черти на истинската личност на Норман Бетюн и така китайският читател лесно изгражда представа за него. Той е представен като отдаден на професията си, без личността му да се идеализира или да изобразява с ореола на герой. Доктор Бай е на последната си животоспасяваща мисия и трябва да оперира ранен китайски войник. Той е болен, без сили, измъчен от температура. Необходимо е да отбележим, че героичните прояви на действащите лица в „Шоколад“ са следствие от случайни обстоятелства, принудили ги да бъдат герои, да загинат героично или да се държат героично (например, ампутацията на девойката Цин Сяоциу). Образът на Норман Бетюн, с който китайският читател е свикнал и този на д-р Бай в повестта се допълват, за да изградят един цялостен човешки образ.

Произведението „Шоколад“ описва почти всички прослойки от обществото по време на анти-японската съпротива и щрихира хора с различни характери. Сред тях има китайски и японски войници, китайски селяни, японци, израсли в Китай, японско семейство, преселило се в Китай. Японските окупатори, в лицето на военния командир У и на Сяо Доу-Бобеца, са представени от войниците в наблюдателната кула като Половинчатото лице. Военният командир, след като се е заблудил, оцелява сам цял месец в планинския район и дори се принуждава да яде човешко месо, за да оцелее. Той до последно не губи дух и води война на принципа „и сам воинът е воин.“ Редник Сяо Доу от своя страна е мекушав и страхлив войник, който никога не е използвал пушката си, носи твърдите, нови ботуши на висшестоящите в армията и плаче всяка вечер за ранените си крака. Единственото, което иска е да си обработва къс земя и да живее спокойно. Когато Юе го приютява в дома си, за да стъпи на краката си, той е изкушен от мисълта да се върне отново към спокойния, селски живот, с който е свикнал. Страхът от военния командир принуждава Сяо Доу да изнудва селянина Юе, за да му издаде какво са оставили след себе си китайските войници след като са пренощували в дома му. В

своето отчаяние и желание веднъж в живота си да се покаже като смелчага Бобеца разсича спящата, нищо неподозиращата жена на Юе – Анци.

Многодетното японско семейство Йошида се мести в друг град заради войната в търсене на препитание. Възпитани и скромни, те са съпричастни към трагичната смърт на майката на Цин Сяоциу, на която японската акушерка на кораба отказва помощ, но помага при раждането на тяхното дете. Семейство Йошида се срамуват и вече не могат да приемат предложението за работа, за което е ходатайствал бащата на Цин Сяоциу. В края на войната Йошида се връщат в Япония, принудени да изоставят две от децата си в китайски селски семейства, защото нямат възможност да ги вземат със себе си.

Представянето на герои с японски произход по един човешки и хуманен начин не е типично за ранните *канжъ сяошюу*, където всички са поставени под един знаменател – този на жестокия, готов на кръвопролития окупатор. В „Шоколад“ житейските драми на всички са слети в ужаса на войната и повечето от героите са водени от инстинкта за оцеляване.

#### *Незначителни случайности*

В разказа „Шоколад“ наблюдаваме как няколко на пръв поглед незначителни случайности се превръщат в предпоставка за развитието на основното действие и зареждат с напрежение произведението. Една от тези случайности е черното магаре на Лиу Баодзъ, което той няма време да нахрани. Обезумяло от глад, магарето отдалеч надушва аромата на слама и тръгва към кулата, в която се помещават японски войници, издавайки по този начин минаващия наблизо медицински екип на д-р Бай. Между японските и китайските войници се завързва схватка, в която Лиу е убит. Така магарето става причина за смъртта на собственика си. По някаква случайност то се връща при ранената от граната Цин Сяоциу и я докарва до дома на Юе, който приютява тримата герои. Така то се превръща в спасител. Селянинът Юе се разгневява заради случайно съвпадение в имената и решава да използва за изкупителна жертва магарето. Юе е закърмен с древни легенди, като в една от тях, датираща от времето на династия Сун (960 - 1279) се разказва за Юе Фей, предаден от владетеля Цин. Юе смята, че всички с фамилия Цин са смъртен враг на неговия род, потомците на Юе Фей. И тъй като не иска да убие Цин Сяоциу, нито може да я пусне безнаказано, си отмъщава за магарето. Юе не може да прозре кой е истинския враг и кои са неговите защитници и плаща за невежеството си с цената на живота на жена си.

*Ролята на историческите събития в историята и ролята на героите в хода на историческите събития*

Както вече бе споменато, действието на разказа се развива във военно време, което е причина животът на героите да се обърне в неочаквана за тях посока. Някои от тях доброволно участват във войната в името на своя идеал или по лични причини. Такива са д-р Бай, Лиу Баодзъ, Цин Сяоциу, Гуейчо – четиринадесетгодишният помощник на д-р Бай.

Д-р Бай е индиректна жертва на войната, заразява се, докато извършва операция на болен, но участието му във войната е негов личен избор и кауза. Китайските читатели са „закърмени“ с историята на самоотвержения канадец, който идва да се бори на китайска страна. Това е загатнато в споменаването на образователните книжлета „Трите есета“, които подаряват на Уан Сян-у, след като излиза от затвора и е реабилитиран. Уан Сян-у, от своя страна, не осъзнава мястото си в историческите събития. През цялото време Уан си мисли, че японските войници му избиват окото и го хвърлят в затвора, защото не искат да му дадат надницата, равняваща се на едно пиле. Той е прекалено ограничен, за да види презрението и ненавистта, които изпитват окупаторите към китайските му сънародници и на драго сърце приема да бъде готвач на врага, защото няма национално самосъзнание.

Такова липсва и у други герои, като Лиу Баошу и селянина Юе. Лиу Баошу приема работата на предател и шпионин, защото му се плаща. Той не се поколебава да разрови гробовете на предците на съселянина си Лиу Баодзъ, което се смята за едно от най-големите морални престъпления в Китай.

Не на последно място в повестта не е цел постигането на категоризация на добри и лоши, на смели и на страхливи, на умни и невежи. Представят се герои, осъзнали важността на действията си в хода на историческите събития, с национално съзнание и активно участващи във войната, и други, които остават слепи за това.

*За автора на „Шоколад“*

Сяо Ханг 肖航 Xiao Hang е роден в гр. Пекин (Китай) и расте в годините на Културната революция (1966-1976). Началното си образование получава в „Столицата на рудата“ Фушуън (Северен Китай, провинция Ляонин), средното – в Пекин, а висшето – в Пекинския медиен институт (北京广播学院, *Beijing Broadcasting Institute*)<sup>7</sup>. След като

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<sup>7</sup> Днес „Национален университет за медийна комуникация“ 中国传媒大学 Zhongguo Chuanmei daxue Communication University of China.

завършва висше образование е разпределен в Китайското национално радио (中央人民广播电台, *China National Radio*), където известно време работи като журналист, редактира рубрики, пише статии. По-късно се премества в Китайската централна телевизия (中国中央电视台, *China Central Television, CCTV*). Създава 8 различни рубрики, които самостоятелно ръководи за известен период от време – това и до ден-днешен е прецедент. С колегите му са едни от пионерите, които разгръщат с размах медийното дело в Китай.

Работата му в две от най-големите държавни медии го отвежда до специфични кътчета на страната и му дава възможност да опознае хора от разнообразни етно-културни общности и с различен социален статус. Самият той редактира и пише сценарии за филми. Най-често в сценариите му като рамка служат преломни моменти от китайската история и по-конкретно войната, а образите му са изградени по реални исторически личности, с които по един или друг начин се е сблъскал в живота. Разбира се, изкуството винаги произтича от реалния живот, но често пъти надминава случващото се в него. Така и героите в литературното творчество на Сяо Ханг надскачат своите прототипи и се превръщат в колоритни, социални типажки, които могат да се окажат интересни и нови за българския читател.

В заключение можем да кажем, че събитията от анти-японската съпротива продължават да вълнуват масовата китайска аудитория и, очевидно, произведения с подобна тематика и в днешно време получават широка популярност. Важно е да отбележим и надграждането, с което се отличават образите в съвременните *канжъ сяошуо*. За разлика от черно-белите нюанси, характерни за по-ранните творби, в които се разчита на острата опозиция *добро – лошо*, в „Шоколад“ авторът е отстранен от идеята за крайно идеализиране или демонизиране на образите. Той изгражда плътни реалистични образи на своите герои, образи, които карат читателя да възприема войната, като еднакво пагубна за всички преки и косвени участници в нея. Преводът на повестта на български език предстои да бъде публикуван в най-скоро време.

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**Dispute Resolution Developments Related to China’s Belt and Road Initiative  
and Two Decades of Chinese Companies Going global: Drivers,  
Considerations and Influences on Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign  
Court Judgments on the Basis of Judicial Assistance Treaties and Reciprocity,  
with Focus on Bulgarian, CEE and US Practice**

*Asen Velinov,*

*Shanghai Jiaotong University*

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**Abstract:** The Belt and Road Initiative has been added to PRC’s Constitution and is going to “package” exchanges for decades to come. In one related development, China has shown that international Dispute Resolution and Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Judgments is to be of key importance going forward, by establishing dedicated courts, and recognizing judgments from several jurisdictions based on bilateral treaties, and some based on reciprocity. There are now significant assets abroad, and so a regulated and predictable environment is beneficial for China. Many factors affect the process, including the evolution of legal services.

Bulgaria’s treaty with China allows for service of process, evidence collection, recognition and enforcement of judgments; and could benefit business exchanges.

**Keywords:** Belt and Road Initiative, dispute resolution, legal cooperation agreements, legal profession, recognition and enforcement of foreign court judgments

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When it comes to business, whether domestic or cross-border, knowledge is key – knowing one’s business objectives and the industry realities, knowing your partners through meaningful due diligence, and knowing the framework as it relates to political considerations, compliance, cultural issues, expectations and image issues. When it comes to international deals, it also matters to be prepared to sign valid contracts and later enforce them, if necessary, to protect one’s intellectual property and other relevant rights. Dispute Resolution in international context could be costly and time consuming – and that is when it is procedurally, financially and otherwise possible.

While the world is currently very fragmented and there is a retreat of the ideas of globalization and global values, the COVID era has shown both how fragile the global order is, while pandemic and business outcomes show that the world is also extremely interconnected.

China has been a driver for business exchange in the last 40 years – since the opening up the country has gone through a number of stages that have seen it become the top trading partner of many countries, followed by its gradual further integration into the system – and has also become the top source of international students and tourists, as well as a major investor and investment target.

As China has a political and government system that is different from those of most other major economies and one ruling party with a leader with significant influence and power, and the ability to test initiatives and reforms, plan long term and exercise stronger control. One such top-down initiative is the Belt and Road Initiative, a landmark for Xi Jinping's presidency, that was also included in the Constitution, thus signaling that despite some setbacks, a lot of China's engagements with the world economically, culturally and politically will continue to be "packaged" in the context of the BRI, which in turn focuses on creating connectivity and "creating a shared destiny for mankind."

This connectivity is complex however, China has also turned somewhat inward and introduced reforms that have made investment more difficult than before – central controls are more stringent, and so are capital outflow controls, as well as refocusing some attention on more pressing, domestic issues – after all, while China announces that it is merely taking a position in the global system proportionate to its size and population, the most pressing issues will always be domestic ones – as the CCP does not have electoral legitimacy, it gains legitimacy by providing stability and constantly improving economic conditions to at least a large segment of the population.

Further, the aforementioned interconnectedness means that despite its unparalleled ability to plan long term and control processes, despite its desire to perhaps operate internationally in a similar manner, it is impossible, as the variables are too many to manage. COVID has unfortunately illustrated a negative trend in connectivity – exchanges are complex, and so are different approaches, opinions and outcomes.

Additionally, there are even more developments that force governments to further reevaluate plans – such as social developments, technological ones and climate related ones.

The BRI is about infrastructure, innovation and technology, connectivity and investment and also people to people exchanges. Despite it being a policy driven, regulated initiative, for the first years of its existence it was mostly PR and activity driven – what to many countries was and still is, bilateral dealings with China has now from China’s perspective become a series of BRI exchanges. There are also many other platforms for activity – and relevant to Bulgaria there is also the China – Central Eastern Europe 16+1 cooperation framework, aiming to induce the CEE countries to cooperate among themselves so that exchanges with China could be streamlined and optimized, with relatively low level of success so far.

The above reminds how China’s international, especially outbound activity has greatly diversified in terms of type, destination and size, as well as dramatically increased in numbers, against the backdrop of an ever evolving, not always positive international system, where political factors matter – but not in absolute terms, and communication and conflicts abound. After those years of activity, an important result and factor is that significant Chinese assets are overseas – both private and state owned.

While in the past, despite continuously “opening up”, China remained closed off in some respects – including in terms of the legal system, especially when it comes to Dispute Resolution with Chinese parties. While it is, of course, always possible to bring a suit against a Chinese party in an appropriate court in China, for many reasons that is not always economically or otherwise feasible, especially for relatively smaller amount transactions – which is also a significant proportion of all transactions, while larger scale transactions are usually better structured and legal counsel is more likely to have been involved – far less likely in the case of smaller scope transactions.

Foreign party fraud or non-performance are not unheard of, of course, however it was for a long time easier to mitigate those risks by utilizing various payment instruments. The relative linearity of small and mid-sized exchanges has changed – as Chinese companies and individuals go global, they are no longer “insulated” – their assets are “within reach”, and as the Chinese domestic market demands new products and variety and platforms such as the China International Import Expo, the Zhuhai Latin America Forum and the Ningbo 16+1 Platform, proactively inviting businesses and brands to explore the Chinese market needs to come with reassuring them that their interests will be protected.

Law practitioners often report situations after fraudulent or non–fraudulent breach by the Chinese party, said party would choose not to take steps to remedy the issue and would ignore requests from the foreign party to the exchange, as it would know their assets are relatively “insulated” in China and beyond the reach of foreign parties<sup>1</sup>. There are also routine examples in practice of either missing, intentionally deficiently drafted, or otherwise invalid arbitration clauses.<sup>23</sup> Adding to the issue is that many standard transactions happen without advice from lawyers, and while the landmark deals get attention, millions of deals are for amounts not sufficient to allow a lengthy litigation in China – but often sufficient to bankrupt a small trader. Of course, multi–million or multi–billion deals even when they are purely private (as much as that is possible in Chinese context), would have a proper DR strategy integrated within the transaction documents. In some ways they are outlier, especially in Central and Eastern European Countries, among which Bulgaria, where there are exchanges but smaller scale, self–driven ones, as well as claims that often remain unresolved.

While arbitration is the preferred way of dispute resolution in international context but might not always be available. It will remain relevant of course, as will be discussed later – as the newly established BRI courts aim to be courts dealing with hybrid dispute resolution, where conciliation, mediation, arbitration and litigation all play a role.

Cases and related developments demonstrate an understanding that, if China is to move from being primarily a host state for international investment to being a major investor in other states along the Belt and Road land and sea routes, it will need to be the beneficiary of more liberal judgment recognition and enforcement in other countries.

Until very recently, the option of suing a Chinese party outside of China and then having the judgment recognized and enforced in China was not a viable one – Chinese courts were not open to the practice, and the global legal community did not actually explore the option, to a large degree due to the belief it was futile.

It is also possible to sue a foreign defendant abroad and try to collect the award in a third jurisdiction where the defendant might have assets, but that would mean further expenses in relation to tracking down such assets.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.lexology.com/library/detail.aspx?g=27ff200b-f254-47a2-99b7-fe3b88b6758e>.

<sup>2</sup> [https://uk.practicallaw.thomsonreuters.com/3-520-0163?transitionType=Default&contextData=\(sc.Default\)](https://uk.practicallaw.thomsonreuters.com/3-520-0163?transitionType=Default&contextData=(sc.Default)).

<sup>3</sup> <https://harrisbricken.com/chinalawblog/how-to-write-a-bad-international-arbitration-clause/>

Recently, the door for that started opening – and just like it is often the case in China, it is a complex mixture of old, current and future factors and objectives.

When it comes to recognition and enforcement of foreign judgment the process is twofold: first there needs to be a proper proceeding during which the defendant has been properly notified/served and given an opportunity to appear, and when there is a final judgment, the award can then be submitted for recognition in the foreign country where the defendant and their assets are present, and after it is recognized it will be treated as a domestic award – and if necessary, enforced by the relevant department – which in China would be an executive judge (and likely a sheriff in the US).

According to relevant laws of China, a foreign court judgment can be recognized on the basis of either a bilateral judicial cooperation agreement or reciprocity.<sup>4</sup>

China is a signatory of 39 judicial cooperation treaties (with Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Tajikistan, Turkey, Cyprus, Laos, Vietnam, Mongolia, Bulgaria, Belarus, Poland, Russia, Romania, Ukraine, Hungary, Lithuania, Spain, Italy, France, Greece, Cuba, Egypt, Morocco, North Korea, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Algeria, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Tunisia), many of which allow recognition and enforcement of commercial court judgments (also cooperation between “relevant institutions” in relation to, very importantly, evidence collection and service of process). Most of them were signed in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Clause 6 of the China – Bulgaria Agreement (signed in 1993), states that the contracting parties undertake to assist each other in serving court and other documents, evidence collection, and that they will assist each other in the recognition and enforcement of court judgments and arbitral decisions. There are no clearly identified government agencies that are designated for cooperation in the matter – which in practice leads to practical issues.<sup>5</sup>

Since 2010 the agreements with Algeria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil (signed in 2009), Ethiopia, Iran (hasn't entered into force yet) and Kuwait have been signed.

A treaty is not the sole basis for REFJ – for plaintiffs from jurisdictions not parties to such a treaty it is possible to apply for recognition and enforcement under the Civil Procedure Law of

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<sup>4</sup> Civil Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China.

<sup>5</sup> [http://www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/gongbao/2001-01/02/content\\_5003220.htm](http://www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/gongbao/2001-01/02/content_5003220.htm).

China and on the basis of the principle of reciprocity – which has also evolved in the last couple of years.

Current cumulative analysis indicates that relatively few applications are made at all (for various reasons), of the ones made 60% fail – with 40% of the ones based on a treaty failing, against 70% of the rest.

50% of the ones not based on a treaty fail for lack of reciprocity, and 14% of all – due to procedural issues.<sup>6</sup>

For the twenty years between 1995 and 2015, there had been relatively few applications for RFJ.

Against this background there has been a “dramatic” increase since 2015 when I commenced my research, with the expectation that there will be developments in the area – however even as the last six years have seen this development, the total number since 1995 is about 42 applications that have reached a final outcome.<sup>7</sup>

The highest year on record is 2018 – with six applications.

17% of all are from European nations, 36% – from BRI countries.

What follows is a list of jurisdictions in alphabetical order, with a brief summary of REFJ related developments.

- Australia – one recognition refused in China on lack of reciprocity grounds, but since Australia has recognized two Chinese judgments;

- BVI – recognized one Chinese judgment in 2020;

- Canada – recognized one Chinese judgment in 2019;

- Chad – China refused to recognize one judgment on lack of reciprocity grounds in 2015;

- France – bilateral treaty jurisdiction. China recognized three out of five judgments, two were not recognized because of due process issues and one judgment not being final;

- Germany – one out of three recognized in China (a case of bankruptcy), one Chinese judgment recognized in Germany in 2006;

- Israel – Chinese refused on reciprocity in 2017. Soon after Israel recognized one;

- Italy – bilateral treaty jurisdiction. One out of four judgments – three rejected on fraud

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<sup>6</sup> <https://www.chinajusticeobserver.com>.

<sup>7</sup> Id.

grounds. The successfully recognized case was a bankruptcy one in 2013;

- Japan – two applications rejected by each jurisdiction on lack of reciprocity, between 1995 and 2005;

- Malaysia – one judgment rejected on lack of reciprocity in 2015;

- Netherlands – Dutch court recognized a Chinese judgment in 2015;

- Poland – bilateral treaty jurisdiction. One recognized in China;

- Russia – bilateral treaty jurisdiction. One judgment recognized in China in 2018;

- Singapore – landmark Kolmar case. Two judgments recognized in China, one in SG;

- South Korea – China refused two on reciprocity grounds – 2011 and 2015. Recognized one in 2019. Korea recognized a Chinese judgment in 1999;

- Turkey – bilateral treaty jurisdiction, one judgment recognized in China in 2014;

- UAE – bilateral treaty jurisdiction – two judgments have been recognized;

- US – two US judgments recognized in China (2017 Liu Li, 2018 Nalco) out of seven applied, four Chinese judgments recognized in the US;

- UK – China refused one in 2005 on the basis of reciprocity, the UK recognized one in 2015;

- Uzbekistan – bilateral treaty jurisdiction. Two applications refused on service of process grounds.<sup>8</sup>

The Civil Procedure Law of China requires that:

- under the law of the country where the foreign court is located, judgments seeking recognition and enforcement are final and effective;

- judgments seeking recognition and enforcement are enforceable in the jurisdiction where the court sits;

- under the law of the country where the foreign court is located, the court making the judgment has exclusive jurisdiction;

- the losing party, when it is in default, shall have been duly notified and given proper opportunity to be represented;

- the judgment is not a result of fraud;

- there is no other court judgment or arbitral award with regard to the same merits that has been recognized in China; and

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<sup>8</sup> <https://www.chinajusticeobserver.com>.

- there are no public policy concerns;
- existence of a reciprocity practice or a treaty;
- it is considered that a foreign court judgment will not be recognized and enforced in the event that the Chinese court believes enforcement of such a judgment will substantively conflict with Chinese public policy. However, the scope of public policy (beyond the concern for state owned assets) is not clear.<sup>9</sup>

New international commercial courts were established by the SPC in 2018: one of the courts will focus on disputes arising from on land-based Silk Road projects and the other maritime Silk Road projects. They have however not rendered a sufficient number of judgments for enough information to reliably predict their future activity.

Further, China has acceded to relevant international conventions (e.g., The Hague Choice of Courts Convention), established International Commercial Courts aiming to take on BRI related cases, appointed a panel of foreign experts to the courts. The SPC has also issued relevant opinions and cases, clarifying, adapting, and streamlining the process. China also provided input to The Hague Convention on REFJ in Civil and Commercial Matters.

As evidenced above, these developments are all relatively recent, and there is a surge in the number of applications and especially in the number of successful ones – virtually all of them have been within the last six years. Exploring the reasons why, and how to further normalize and popularize the process is a key factor for the success of the BRI and general global exchanges, against the backdrop of a world that is both more connected and fragmented than ever.

In sum, since 2015 China has taken immense steps demonstrating that recognition and enforcement of foreign judgments is to be of greater importance going forward, including but not limited to the establishment of international commercial courts, and more importantly, a significant (but still low in general and low on jurisdiction by jurisdiction basis) number of judgments from a number of jurisdictions based on treaties (among them judgments from France, Italy, Poland, Russia, Turkey, UAE, Uzbekistan) and some on the basis of reciprocity – among them US, Korean, Singaporean and German judgments, some of China's key trading partners and investment sources and destinations, despite a high-stakes, high-context, complicated political relationship.

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<sup>9</sup> Civil Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China.



In addition, Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, the British Virgin Islands, the UK have recognized Chinese judgments recently, making it more likely for judgments originating from those jurisdictions will be recognized in China if they comply with other relevant requirements.

As evidenced above, these developments are all relatively recent, and there is a surge in the number of applications and especially in the number of successful ones – virtually all of them have been within the last six years. Exploring the reasons why, and how to further normalize and popularize the process is a key factor the success of the BRI and general global exchanges, against the backdrop of a world that is both more connected and fragmented than ever.

The above developments signal a commitment to the continued evolution of China's international role, these developments and cases could be read as indications for the direction in which China's government and courts are going in the area of judicial cooperation and not as outliers.

The strategic significance aspect of many of the BRI major projects means that they need to be packaged with a sound strategy for avoiding and resolving conflict. While the most massive and strategic of those might not be necessarily likely to be resolved in means of other than government to government negotiations, there are many smaller scale and spillover exchanges and investments, that are well within the jurisdiction of foreign courts. In the past, it was accepted that some disputes would not be resolved – foreign plaintiffs could sue at home, and when there were no Chinese defendants' assets to enforce against, they could try to recognize and enforce in China, which would not work. They would in general advised to bring a suit in China – however various requirements such as expenses, unfamiliarity with the country and system, expenses and fears of local bias (some of them quite founded), sometime physical presence, associated with extra expenses would dissuade the vast majority of potential plaintiffs to seek recourse in this manner.

Given the uncertain outcome of initiating recognition and enforcement proceedings with a Chinese party from outside of China, even in the context of the surge of the last few years, not many lawyers would explore this path – thus not maximizing the opportunity to streamline Dispute Resolution in some appropriate cases. The likely explanation is again twofold – foreign lawyers need to depend on Chinese colleagues for support in such cases, and Chinese lawyers are relatively less open to risk and ambiguity, thus often deciding to go with more established Dispute Resolution paths – even if they also are likely to fail.

Jurisdictions such as Bulgaria stand to benefit from their long standing but underutilized judicial cooperation agreements with China, and it would take a comprehensive effort by all stakeholders to make this approach practically applicable – government agencies, the judiciary, lawyers on both sides and business owners and entrepreneurs

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## **Bulgaria and China Trade Relations in Times of Crisis**

*Teodora Peneva,*

*Economic Research Institute at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*

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**Abstract:** The COVID-19 pandemic resulted in serious decrease in the global trade volume in 2020, and shortly affected bilateral relations of also Bulgaria and China. Yet, China managed to even increase its share in total import in Bulgaria, moving from seventh to second place as an export destination in 2020. The export value from Bulgaria grew significantly in 2020 and 2021, as China continued purchasing raw materials, testifying stable partnership and support in times of crisis, unlike other trading partners, more vulnerable to the global crisis. The article provides analysis on the trade dynamics between Bulgaria and China on a quarterly basis in the period of crisis, drawing conclusions about the changes happening in the trade value and shares.

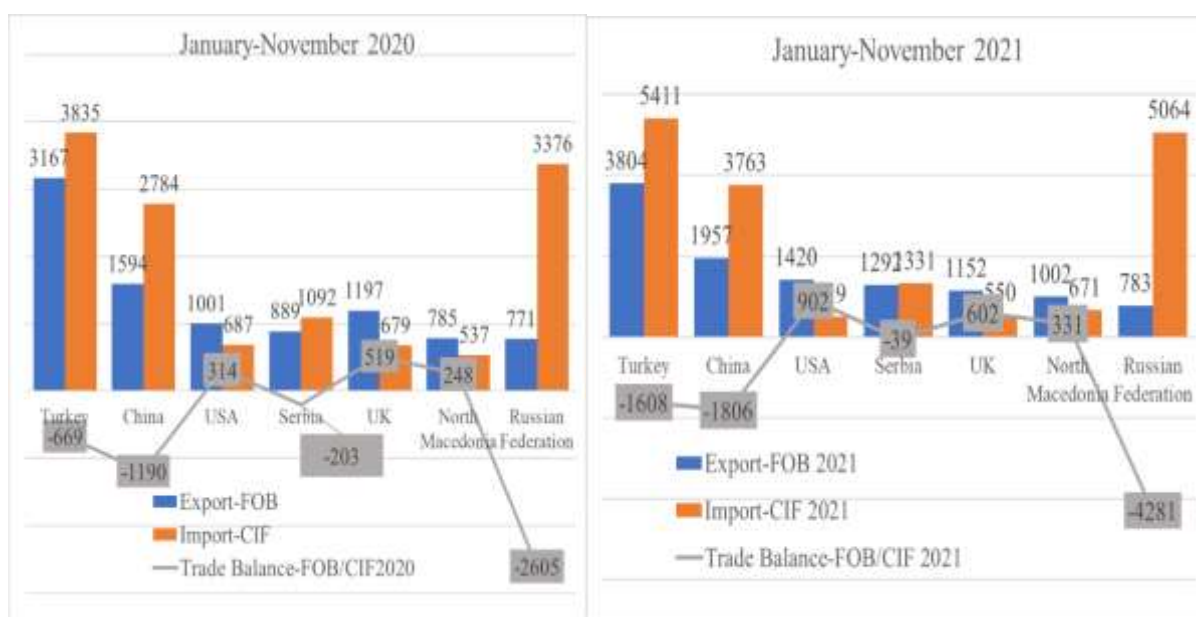
**Keywords:** trade relations, Bulgaria, China, imports, exports, crisis

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### **Introduction**

China became Bulgaria's second largest trading partner in exports and third in imports in 2020 and 2021, after being seventh and eighth in the previous to the pandemic years. The share of trade with China was 9.3% of total exports and 12.9% of total imports of the country in 2020. China created the third largest trade deficit in 2020 and 2021, after the Russian Federation and Turkey. Bulgaria's trade deficit with China amounted to BGN 1.2 billion in the first eleven months of 2020 and 1.8 bn BGN in the same period in 2021, making up over 27% and 26% of the country's total deficit of respectively BGN 4.4bn and 6.9bn in the respective periods. Yet, analysis of the trade relations on a quarterly basis shows some interesting trends, pointing at mutual benefits for both countries.

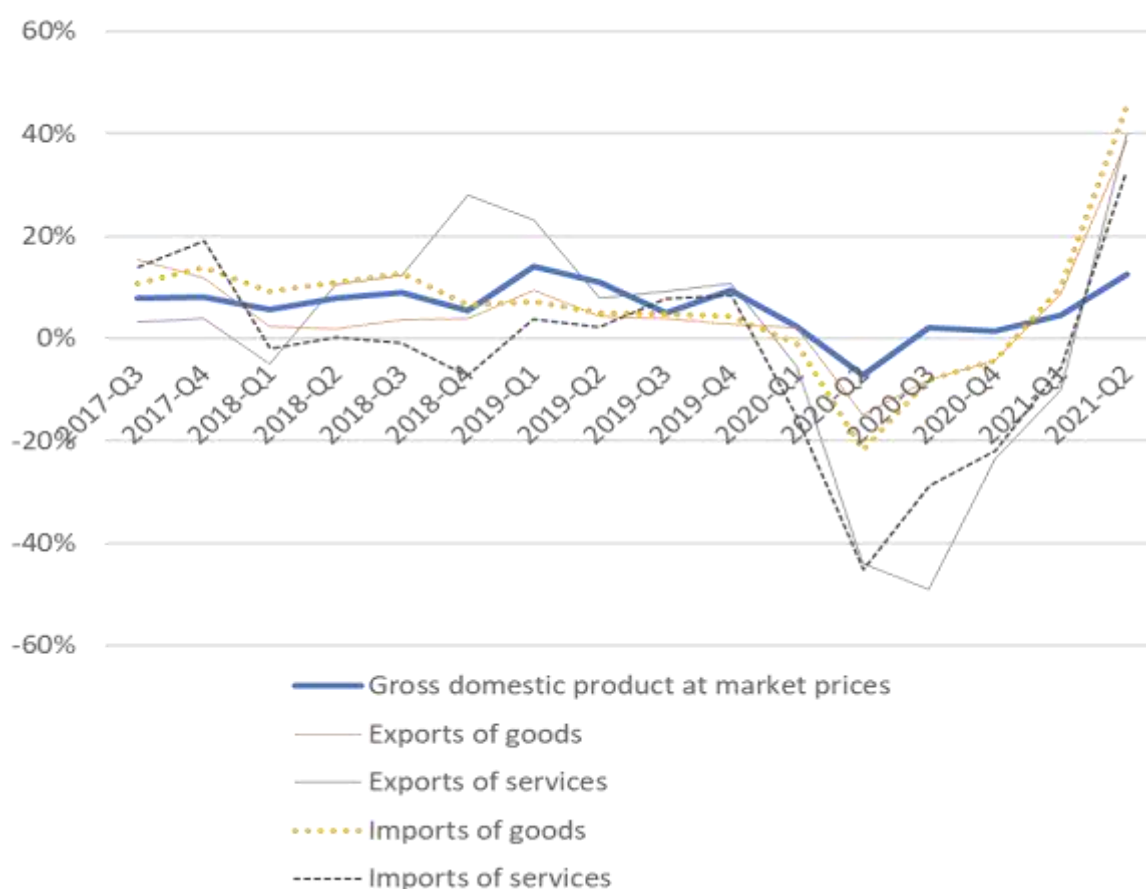
**Figure 1: Bulgaria's Main Trading Partners in January-November 2020-2021, mn BGN**



Source: NSI

With the announcement of the World Health Organization's coronavirus pandemic in March 2020 and the lockdowns in many countries around the world, international trade fell by 5.3% year-on-year in 2020 as a result of various trade restriction measures and disruptions in the global supply chains with interrupting imports from China, as well as deteriorating market demand. Major drops in the trade volumes were registered in the second and third quarter of 2020, and Bulgaria was not an exception. Imports dropped faster than exports, by 21.9% y/y in Q2 of 2020, compared to 15% y/y decrease in the exports. Services suffered higher declines, down by 43.9% for exports and 45.2% for imports y/y in Q2 of 2020, and if in Q3 imports of services slightly slowed down the negative trend to 29.7%, export of services continued the negative trend even faster, at 49.1% y/y in Q3 of 2020. With production and internal market being less vulnerable to the pandemic, GDP was negative only in Q2 of the year, due to the lockdowns, and recovered in the next quarters. In this situation, trade with China maintained slightly better parameters, with lower fluctuations and smaller trade reductions in the specific two quarters of 2020.

**Figure 2: Bulgaria's GDP, Imports and Exports, Y/Y Quarter Growth, %**

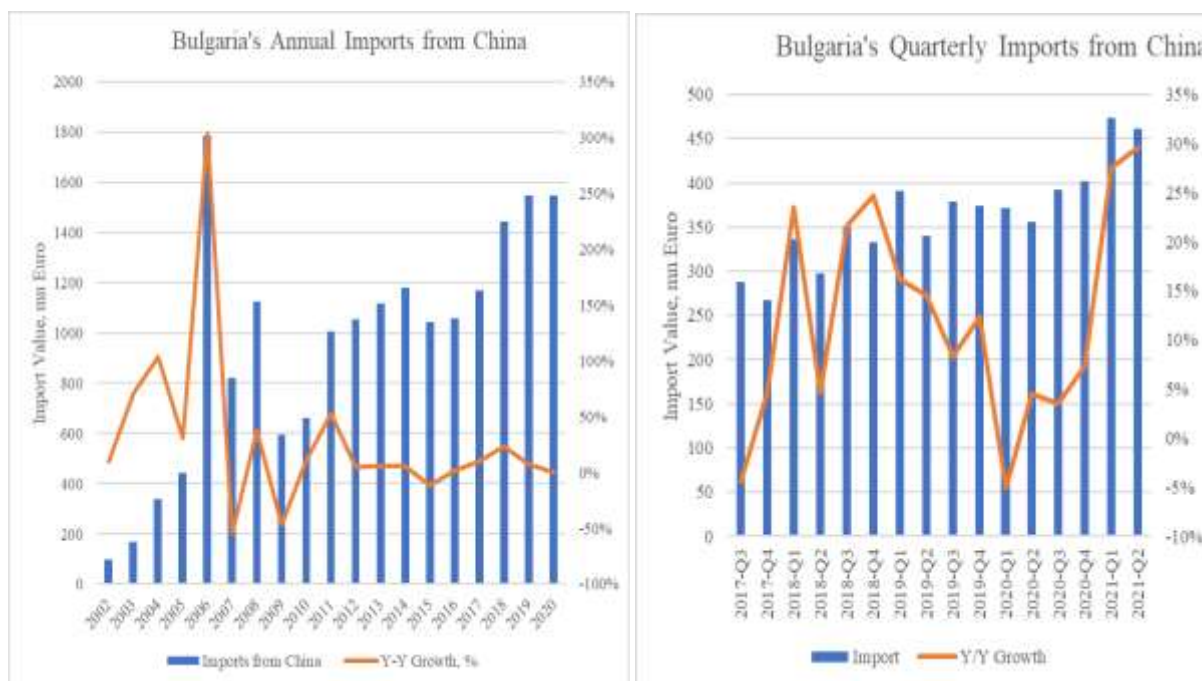


Source: ITC, BAS

### Imports from China

The total volume of imports was 1,547 bn Euro in 2020, remaining at almost the same level as in 2019, despite the 5% y/y decline in the first quarter of the year, which is relatively low compared to the overall decline in total imports in Bulgaria. Imports from China fell by 5% in Q1 of 2020, and recovered quickly in the next quarters, marking a y/y growth of 4.6%, 3.5% and 7.3% in Q2, Q3 and Q4, respectively. This result compared to the overall drop in the country's import in the same period, shows the flexible trade policy, timely government support and comprehensive marketing approach of Chinese companies, gaining a lot from the high degree of trade digitalization and e-commerce development.

**Figure 3: Imports from China, Y/Y Growth, mn Euro, %**



Source: ITC, BAS

A closer look into the data by product categories shows that in fact the largest three product categories (electrical machinery and appliances, machinery, mechanical appliances and furniture, bedding, mattresses) managed to keep the same import amount in the first quarter of 2020. After that the accumulated imports of the three product categories slowly but steadily recovered growth to 7% y/y in Q2, 9% in Q3 and 13% in Q4 in 2020, which shows the stability of the trade relations and lower vulnerability to external factors. The first two quarters of 2021 marked fast y/y increases at 30% and 40% for Q1 and Q2, respectively.

Chinese imports realized even a higher growth in the first half of 2021, resulting in an increased market share of Chinese products in the relevant categories. At the same time, the share of share of machinery, equipment and vehicles increased, compared to other products.

Electrical machinery and appliances occupied between 16% and 19% in the years of 2016-2018, slightly increased to between 19-20% (depending on the quarter, with clear share increase in the last quarter each year). This was the share in the beginning of the pandemic, but after a year, in the first two quarters of 2021, the share already reached 25%, a quarter of all imports from China. Machinery and mechanical appliances did not lose position, keeping a relatively stable share of 20% in all products.

The third category – furniture, bedding and mattresses – slightly increased its share in total imports from between 6-8% in the three years prior to the pandemic, to 9-10% in the end

of 2020 and first quarters of 2021. Lower value-added products such as textiles (except for masks and medical clothing), man-made filaments, rubber and articles, wool, glass, etc., all had higher decreases in the crisis, and lower recovery after it, slightly diminishing their market shares in the total import from China.

**Table 1: Bulgaria's Import from China by Product Category**

<i>Product Category</i>	<i>Import Value, Euro thou</i>			<i>Share in Total Import from China, %</i>			<i>Year-on-Year Growth, %</i>		
	<b>2018-Q1</b>	<b>2020-Q1</b>	<b>2021-Q1</b>	<b>2018-Q1</b>	<b>2020-Q1</b>	<b>2021-Q1</b>	<b>2018-Q1</b>	<b>2020-Q1</b>	<b>2021-Q1</b>
<i>Electrical machinery and equipment</i>	6779 6	7090 1	1064 46	20%	19%	23%	30.1 %	13.5 %	47.3 %
<i>Machinery, mechanical appliances,</i>	6001 7	7627 7	9526 6	18%	21%	20%	1.0%	-0.1%	35.2 %
<i>Furniture; bedding, mattresses</i>	2862 3	3720 0	3810 1	8.5 %	10.0 %	8.1 %	10.7 %	72.4 %	9.3%
<i>Vehicles other than railway or tramway</i>	1946 7	1616 1	3311 9	5.8 %	4.4%	7.0 %	- 22.8 %	12.2 %	194.1 %
<i>Plastics and articles thereof</i>	1227 2	1518 1	1786 1	3.6 %	4.1%	3.8 %	41.7 %	17.5 %	13.7 %
<i>Organic chemicals</i>	1871 2	1160 2	1555 9	5.6 %	3.1%	3.3 %	0.7%	- 26.7 %	5.1%
<i>Optical, photographic, cinematographic, medical etc</i>	8623	1269 7	1560 5	2.6 %	3.4%	3.3 %	18.9 %	23.5 %	31.8 %
<i>Toys, games and sports requisites;</i>	5712	7232	7976	1.7 %	1.9%	1.7 %	- 11.0 %	3.2%	-4.7%
<i>Man-made filaments; strip and the like of man-made textile materials</i>	5355	5807	6181	1.6 %	1.6%	1.3 %	45.1 %	29.5 %	- 11.1 %
<i>Other made-up textile articles; sets; worn clothing and worn textile</i>	2937	5531	6378	0.9 %	1.5%	1.3 %	55.5 %	127.0 %	27.7 %
<i>Miscellaneous chemical products</i>	4464	3756	4058	1.3 %	1.0%	0.9 %	179.5 %	10.6 %	35.4 %



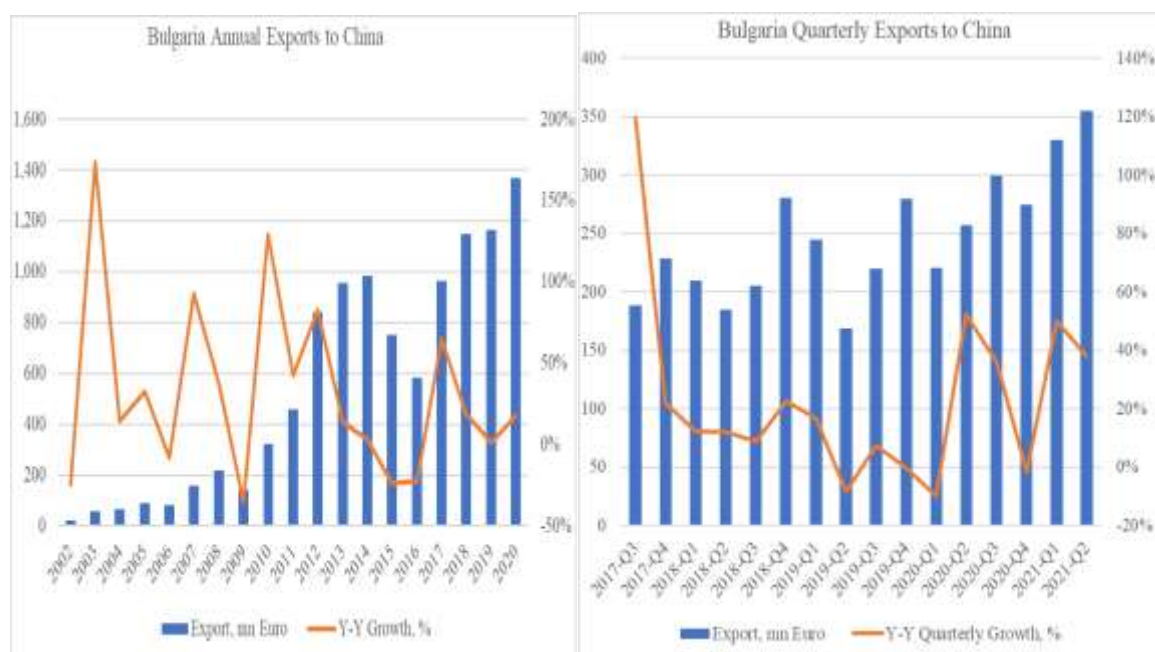
<i>Paper and paperboard; articles of paper pulp, of paper or of paperboard</i>	3297	4300	3990	1.0 %	1.2%	0.8 %	19.6 %	39.5 %	14.2 %
<i>Rubber and articles thereof</i>	8698	6075	5476	2.6 %	1.6%	1.2 %	34.2 %	- 14.6 %	- 33.8 %
<i>Wool, fine or coarse animal hair; horsehair yarn and woven fabric</i>	3727	5285	2768	1.1 %	1.4%	0.6 %	171.4 %	- 32.2 %	- 53.3 %
<i>Tools, implements, cutlery, spoons and forks, of base metal;</i>	3972	3740	3906	1.2 %	1.0%	0.8 %	46.2 %	-4.5%	9.0%
<i>Glass and glassware</i>	2641	2936	2989	0.8 %	0.8%	0.6 %	- 11.0 %	-5.3%	-8.3%
<i>Man-made staple fibres</i>	6431	5193	3970	1.9 %	1.4%	0.8 %	23.7 %	27.3 %	- 40.7 %

Source; ITC, BAS

### Exports

The crisis did not affect exports to China, rather, there was a 17.7% year-on-year growth in 2020. The total volume of exports from Bulgaria to China amounted to 1,369 bn Euro in 2020, growing extremely rapidly in the years after the crisis of 2008 and more specifically after 2011. Exports to China in fact fluctuated a lot in the last few years, declining to levels of below 600mn Euro in 2016, and reaching the highest possible export value in 2020 – more than double this of 2016. This shows that quarterly fluctuations are unrelated to the economic cycle and the pandemic crisis. The main reason for this is the sourcing of raw materials from Bulgaria, which form the biggest part of the exports to China.

**Figure 4: Bulgaria's Exports to China, Y/Y Growth, mn Euro, %**



Source: ITC, BAS

Raw materials formed a share of over 83% in the export structure in 2020. The largest exported product group is "non-ferrous metals" with over 65% of total exports to China. For comparison, this percentage is 10% in the structure of Bulgaria's total exports to the world. In second place in the structure of exports to China are copper ores, with a share of just over 14% in 2019-2020.

The bulk of over 83% of the exports value is composed of copper ores and precious metals (mainly copper), and that fluctuation in the copper sourcing directly impacts the total export to China, no matter of the other product categories. There is a clear trend of a sharp increase in exports in the years after 2010, sharp drop in the single 2016 year, and recovery of the fast growth in the five years after. To some extent ore exports were replaced with exports of metals, which indicates an increase in the added value of copper and copper products.

The same trend is also visible from the quarterly data, although the export value had slight declines in the first and last quarters of 2020, y/y. The share of copper in total exports to China declined from 81% in Q1 of 2018 to 56% in Q1 of 2021. In general, the quarterly growth is not stable, and does not follow a certain path, but the average share of copper in total export slightly declined on a quarter basis from above 70% in the quarters in 2018 and 2019 to some 65% on average in 2020 and 2021. China in fact had an eight-fold increase in the value of ores, slag and ash purchases from Bulgaria, which contributed to the overall export growth and

changes in the export structure in the last two years to 2021.

**Table 2: Bulgaria's Export to China by Product Category**

<i>Product Category</i>	<i>Import Value, Euro thou</i>			<i>Share in Total Import from China, %</i>			<i>Year-on-Year Growth, %</i>		
	<i>2019-Q1</i>	<i>2020-Q1</i>	<i>2021-Q1</i>	<i>2019-Q1</i>	<i>2020-Q1</i>	<i>2021-Q1</i>	<i>2019-Q1</i>	<i>2020-Q1</i>	<i>2021-Q1</i>
<i>Copper and articles thereof</i>	17435	13241	15391	81.0	66.2	56.2	30.0%	-	16.2%
	9	7	3	%	%	%		24.1%	
<i>Ores, slag and ash</i>	6093	30581	47813	2.8%	15.3	17.5	-15.0%	401.9	56.3%
					%	%		%	
<i>Electrical machinery and equipment and parts</i>	10818	13377	13066	5.0%	6.7%	4.8%	-19.6%	23.7%	-2.3%
<i>Machinery, mechanical appliances,</i>	3565	1753	7609	1.7%	0.9%	2.8%	59.0%	-	334.1
								50.8%	%
<i>Residues and waste from the food industries;</i>	415	0	14272	0.2%	0.0%	5.2%	3.0%	-	-
								100%	
<i>Optical, photographic, cinematographic,</i>	638	1685	11789	0.3%	0.8%	4.3%	-60.0%	164.1	599.6
								%	%
<i>Animal or vegetable fats and oils;</i>	170	1363	2675	0.1%	0.7%	1.0%	126.7	701.8	96.3%
							%	%	
<i>Plastics and articles thereof</i>	1664	1055	1997	0.8%	0.5%	0.7%	346.1	-	89.3%
							%	36.6%	
<i>Oil seeds and oleaginous fruits; grains, seeds, fruit;</i>	2931	3090	4121	1.4%	1.5%	1.5%	7821.6	5.4%	33.4%
							%		
<i>Articles of iron or steel</i>	37	132	936	0.0%	0.1%	0.3%	-94.4%	256.8	609.1
								%	%
<i>Essential oils and resinoids; perfumery,</i>	572	871	533	0.3%	0.4%	0.2%	-15.6%	52.3%	-
									38.8%
<i>Miscellaneous chemical products</i>	2038	3237	2476	0.9%	1.6%	0.9%	91.5%	58.8%	-
									23.5%
<i>Wood and articles of wood;</i>	461	722	812	0.2%	0.4%	0.3%	-75.0%	56.6%	12.5%

Source: ITC, BAS

There was also a remarkable increase in the export of residues and waste from the food industries as well as of optical, photographic and other equipment from Bulgaria to China in the last two years.

## Conclusions

The pandemic did not affect seriously Bulgaria-China trade relations, which seem to be stable in times of crisis, due to their specific structure. Imports are increasingly more related to high value-added machinery, electrical and mechanical, used for the production sector in Bulgaria. Exports were even growing faster in 2020 and first half of 2021, due to China purchasing from Bulgaria more ores, ashes, and some new items such as residues from animals and optical products. All this shows a relative stability of the bilateral relations and smaller impact of the external factors and global trade deterioration.

During the pandemic, the goods with the largest trade volume increased the share of their imports from China in total imports, despite the general decline in traded volumes from China and in general. Chinese partners were more flexible in supply, both in terms of prices and financing and other trading conditions. At the same time, in the first two quarters of 2020, China outpassed other countries as a share of total imports of products, due to the increased needs of the country during the pandemic for machinery and equipment for special purposes, medical equipment, textiles.

In the period of the coronavirus pandemic Bulgaria increased exports of raw materials to China, unlike it did for products of the same type to Europe in the same period.

The analysis shows greater activity of Chinese trade partners in the bilateral trade relations, which may be related more with China's government policy on imports of raw materials, and to a lesser extent of market conditions, in the case of imports of products from China. Yet, relations with China presuppose access to a large market, financial capital, technology and an influx of tourists to Bulgaria, and mutual benefits should be acknowledged.

**Морският път на коприната: Възможни предизвикателства и рискове  
за превенция или дългосрочно блокиране на функционирането на  
Пояса**

*Валери Иванов & Михаел Козарски,  
Институт по отбрана „Проф. Цветан Лазаров“*

***The Maritime Silk Road: Possible Challenges and Risks to Prevent or Long-Term Block  
the Operation of the Belt***

*Valeri Ivanov & Mihael Kozarski,  
Bulgarian Defense Institute “Prof. Tsvetan Lazarov”*

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**Abstract:** Contemporary topic of the day and the whole XXI century, the Chinese initiative ‘One Belt, One Road’ is an ever expanding subject of interest in the field of science and also reflects its influence on a global scale. The subject deserves a closer look and a primal focus on the sometimes-overlooked ‘XXI Century Maritime Belt’ branch of the initiative.

The authors will share their assumptions for potential obstacles, which might prevent or delay the Chinese global initiative ‘One Belt, One Road’. From geographic position and the concomitant uncertainties from it: the Pacific through the Indian Ocean, Central and North Africa and the factor Radical Islam in some war-torn countries to Mediterranean, all points at this time could be considered as challenges and risks for the initiative.

**Keywords:** One Belt, One Road, geopolitics; maritime silk road; Pacific and Indian oceans, Arctic Silk Road; sea routes, radical Islam

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**Увод**

Глобалната инициатива на Китай „Един пояс, Един път”, понякога наричана и „Нов път на коприната”, макар и все още да е в незавършен вид, вече започва да пренарежда геополитическите, геостратегическите и геоикономическите връзки, отношения и общото разпределение на силите между атлантическите (морските) и евразийските (сухоземните) държави. За пръв път от много време насам има такова сериозно разместване на ресурси, капитали и влияние в глобален мащаб и реалната

възможност за смяна на световния търговски и политически център. Една от най-важните причини за това е постоянно растящия икономически потенциал на Китай, както и ресурсите вложени от него в бурната му индустриализация и последвалата от това експортна ориентираност за Европа, Африка, Северна и Южна Америка.

Неслучайно инициативата на Китай „Един пояс, Един път” е определяна като най-голямата инвестиция в съвременната човешка история, която след реализацията си може да преобърне световния ред за векове напред. Няма да е голямо отклонение ако тук се спомене концепцията за Хартленда на видния геополитик Халфорд Маккиндър, която излага през 1919 г., със следните три тези: *„Който контролира Източна Европа, той управлява Хартленда; Който контролира Хартленда той управлява Световния остров; който контролира Световния остров – той управлява света”*.<sup>1</sup> Почти сто години по-късно, виждаме как тази концепция отново излиза на дневен ред, но вече в преработен вариант, гласящ нещо подобно: *„Който контролира Средната земя (Китай), той управлява геостратегическия проект „Един пояс, Един път”; който контролира „Пояса и Пътя”, той управлява основния товаропоток в направленията Изток-Запад; който контролира направленията, той управлява Световния остров и залага основните въпроси за дневния ред на света”*.

Очевидна е заявката на Китай да играе все по-важна роля в глобалната геополитика и геикономика и опит за позициониране на новата суперсила в съответствие с нейната демографска, икономическа, военна и политическа мощ. Наблюдава се и неизбежно произтичащ обратен ефект от целия този просперитет на Китай – доминиращият до този момент господар на света (САЩ) се опитва да запази своята господстваща роля в световната политика и икономика, дори и с цената на десетки и стотици хиляди жертви от пламтящи или припламващи конфликти и войни в пределите на мегаконтинента Евразия.

Инициативата „Един пояс, един път“ е амбициозно усилие за подобряване на регионалното сътрудничество и свързаност в трансконтинентален мащаб. Тя се състои предимно от *Икономическия пояс на Пътя на коприната*, свързващ Китай с Централна и Южна Азия и напред към Европа, и *Новия морски път на коприната*, свързващ Китай с държавите от Югоизточна Азия, страните от Персийския залив, Северна Африка и с

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<sup>1</sup> Виж: Kruszewski, Charles, The Pivot of History, Foreign Affairs, April 1954, достъпно на: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1954-04-01/pivot-history> – посетен на 18.03.2022 г.

Европа<sup>2</sup>. Някои международни наблюдатели виждат в нея план на китайците за световно господство, крепящо се на глобална търговска мрежа, центрирана в Китай. Проектът има зададена крайна дата на завършване 2049 г., съвпадаща със стогодишнината от основаването на Китайската народна република.

Проектът се простира върху голяма част от Евразия, съединявайки развиващи се страни с развити такива. Той е съсредоточен в богати на ресурси страни, а предполагаемият му икономически мащаб е около 21 трилиона долара. Към 2019 г. Китай развива икономически отношения със 138 страни 30 международни организации като част от плана „Един пояс, един път“. Инфраструктурните проекти включват пристанища, железопътни възли, магистрали, електроцентрали, летища и телекомуникационни центрове<sup>3</sup>.

Морският път на коприната ще започва от провинция Гуандун, ще минава през Малакския пролив, Индийския океан, Червено и Средиземно морета и ще завършва във Венеция. Освен това основно трасе, морското измерение ще преминава и през държавите членки на АСЕАН като използва и техните пристанища, откъдето ще натоварва стоките, произведени в Китай за Европа. За тази цел Китай подписва с държавите от АСЕАН споразумение за създаване на зона за свободна търговия през 2010 година. Китай работи и върху разширяването на компетенциите и способностите на тази зона, като набляга върху това разширение от края на 2015 г., за което може да способства именно морският участък от Новия път на коприната.<sup>4</sup>

Авторите на настоящата статия предполагат, че тъй като сухопътните и морските артерии на инициативата са толкова тясно свързани и взаимнозависими една от друга, блокирането на морското разклонение на инициативата би довела до блокирането и на сухопътната такава.

Съобразно всичко това, **целта** на настоящия доклад е да изследва основните предизвикателства, рискове и заплахите пред реализацията и функционирането на

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<sup>2</sup> Виж: Belt and Road Initiative, The World Bank, March 29<sup>th</sup> 2018, достъпно на: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/regional-integration/brief/belt-and-road-initiative> – посетен на 19.03.2022г.

<sup>3</sup> Пак там.

<sup>4</sup> Виж: China Briefing, September 11<sup>th</sup> 2015, ASEAN looks to Upgrade FTA with China, Japan, South Korea by 2015, достъпно на <http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2015/09/11/asean-looks-to-upgrade-fta-with-china-japan-south-korea-by-2015.html> – посетен на 21.03.2022г. и Fan Feifei and Zhou Mo, China to deepen ties with ASEAN by upgrading free trade agreement, September 19<sup>th</sup> 2015, достъпно на: [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2015-09/19/content\\_21923409.html](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2015-09/19/content_21923409.html) – посетен на 21.03.2022г.

инициативата на Китай „Един пояс, Един път”, с акцент на по-малко познатия и може би несъзнателно пренебрегван Морски път на коприната, както и на неговия полярен аналог – *Ледения път на коприната*, и да разкрие геополитическите и геостратегическите последици от тяхното въздействие.

### **Леденият път на коприната в общата геоикономическа и геополитическа трансформация на света**

Леденият път на коприната или Северният морски път (СМП) е плавателен маршрут и основна морска комуникация в Руска Арктика. СМП преминава покрай северните брегове на Русия, през моретата на Северния ледовит океан, и свързва европейските и далекоизточните пристанища на Федерацията, както и устията на плавателните сибирски реки в единна транспортна система. Дължината на пътя е 5600 км. - от Карския пролив до залива Провидение. Освен това Северният морски път дава възможност да се стигне от Източна Азия до Европа много по-бързо и по-евтино. Сравнението на този маршрут с трасето през Малакския пролив и Суецкия канал дава близо 5000 спестени км., т.е. една четвърт от пътя.<sup>5</sup> В близките десетилетия потенциалната възможност за прокарване на по-кратки морски пътища между Източна Азия и Европа ще допринесе за засилването на борбата за господство в Арктика.<sup>6</sup>

За Китай Арктика може да означава значителни изгоди в сферите на икономиката и сигурността, засягащи Източна Азия, а също така енергийната и продоволствената сигурност.<sup>7</sup> От 2018 г. с публикуването на „Бялата книга“ ръководството на КНР обръща сериозен поглед на Север и си поставя амбициозната цел да прокара редица маршрути, през които да транспортира кораби от Арктика, заобикаляйки ледниците на Русия, Норвегия и Финландия, и съкращавайки по този начин маршрута до Северна и Западна Европа (и също така Средиземно море) от 48 на 19 дни. По този начин се създава завършена окръжност около целия евразийски континент, сливайки или допълвайки

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<sup>5</sup> Виж: Дюлгерова, Нина Северният морски път: бъдеще без конкуренция, Списание „Геополитика“ 02.11.2020г., достъпно на: <https://geopolitica.eu/2020/185-broy-5-2020/3262-severniyat-morski-pat-badeshte-bez-konkurenciya> – посетен на 21.03.2022г.

<sup>6</sup> Виж: Арктика. Или къде ще възникне следващото търкане между НАТО и Русия, списание Club Z, 30.12.2016 г., достъпно на: [https://www.clubz.bg/47868-arktika%C2%A0ili\\_kyde\\_shte\\_vyznikne\\_sledvashtoto\\_tyrkane\\_mejdu\\_nato\\_i\\_rusiq\\_karta](https://www.clubz.bg/47868-arktika%C2%A0ili_kyde_shte_vyznikne_sledvashtoto_tyrkane_mejdu_nato_i_rusiq_karta) – посетен на 21.03.2022г.

<sup>7</sup> Пак там.



маршрутите на „Морският път на коприната“ с тези на „Леденият път на коприната“.<sup>8</sup> Можем да наречем този обръч около Евразия, който обединява Средната земя със Стария континент, на името на змията, живееща в световния океан от скандинавската митология – „Мидгардсорм“ (Световната змия), тъй като маршрутът на обръча минава именно през родината на скандинавските богове – Норвегия.

Също така Китай най-вероятно е на път да направи нов прочит на традиционното европейско и американско разбиране на понятията за „Хартленд“ (сърцевината) и „Римленд“ (периферията) в геополитически план. Второто от тези понятия в китайските схващания се свързва с представата за двата континента на Америка и остров Гренландия. Още по-амбициозна е целта, заложена в последния петгодишен план на комунистическата партия на КНР (2021-2025 г.), а именно да се усвои напълно Ледения път на коприната, да се построи необходимата инфраструктура за неговото ефективно функциониране и да бъде завършен най-късно през 2025 година. В допълнение се очаква изстрелването на сателити още през следващата 2022 г.<sup>9</sup>, които да държат под наблюдение преминаващите през ледниковите лабиринти търговски кораби на КНР.

Но дори и при реализирането на „Ледения път на коприната“ или „Мидгардсорм“ Китай ще се натъкне на множество предизвикателства и ще трябва да подсигури енергийния сектор, за да не бъде напълно зависим от доставките на въгледородни продукти от страна на Русия или още по-малко на САЩ, с която е в напрегнати взаимоотношения от няколко години, по-точно от ранните дни на администрацията на Доналд Тръмп. Отделно Китай ще трябва да сключи някакво споразумение за взаимно използване на ресурсите на Арктика, по подобие на онова от 2015 г., с което руския евразийски проект „Евразийски икономически съюз“ и китайския „Един пояс, Един път“<sup>10</sup> се признават взаимно и си гарантират мирното сътрудничество в Хартленда и в периферните зони (Римленда) на мегаконтинента Евразия.

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<sup>8</sup> Виж: David Stanway, China pledges to build 'Polar Silk Road' over 2021-2025, 5<sup>th</sup> March 2021, достъпно на <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-parliament-polar-idUSKBN2AX09F> – посетен на 22.03.2022г. и China pledges to build 'Polar Silk Road' by 2025 to tap natural resources, WION Web Team, 06<sup>th</sup> March 2021, достъпно на <https://www.wionews.com/world/china-pledges-to-build-polar-silk-road-by-2025-to-tap-natural-resources-368390> – посетен на 22.03.2022г.

<sup>9</sup> Пак там.

<sup>10</sup> Руско-китайската транспортна геополитика в Евразия, Ф. Уйлям Енгдал, Списание „Геополитика“, бр. 5, 2015 г.

## Предизвикателства пред Инициативата, произтичащи от външни фактори

Още в стартовата си фаза, а именно в акваториите на Южнокитайско и Източнокитайско море, Поднебесната се натъква на първите си предизвикателства, които можем да окажем на този етап като сериозни *рискове* – преминаването през *Тайванския и Малакския проливи* (дори и към момента да държи втория под едновековна аренда), както и постоянното *американско морско присъствие* на VII-и флот в акваториите на островните държави от Япония до Индонезия. Разбира се, не бива да бъдат пропускани и други *рискове и предизвикателства*, като *пиратството* в региона на Тихия и Индийския океан, *позициите на държавите от региона на Югоизточна Азия – Тайван, Виетнам, страните от Индийския океан, Далечния Изток, Африка, около Адения залив и Червено море* и други.

Трайно установилото се **американско военноморско присъствие в региона** след края на Втората световна война, е факт благодарение на поражението на Империята на изгряващото слънце. Построените военни бази на морския флот и авиацията в окупирана Япония, Южна Корея, Филипините и множество острови в Тихия океан, както и подкрепата на Австралия и Великобритания за САЩ и техните действия в борбата срещу проникването на СССР в региона, на практика легитимират американското присъствие поне в обозримото бъдеще в тази част на Азия.

Най-голям проблем обаче е преминаването на кораби със стоки на Китай през **Тайванския пролив**, без да последва интервенция от страна на САЩ и Тайван. Логично е да се предположи, че това ще продължава дълго и освен че ще води до нарастване непрекъснато на напрежението, твърде често ще бъде съпроводено и със своеобразна демонстрация на мускули спрямо Китайската народна република (КНР). Причините, формите и основанията за подобна ескалация на напрежението може да бъдат най-различни – от поддържане на свободата на корабоплаването, през запазването на суверенитета на Тайван, до провеждане на съвместна операция под егидата на САЩ (или дори на ООН) срещу пиратството в Азиатско-тихоокеанския регион.

Оттук следва да се спомене и **пиратството** като фактор както в Тихия, така и в Индийския океан. От векове морските ренегати представляват реална опасност за търговските кораби и флотилии в морското пространство от Индонезия до Филипините и прилежащите към тях островни архипелази от гъсто населени, и по-изолирани и по-слабо населени острови. Пиратите обикновено произлизат от по-бедните и по-безперспективни райони на островните държави, а плякосването на кораби е основен

доход и начин на живот за тях. Освен всичко друго, пиратството може да представлява сериозен риск за китайските търговски кораби, особено ако не разполагат с военен ескорт за защитата им по пътя за Европа.

**Тайван** също представлява сериозно предизвикателство за КНР, тъй като той също се смята за държава приемник, и се позовава на международното право в това си желание, на Гоминдански Китай и на Поднебесната империя. Той отхвърля всякаква възможност, разглеждайки с недоверие потенциално взаимодействие и участие с континентален Китай в инициативата му за постепенното обединение на двете страни в „Един Китай“. Страната не признава управляващата на континента Китайска комунистическа партия, смятайки я за узурпатор на позициите, заемани от истинските управляващи от партията на Гоминдана до 1949 година. Освен това Тайван има тесни взаимоотношения със САЩ, които пък са в подготвителен етап на Студена война с КНР и също така имат готовност да защитават Тайван от потенциална атака от страна на Пекин. За по-голямо удобство техният VII-и флот постоянно патрулира акваториите около островната държава.

Парадоксално, но и приятелски настроеният и сходен откъм държавно управление **Виетнам** може да бъде сметнат за потенциално предизвикателство, тъй като до ден днешен южната половина на страната има проамерикански виждания и поддържа приятелско отношение към САЩ, въпреки горчивите спомени от заключителните периоди на войната. Китай и Виетнам обаче имат и историческа неприязън, произтичаща от 1000-годишното господство над последната в древността, което пък бива подсилено допълнително от спора за островите Спратли и Парасел, и подкрепата на КНР за Камбоджа срещу интервенцията на Виетнам от есента на 1978 до февруари 1979 година. Между май 2011 и юни 2012 споровете между Китай и Виетнам продължават, последват няколко сблъсъка за островите, като според виетнамските власти провокациите са осъществени от КНР във виетнамски води, признати от международното право.<sup>11</sup>

Ето защо тези спорни острови биха послужили като идеалното буре с барут за саботиране на „Морския път на коприната“, а предизвикването на конфликт между Китай и Виетнам би задоволило апетита не само на САЩ, но и на останалите две важни

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<sup>11</sup> Виж: Santolan, Joseph, Chinese patrol boats confront Vietnamese oil exploration ship in South China Sea, 31<sup>st</sup> May 2011, достъпно на <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2011/05/chin-m31.html> – посетен на 21.03.2022г.

спорещи държави за контрол над островите – Филипините и Тайван. Това е идеалното място за спиране на инициативата и отделно би зарадвало всичките ѝ противници.

Разглеждайки всичко дотук, може да заключим, че рисковете и предизвикателствата в Тихия океан са безбройно много, но посочените от нас изглеждат най-приоритетни от гледна точка на разглеждания предмет, а именно инициативата „Един пояс, Един път“. И това е уместен момент за спиране на анализа в тази част на света и да се прехвърлим в друга такава – отвъд Малакския проток – в **Индийския океан**, а след това и на африканския континент и областта около Аденския залив и Червено море.

Най-важният и естествено геополитически и геостратегически играч в тази част на Южна Азия, но също така и титуляр в носещия неговото име океан – **Индия** – се откроява като може би най-важното и първостепенно предизвикателство за Китай и неговата геостратегическа програма за „Пътя и пояса“. През XXI в. географското положение на Индия се оказва особено важно и много деликатно за всяка една Велика и Суперсила, с която страната поддържа дипломатически отношения. Индия може да бъде сметната за „Властелина на Индийския океан“, най-малкото защото има най-големия флот в тази част на света. Тя членува в две много важни организации, които пренаписват дори и в този момент световната практика и постепенно променят световния ред, а именно **БРИКС** (Бразилия, Русия, Индия, Китай и Южна Африка) и **ШОС** (Шанхайската организация за сътрудничество). Въпреки това, членството в тези организации не пречи на Индия да има по-резервирани и по-антагонистични отношения с един от членовете и съоснователи на организациите – Китай. Ето защо Индия може да представлява както предизвикателство, така и риск, а може би дори и опасност за инициативата на Китай.

Не се изключва момент, в който Западът няма да поиска да съдейства на Индия в граничните спорове с Китай и дори ще я покани да участва в техния контра проект и отговор на „Морският път на коприната“ – създаденият през ноември 2019 г. Blue Dot Network (Мрежата на Синята точка), в който членуват САЩ, Япония, Австралия и Тайван, и е отворен за присъединение на нови членове. Нейните създатели твърдят, че тя е алтернатива на водената от Китай стратегия „Един пояс, Един път“ и също така предлагат сериозни финансови компенсации за всеки, който не желае и откаже да участва в китайския евразийски проект. Към септември 2021 г., следвайки направените първоначални стъпки към контриране на китайската инициатива от юни 2021 г. в Лондон, държавите членки на **G-7** също подкрепят безрезервно западната контра

инициатива на „Пояса и Пътя“. Отделно те предлагат своя допълваща алтернативна програма „Построяване наново на по-добър свят“ (Build Back Better World (B3W)).<sup>12</sup>

**Шри Ланка**, на пръв поглед само един малък остров в Индийския океан, всъщност може да се окаже много важна в успешната реализация на „Морският път на коприната“. И същевременно да се окаже голямо предизвикателство и риск за Китай и цялата му инициатива, поради факта, че там все още има опасност от възобновяването на приключилата през 2009 г. гражданска война. Възможно е от това обстоятелство да последва невъзможност за използване на пристанищата от страна на Китай, вследствие на което ще трябва да разчита или на **Пакистан**, или на **Мианмар**, които обаче се намират по-далеч като маршрут от малкия остров.

**Япония** е в прикрити лоши взаимоотношения с Китай, въпреки политиките на официален Токио да твърди обратното, най-малкото заради спорни острови в Японско море. В допълнение на това, там има силно американско присъствие, което допълнително затруднява достигането на Беринговия проток. Преминаването през акваториите на Япония е толкова рисковано начинание, колкото и да се подминава западното крайбрежие на Тайван. При всяко положение Япония би се възползвала от обструкция на китайските флотилии, с цел забавяне на придвижването към Беринговия проток, а оттам и доставките за Европа.

**Аденският залив, Суецкият канал и Червено море** са може би финалните предизвикателства преди навлизането на маршрутите в Средиземно море и Европа. Излизайки от западната част на Индийския океан и навлизайки в Червено море, инициативата на Китай се сблъсква и с последните три най-важни за авторите предизвикателства, които могат да саботират морският участък от „Един пояс, Един път“. За финал ще разгледаме общо акваториите на Аден и Червено море, заедно със Суецкия канал като важни предизвикателства за Китай.

Предизвикателствата в този край на света най-вероятно могат да бъдат разделени на **транспортно-логистични** и такива от **регионален характер**.

Относно *логистиката*, Червено море се стеснява в северна посока и по-големите кораби биха минавали по-трудно през една част от морето, а пък в най-северната си точка идва и сложния въпрос – какво да се прави в случай че Суецкият канал е блокиран? В това число включваме и неговия втори ръкав, открит през 2015 г. от президента на

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<sup>12</sup> Виж: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/06/12/fact-sheet-president-biden-and-g7-leaders-launch-build-back-better-world-b3w-partnership/> - посетен на 23.03.2022г.

Египет. През март 2021 г. станахме свидетели на подобен сценарий, когато търговията между Азия и Европа беше блокирана за цяла седмица при излезлия от контрол панамски кораб „Ever Given“ и последвалото от него затваряне на канала от страна на Египет.<sup>13</sup>

Не е изключено в бъдеще обаче да се случват подобни инциденти, а защо не и да зачестяват, което пък от своя страна ще доведе до по-рядкото използване на канала, но не и преди да се вдигнат цените на основните стоки, следователно да се покачи значително цената на горивата, както и да се увеличи инфлацията на световните валути.

Като други предизвикателства, *характерни само за региона*, следва да се посочат сложната смесица от проблеми, противопоставяне и враждебност между държавите, наличието на дългогодишни противоречия и стремеж за разрешаване на споровете с незаконни средства, а понякога и явно умишлени действия с цел провокация и създаване на изкуствено напрежение и дискредитиране на опонентите.

Може би най-яркото предизвикателство, специфично за региона, отново може да бъде посочено *пиратството*. Тук обаче пиратите се различават от своите „колеги“ или „съратници“ от другите краища на Световния океан, така че това предизвикателство може да бъде наречено **пиратство, примесено с религиозен характер**. В това понятие се включват следните проявления – абордаж на по-големи и неохраняеми кораби, акостиране на същите кораби на бреговете на Сомалия, отвличане на екипажа и ръководството и насилственото им помюсюлманчване, а при отказ - екзекуции по шериатските закони и по вижданията на радикалните ислямисти. Ето защо отново ще отбележим необходимостта от изграждането на силен военен флот от страна на Китай, което се явява важен фактор в защитата на търговския флот и на издигането на геополитическата концепция „Един пояс, Един път“, за противодействие на подобни опасности.

### **Предизвикателства пред Инициативата, произтичащи от вътрешни фактори**

Най-важното предизвикателство, произтичащо от вътрешни фактори, което си заслужава да отбележим, на първо място е *радикалният ислям*. Разбира се, че

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<sup>13</sup>Виж: With the Suez Canal Unblocked, the World's Commerce Resumes Its Course, The New York Times, March 29<sup>th</sup> 2021, достъпно на: <https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/03/29/world/suez-canal-stuck-ship> – посетен на 22.03.2022г.

съществуват и някои специфични, скрити рискове и предизвикателства, като *управленски рискове (корупция и обществени поръчки), натоварена инфраструктура, екологични рискове и социални рискове и други.*

На този етап изследването на радикалния ислям се простира само дотолкова, доколкото представлява риск за Китай и неговата инициатива, но редица изследователи са на мнение, че на по-късен етап рискът може да се трансформира в реална опасност и дори заплаха, тъй като проектът минава през някои раздирани от религиозни конфликти и граждански войни държави в този район на света.

**Корупцията и обществените поръчки** – лостовете на управлението на елита или рискове за управляващите класи и инициативата „Един пояс, Един път“. Макар на пръв поглед да изглежда много скучна и банална тематика, корупцията и злоупотребата с обществените поръчки са две много важни и интересни теми, които не могат да бъдат пренебрегнати. Става въпрос за едно почти невидимо сливане на правителствата, доставчиците и изпълнителите на някои от най-апетитните договори в човешката история.

Относно обществените поръчки - за тях се създават специални закони, както и правилници за тяхното приложение, а също така и специално се пишат допълнително вътрешни правила за приложение на нормативните и поднормативните актове. От всичко това следва търсене на сива зона, както и вратички в закона, за да може по-лесно да върви придвижването на цялата поръчка. Всичко това се изразява във военната, но и в икономическата сфера на държавата или на група от държави, ако става въпрос за глобална обществена поръчка.<sup>14</sup>

От гледна точка на „Един пояс, Един път“, корупцията би означавала отклоняване на много милиардни или дори трилиони финансови средства от обявени вече обществени поръчки, като най-вероятно те ще се пренасочват за подкупи на митничари по сухопътните граници и на техните колеги през морските ширини, особено когато се минава през протоците в Азия (Малака и Сингапур) и Африка (Суецкия канал). Следва да се спомене също така за количеството фалшификация на документи като митнически декларации и разрешителни, а също така и разминаването на количеството и разликата в декларираното и реално возеното наименование на стоката, както и на качеството на

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<sup>14</sup> За едно по-добро и лесно разбиране на невидимата нишка и контра пунктовете между обществените поръчки, корупцията, ролята на елита и отношението на изпълнителите и доставчиците, при това обяснено на съвсем достъпен език за непрофесионалисти препоръчвам филма „В голямата игра“ (War dogs – 2016).

същите стоки в товарните кораби. Едновременно с това не е изключено разминаване в документацията на класа кораб и реално преминаващия такъв през морските пространства. Също така е много сложен въпросът за прикритието на подобни фалшификации от страна на управляващите елити на съответните държави, откъдето ще минава маршрутът на инициативата, както и осигуряването на „чадъра“ за собствениците на кораби и превозваните в тях товари.

**Натоварената инфраструктура и екологичните рискове** са други проблеми, които ще започнат да се проявяват като резултат от нарастването на стокооборота и обема от потоците на товарите по трасетата на Проекта. Отново имаме взаимовръзка между два елемента, които на пръв поглед трудно биха се свързали. Но от логистична, а и географска гледна точка, има огромен недостиг на маршрути и коридори на придвижване както по суша, така и по вода.

Наистина може да се предположи, че „Морският път на коприната на XXI век“ ще бъде претоварен откъм кораби. Факт е, че плаването в океаните и по-малките морета, които влизат в тези океани, става все по-претоварено, а подобна тенденция не изключва и негативния екологичен ефект от цялостната транспортна стратегия. Причиняването на разливи и катастрофи между корабите, както и унищожаването на множество видове от флората и фауната, вследствие на това, допълнително усложнява плаването в морската шир. В необятното морско пространство корабите доста често се повреждат, разбиват се, потъват и замърсяват големи пространства с масло и други нефтопродукти. Продължителното плаване на дълги разстояния, преминаването през различни климатични условия, умората на екипажите и честата смяна на часовата зона допълнително спомагат за създаването на подобни ситуации.

### **Възможните сценарии за дългосрочно блокиране на Инициативата**

Един от най-ранните и възможни варианти за блокиране на инициативата може да се появи в Южнокитайско и в Източнокитайско морета. Тук на преден план излиза и Република Тайван, но също така САЩ и техният военноморски флот в Тихия океан. По-горе изредихме възможните опити, с които двете държави могат да се опитат да забавят и дори да блокират инициативата в тази част на света. Ще добавим само че към потенциалната коалиция САЩ - Тайван може да се присъединят както Япония, така и Южна Корея, всяка една от които изпитват историческа неприязън към Китай и биха се възползвали максимално от икономическото забавяне и спъване на КНР в начинанието



му да задейства по интензивното използване на Морския път на коприната. Основната цел на тази коалиция ще бъде да обискира и да препречва по всякакъв възможен начин корабите на Китай, вероятно ще се позовава на морското право и ще твърди че на борда има контрабандни стоки. За тази цел корабите ще бъдат инспектирани или отвличани, след което ще бъдат акостирани до най-близките острови на членовете на коалицията.

Следващата опция е САЩ да подстрекават Виетнам да предприеме по-дръзки опити за конфронтация с Китай в морското пространство и по този начин да забави придвижването на китайската флотилия към Малакския пролив, Аденския залив и, разбира се, Суецкия канал. Също така не е изключено американските власти да започнат да поддържат логистично и финансово Виетнам, да го въоръжават с най-съвременен американско оръжие и да създават допълнително препятствия пред Китай по този начин. Особено, ако виетнамците могат да го изпробват на практика в акваторията на спорните острови Спартли. Тук не е изключено Малайзия, Бруней и Филипините да се намесят и да образуват своеобразно „минно поле“ за Китай, особено с потенциални искания за преразпределяне на спорните острови в нечи други територии. Не е изключено даже избухването на кратко или средносрочна морска война за окончателно установяване на юрисдикция над островите.

Подобен сценарий може да се развие и в Малакския проток, като тук е възможно да се случи следното – при следващите избори за парламент в Малайзия да бъде посочено ново правителство, което да се опита да денонсира споразумението за концесия на пристанището и да ревизира договора с Китай, а също така само да национализира протока в полза на държавата и да не преговаря изобщо с КНР за компенсации по споразумението. По този начин ще последва дългосрочно блокиране на инициативата, търсене на нови маршрути към Индийския океан, а също така и бюрократично разрешаване на потенциалния китайско-малайзийски спор в Международния съд.

В Индийския океан, както разгледахме по-горе, също е възможно конфронтация с Индия или с Шри Ланка, както и създаване на противоречия между КНР и двете държави и ескалация на провокацията от всички страни членки на Г-7. Така според нас би се забавила инициативата в този океан за неопределен период от време.

Пиратството оказва така или иначе неблагоприятна тенденция за световната морска търговия, но неговото потенциално засилване в която и да е част на морското трасе от инициативата би оказало негативно влияние за Китай, което според нас ще принуди страната да задейства алтернативен план за придвижване на корабите от

флотилията и невиджана досега натовареност по алтернативните трасета. През това време ще трябва да се бори и с пиратите, разчитайки на бойния си флот, или алтернативен вариант – да пуска както търговския, така и военния си флот по основните трасета и да създава по такъв начин допълнително натоварване на морските артерии. Оттук следва предположението, че е възможно да стават случайни или умишлени катастрофи, които да изискват по-сериозната намеса на трети страни в международни или пък в териториални води, от което следва усложнение на обстановката вследствие на съпътстващата я бюрокрацията.

Последният негативен сценарии е свързан с подема на радикалния ислям в разтърсените от войни държави в Северна и Субсахарна Африка, Близкия Изток, Средна Азия (засега само ограничено до Афганистан и не малка част от Пакистан), а също така и евентуална конфронтация между Иран и Израел в Ориента.

Всички тези сценарии според нас са само част от всички възможни опции, а тяхната реализация е свързана с активирането или натрупването на едни от най-важните променливи, предизвикателства и фактори, които могат да доведат до дългосрочното забавяне или дори саботиране на проекта „Един пояс, Един път“.

### Заклучение

Ставаме свидетели на възможно ново преразпределение на силите в световен мащаб за пръв път от много време насам. Особено валидно е това предположение за поколенията, родени след 1989 година, и свидетелите на времето на Промените в Централна и Източна Европа. Също така има реална възможност да настъпи съществена промяна на политико-икономическите световни центрове, а и на полюсите на сила въобще. За пръв път от много време насам Евразия и Океания влизат в открит сблъсък помежду си за надмощие над Световния остров, и са на път да разрешат спора си на ринга, както и да предопределят бъдещето на остатъка от сегашния, а също така и на целия следващ век. Така ще видим окончателното преместване на капиталите и финансовите пазари в новия център или полюс на сила в света, след края на последния гонг от мача на сблъсъка между Океания и Евразия на ринга, както и залагането на новия модел на развитие – Pax Americana или Pax Eurasiana. И разбира се, можем със сигурност да заявим, че новото разбиране и преформулиране на старата формула на Халфорд Макиндър за Хартленда ще се отрази с пълна закономерност и в следващия модел на развитието на света, както в остатъка на този, така и през целия следващ век.

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## **Cultural Response to Covid-19 in India and China: Challenges and Management**

*Shubhesh Kumar,*

*Aligarh Muslim University*

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**Abstract:** The Corona Virus disease (Covid-19) brought the situation to feel some collective emotions and pain in the family. We divide countries on the ground of its geographical, scientific, and diplomatic situations on this global crisis but, science and health researchers are working together to provide the solutions to treat this disease. Some of the research papers offered some ethical perspective underlying the cultural response based on adoption of ancient methods to treat this disease and advocated that the ancient literature and medicinal culture have also played a vital role in managing this pandemic more precisely in India and China. This study will help us to understand how the cultural values and ancient medicinal approaches have played an important role in managing the challenge of Covid-19 pandemic.

**Keywords:** Cultural Response, Pandemic, Coronavirus, Treatment, Ayurveda and Traditional Medicine

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### **Introduction**

The Coronavirus disease (Covid-19) emerged in the month of December 2019 and began to spread from Wuhan City, Hubei Province, China to the world. Eventually, it got expanded into a global disaster within a span of time and the world has suffered with multiple pain because of its rapid spread (Zhu et al. 2020). Therefore, Covid-19 pandemic is being considered as the most critical global health disaster as well as the biggest challenge for the human in 21<sup>st</sup> century. It has affected the human life globally and caused not only a huge loss of human beings but also destroyed the balance of the global economy and led to the great depression worldwide. Social distancing, self-quarantine, and travel restrictions terms came into existence in human society which caused huge labour and job reduction in the professional world (Kumar et al. 2020). Whereas, the social isolation gave a profound impact on the psychological and mental well-being of individuals around the globe. If we analyse, the restoration and utility of traditions as well as cultural values have played an important role in

managing the Covid-19 pandemic by huge cultural inheritance, cultural wisdom, and social support in India and China. Many remarkable attempts and steps have been taken by both the countries based on ancient medicinal practice to manage this pandemic. In this paper, attempts will be made to highlight the cultural response in managing Covid-19 in India and China.

### **Brief Cultural Records**

China is well known for the preservation of ancient civilizational records going back to more than 3,000 years and witnessed the written evidence of the Shang Dynasty since c.1600 to 1046 BC. Whereas, the history chronicles tell us about the Warring States which were brought under control and unified by the Emperor Qin Shi Huang in 221 BC and created the Dynasty System named as Qin Dynasty to rule over the states which has lasted until 1912 AD. In the 19th Century, China started to restore its traditional culture, religion, and Confucian ethics, (Wikipedia 2021) whereas India has also preserved the traditional knowledge and transmitted it generation to generation by having evidential records in many formats.

### **Cultural Emotion and Ethics**

In 21<sup>st</sup> century, China is well known for its business and implementation of high technology to optimize the human life. But, if we see the history, China has 5000 years of civilizational tradition. A matured civilization developed in the Central Plain area and began to exert cultural influence over surrounding areas, establishing itself as the core and leader of the overall process of Chinese civilization (China daily 2018).

Coming back to the point of Covid-19 (an inflectional disease which will be cited in the history as one of the dangerous enemies of human life during 21<sup>st</sup> century), has started to spread out from China.

China has sensed the worse situation of it earlier and shown sensible steps by locking down the epidemic centre (Wuhan) immediately. Restriction and Isolation Policies have been implemented strictly throughout the country (Yuan et al. 484-494). Whereas, the rest of the world was worriedly watching its steps and realised that the consideration of “quarantine” can be an initial and major option to deal with it. China gave a very sensible hint to the world that the matured approach to tackle this issue is the only solution to manage it. On the other side, China gave a sensible lesson to the people that no one is an outsider; everyone must take his own responsibility and contribute in winning this war. As Dr. Bruce Aylward, one of the WHO observers said, "They (Chinese people) are mobilized like in a war, they really saw themselves

as being on the front line of protecting the rest of China, and the world." Therefore, they brought up a lot of creative grass roots methods to resist COVID-19's fierce attacks. The senior citizens like grandpas and grannies by mentioning many incidents happened and based on their own experience of the pandemic situation in the past, regularly contributed to increase the people's awareness of the epidemic, even at the very beginning of the outbreak, village heads in the villages started to broadcast through loudspeakers some hilarious contents including original doggerel or folk songs. They adopted some way out to tell people about the severity of the virus and the necessity of staying at home. Chinese people also have shown to the world that all common people can contribute to manage this epidemic by strict implementation of the guideline, by condemning to those people who doesn't wear the masks in public or breaking the chain of social distancing. By utilizing cultural ethics, China has successfully applied two principles to manage the pandemic. First, put people and their lives on priority, and second, regard the defeat of COVID-19 as a prerequisite for economic reopening (Wu 2020). As the pandemic grows in India, the several health management bodies have issued guidelines for the health management, infected people treatment as well as the dead bodies' disposal with cultural dignity. Culturally, in India, births, marriages, and deaths are social events where everyone participates. It was the biggest challenge for the Indian government to manage the social distancing to keep the people safe with emotional support for the family. But common people have contributed a lot by implementing the government guidelines immediately. In rural areas, the Head of villages (Chief and ward members) have ensured to maintain the social distancing by not allowing any outsiders to enter in the villages and turned all the public building like schools, Panchayat buildings etc. in the "quarantine zone" without any help provided by the government. In all the villages, even the social media WhatsApp groups have been used to create awareness among the people. Information at the grassroots level is being given to the people by putting posters everywhere. Regular cleaning operations are being carried out and sodium hypochlorite is being sprayed on the roads. Face masks are being distributed to the citizens by the Gram Panchayat members and social organizations, and the people are also being told not to touch their eyes, nose, and mouth, wash hands with soap frequently and maintain personal distance (PIB 2020). The mandatory use of protective face masks in public, social distancing, lockdown, and the strict implementation of mandatory guidelines issued by the government bodies has played a vital role in managing the pandemic spreads (Dasgupta 2020).

## **Cultural Reports: Pandemic Challenges and Management**

The Chinese society is a collective society with a need for group affiliation, whether to their family, school, work group, or country. To maintain a sense of harmony, they always act with decorum and will not do anything to cause someone else public embarrassment. Individuals are typically willing to subjugate their own feelings for the good of the group which can often be observed in maintaining silence in very structured meetings. If someone disagrees with what another person says, rather than disagree publicly, the person will remain quiet (Commisceo-Global).

As we have seen the approaches recently, China and USA had the same challenges of pandemic, but they adopted two different approaches to assess the coronavirus. As a result, both countries have seen different results of casualties and death.

If we discuss about China, efforts to control the pandemic are rooted through Culture and History. First, the different attitude to implementation of wearing a face mask in China has originated from traditional cultural values. It was medically proved that wearing a mask is an effective way to prevent from the person-to-person transmission of the coronavirus, and China has quickly adopted the requirement to wear them whenever anyone needs to go outside or participate in a social gathering. It has been a traditional cultural value in China to take pride in collectivism, under which the people have been taught to consider not only their own interests but those of others. As a result, widespread mask-wearing played an important role in breaking the chain of spreading coronavirus (Liu et al. 472-473).

Whereas, India took the cultural ways to control the losses and most of the population adopted the traditional medicinal system to prevent the disease. Food habit and culture have been an integral part of human social life to prevent any disease (Pandey et al. 2013). It is the major source for serving nutritional needs, but with growing modernization some traditional ways are being discarded.

In recent times, working culture, changing in lifestyles and careless approaches in sickness has forced people to take interest in traditional medicine. Indian Ayurveda remains the most ancient medicinal practice. India is very well known to cure any disease by the process of applying traditional medicinal systems - Ayurveda. These traditional medicinal systems have been a part of Indian society since ancient period. The Ayurvedic treatment concept developed between 2500 and 500 BC in India. It is also called the “science of longevity” because it offers a complete system to live a healthy life.

The Indian subcontinent is very well known for the medicinal plants which are useful in traditional medicinal treatment. Use of plants as a source of medicine has been an ancient practice and is an important component of the health care system in India. (Jaiswal 01-02) Around 20,000 medicinal plants have been recorded and around 25,000 effective plant-based formulations are used in traditional and folk Indian medicines. More than 1.5 million practitioners are using the traditional medicinal system for health care and more than 7800 manufacturing units are involved in the production of natural health products and traditional plant-based formulations in India (Pandey et al. 2008). The two Asian giants India and China are having the history of treatment of any disease through the traditional medicinal method. Therefore, the modern medicinal clinical trial has also gone through the trial of herbal and traditional formulas (Patwardhan et al. 465-473). Below are the details of herbal formula used to treat Covid-19 in China and India.

#### **Chinese Traditional Medicines under Research to Treat Covid-19**

Clinical trial phases	TCM herbal medicine	Number of tested samples	Form/Route of administration
N/A	Tan Re Qing	72 COVID-19 samples	Capsules
IV	Tan Re Qing	72 COVID-19 samples	Injection
IV	Lian Hua Qing Wen	400 COVID-19 samples	Capsule/Granule
IV	Shuang Huang Lian	400 COVID-19 samples	Oral Liquid
IV	Xi Yan Ping	348 COVID-19 samples	Injection
IV	Kang Bing Du	160 COVID-19 samples	Granules

Table: 3 for references to the studies and data copy source (Mirzaie et al. 2020)

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#### ***Traditional Medicines under Research to Treat Covid-19 in India***

<i>Homeopathy Medicine</i>
Arsenicum album, Bryonia alba, Gelsemium sempervirens, Rhus tox and Merc sol etc.
<i>Herbal Medicine</i>
Kadha made by some Indian ingredients like Tinospora Corifolia (Guduchi or Giloy) and Ashwagandha (Withania Somnifera), ginger, black paper and basil leaves etc.



<i>Unani Medicine</i>
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Kalonji ( <i>Nigella sativa</i> ), Seer ( <i>Allium sativum</i> ), Zanjabeel ( <i>Zingiber officinale</i> ), Aslassus ( <i>Glycyrrhiza glabra</i> ), Afsanteen ( <i>Artemisia absinthium</i> ), Tukhm-e-Kasoos ( <i>Cuscuta reflexa</i> ), Khayarshamber ( <i>Cassia fistula</i> ), Gilo ( <i>Tinospora cordifolia</i> ), Khameera Marwareed, Asgandh (Safoof), Zanjabeel ( <i>Zingiber officinale</i> ), Gilo ( <i>Tinospora cordifolia</i> ), Aslassus ( <i>Glycyrrhiza glabra</i> ), Khameera Marwareed, Safoof Asgand, Behi dana ( <i>Cydonia oblonga</i> ), Unnab ( <i>Zizyphus jujuba</i> ), Sapistan ( <i>Cordia myxa</i> ), Karanjwa ( <i>Caesalpinia bonducella</i> ), Loban ( <i>Styrex Benzoides</i> ), Sandroos ( <i>Hymenaea Verrucosa</i> ), Zafran and vinegar etc.
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When it comes to the traditional medicine, India has always served as the main centre of herbal and traditional medicines in the world. During Covid-19 pandemic, herbal therapies responded positively in treatment of COVID patients across the country (TOI 2020). Therefore, the herbal medicines are frequently used by Indian society. Even the Ayurvedic practitioners have highlighted few herbal medicines like turmeric, cinnamon, black pepper, ginger etc. (it may be noted that these herbals are essential parts of Indian kitchen) that could prevent disease or supplement the treatment of COVID-19 patients (Nugraha et al. 1-12).

COVID-19 causes a range of symptoms, some minor like body ache, dry cough, headaches to more serious symptoms like shortness of breath and difficulty in speaking (Wion 2020). Ayurvedic treatment has been implemented widely in India and it was able to relieve such symptoms quickly. In comparison to the conventional treatments of COVID-19, it has shown quicker improvement. Hence, most of the patients tested negative after having Ayurvedic treatment. Based on the above results, three hospitals – Government Medical Hospital, Srikakulam Andhra Pradesh; Parul Sevashram Hospital, Vadodara, Gujarat; and Lokmanya Hospital Pune, Maharashtra, went under Ayurvedic clinical trials in India.

Indian population have been using Ayurvedic medicine and Yoga practices to boost their immunity since ancient times. Hence, to avoid covid-19 infection, including bearing a mask and following the hand and respiratory hygiene, one of the Ayurvedic medicines has attracted the eyeballs of the almost everyone in India, it is known as *Tinospora Corifolia*. Among local people, it is known as Guduchi or Giloy. It has been widely used as an effective medicine to make a medicinal drink known as KADHA by using other ingredients like Ashwagandha (*Withania Somnifera*), ginger, black paper and basil leaves. (Mishra 2020)

In India, it is also being argued to use traditional Chinese medicines to treat Covid-19 by some of the scholars (Girija et al.2020) and some others have advocated a pragmatic plan

for Ayurveda interventions (Rastogi et al.2020). Yoga practices with different poses which are useful in enhancing the capacity of lung and respiratory system have been recommended by the Misnistry of Ayush.

### **Conclusion**

The outbreak of Covid-19 gave an unprecedented challenge to the world. Only the joint hand and mutual help with positive efforts and willingness to save the human and humanity can help to eliminate such issues. When we analysed the steps taken by these two Asian giants, we found that the cultural values have played an important role in managing this epidemic. Along with the research on modern medicine to find the solution of coping with this disease, India has worked parallel within Indian cultural values and implemented the traditional medicine to cure the disease.

Most of the countries have countered China for the outbreak of Covid-19 pandemic. But, when we analyse the outbreak of any previous pandemic, it seems that the infectious diseases that become pandemic is caused by transmission from human to human, environmental changes and ecosystem changes can be the reason. The current study and research have pointed that Covid-19 pandemic has the potential to outbreak again in the future. Therefore, it is necessary to highlight the steps and action plan which India and China adopted to deal with this pandemic. This will not only help the people from other parts of the world but it will also help the future generations to understand the value of traditional and cultural aspect if such kind of pandemic outburst in the future.

India is very rich in natural medicinal resources and the traditional medicinal practice has been a part of Indian culture since ancient time. Naturally, the first steps were taken by Indian society towards traditional medicine methodology which includes herbal, homeopathy, Unani, and other naturopathic resources. Traditional medicine like *Kadha* (Brew) gave the tremendous results to boost up the immunity which helped Indian people to fight against pandemic infection. Not only this, the Yoga has also played one of the important roles in strengthening the respiratory system of the body.

India has always been willing to learn from the ancient cultural achievements to enhance human life. Yoga is one of the examples which has been adopted by the world and proved beneficial. Though, we are running towards the modernisation and adopting the modern achievements to make human life easy but all the way we should also not forget the traditional approaches to save the human life.

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## **One Belt, One Road – Predestined Success or...**

*Mario Appen,*

*Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”*

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**Abstract:** President Xi Jinping’s One Belt is once perhaps the largest geopolitical project of the 21st century, through which the People’s Republic of China intends to consolidate its dominant political, economic and military position over the next 50 years. The project consists of two parts: by land - the classic Silk Road (SREB – Silk Road Economic Belt) and by sea - the Sea Silk Road (MSR - Maritime Silk Road).

The Silk Road was paved during the Han Dynasty (206 BC—200 AD) and the Tang Dynasty (618–907), and the Silk Road was established and mapped during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) during the expeditions of Admiral Zheng Ha (1371–1435). Huge trillions of dollars of investment have been earmarked for the construction of the project, but being primarily a geopolitical project, *One Belt, One Road* confronts the opposition of other major world powers—especially the United States (there is currently a trade war between China and the United States with imposing duties, taxes and embargoes). Behind America is the entire Anglo-Saxon world and much of the British Commonwealth – not to mention India (GDP over \$3 trillion, more than \$ 1,300 million, an army of over \$1 million and nuclear weapons), while China has only nominal allies – Burma, Pakistan, Iran, Russia, some African countries.

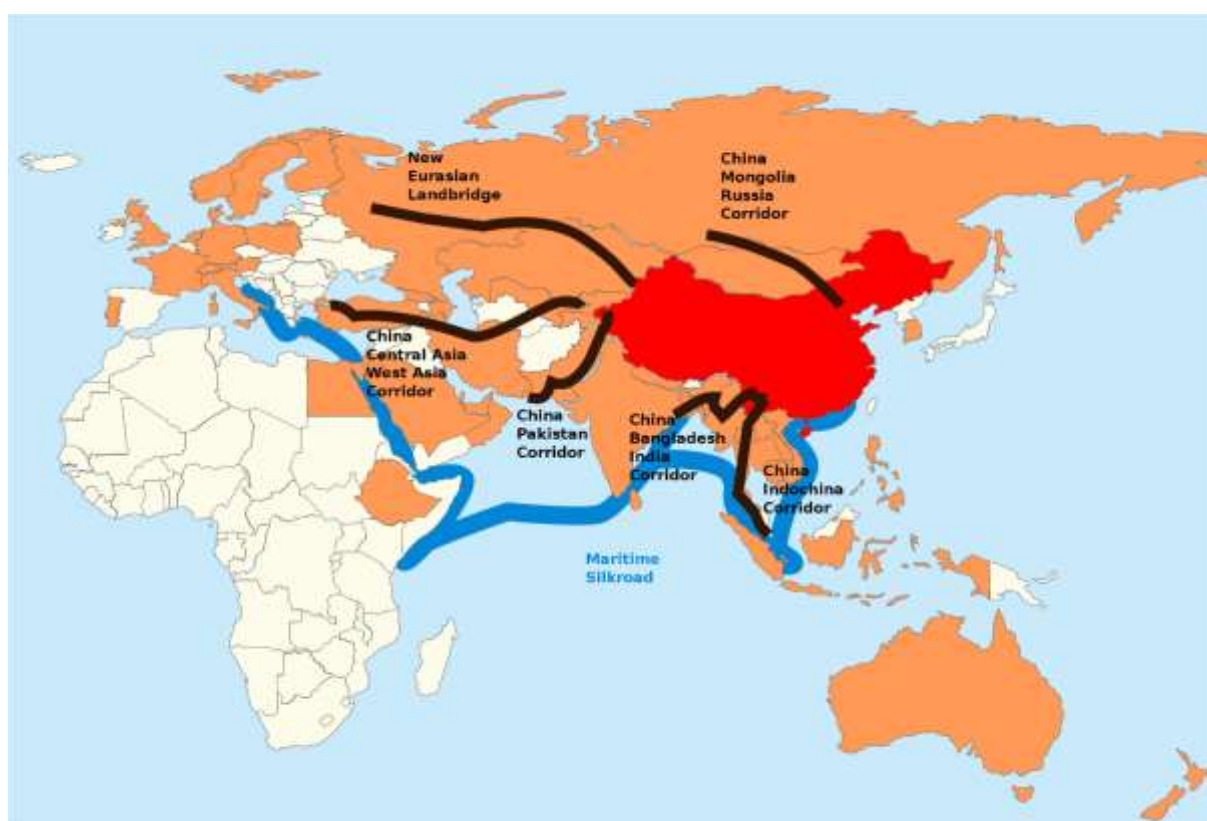
To secure its Silk Sea Route (MSR), China is pursuing an overactive policy in the South China Sea (Dagat Luzon in the Philippines), building naval and air bases on the Spratly Islands (over 1,000 km south of Hainan Island). In this way, PRC sets against himself the other countries of Southeast Asia - Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, etc. In our dynamic, changing world, even the future of such a spectacular project as *One Belt, One Road* does not seem certain.

**Keywords:** One Belt, One Road, United States, Xi Jinping, Silk Road, South China Sea

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When the One Belt, One Road (OBOR) initiative was announced in 2013 by the CCP’s new Secretary General President Xi Jinping, the prospects for it seemed unquestionable. One of the initial options comprises two parts, as evidenced by the title of the initiative – transcontinental railway route Chongqing – Duisburg (duration 16 days) and passes through the territory of China-Kazakhstan-Russia-Belarus-Poland-Germany, and sea route Shanghai-

Singapore-Colombo-Suez-Lisbon-Hamburg (journey time 36 days). For several years by 2018, China has managed to attract to the project in one form or another the countries of Central Asia (excluding Turkmenistan) and Mongolia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Greece, the Gulf countries, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Egypt, Russia, Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, Poland, Ukraine, Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Austria and others. The future of the initiative looks cloudless—China is building infrastructure projects in Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, lending even to European countries such as Montenegro. In seven years, however, many unflattering aspects of Chinese policy around the One Belt initiative have been revealed...



**Fig. 1. One Belt, One Road**

<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/c/cb/One-belt-one-road.svg/2560px-One-belt-one-road.svg.png>

**China:** economic indicators<sup>151</sup>.

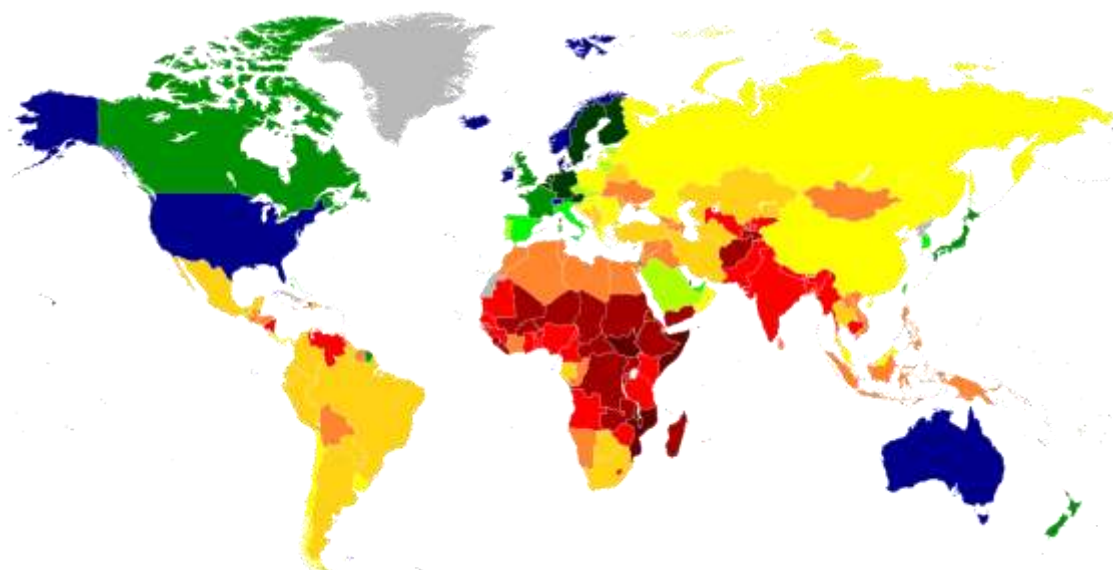
<sup>151</sup> All data are from open sources and give only an idea of the real economic indicators of the PRC.

GDP: 16.6 trillion. \$ (2021)—second place in the world after the United States. In 2020, over 1 billion tons of steel were produced—50% of world production; 3.8 billion tons of coal were mined (in 2019 in the United States were mined about 600 million tons of coal); produced 7779 TWh. electricity (7779 billion kWh)—almost 28% of total world production; in 2019, 2.2 billion tons of cement were produced (over 50% of world production), while in the United States only 89 million. In 2018 were produced 27 million cars (№ 1 in the world), while in Japan—11.3 million, and in the United States—9.7 million cars.

China's GDP for 2020 is estimated at \$15.2 trillion, which, however, with a population of 1,401,880,342 people (IISS 2021: 249), makes approx. \$11,840 per person per year (only 79th place), which, as seen from the map below, ranks China among countries such as Romania, Russia, Malaysia and Bulgaria.

**Fig. 2. Nominal income per capita by country for 2021**

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/24/Map\\_of\\_countries\\_by\\_GDP\\_%28nominal%29\\_per\\_capita\\_in\\_2021.svg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/24/Map_of_countries_by_GDP_%28nominal%29_per_capita_in_2021.svg)



> \$ 60,000 (Norway, Switzerland, Iceland, **USA**, **Australia**)

\$ 50,000 — \$ 60,000 (Finland, Sweden, Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Austria)

\$ 40,000 — \$ 50,000 (France, **Great Britain**, **Canada**, **Japan**, New Zealand, Qatar, Israel)

\$ 30,000 — \$ 40,000 (Italy, Spain, South Korea, **Taiwan**, UAE)

\$ 20,000 — \$ 30,000 (Saudi Arabia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Lithuania, Estonia, Portugal)



\$ 10,000 — \$ 20,000 (Latvia, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Oman, Uruguay, Chile, Romania ranks 72nd with \$ 15,000, **China** — \$ 11,800, Russia, Malaysia, **Bulgaria** is in 85th place with \$ 11,300)

\$ 5,000 — \$ 10,000 (all of Latin America, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iran, Turkey, Thailand, South Africa, Botswana)

\$ 2,500 — \$ 5,000

\$ 1,000 — \$ 2,500

\$500 — \$ 1,000

< \$500

The gigantic nominal figures of economic development can lead to euphoria, and their uncritical perception leads to the idea of China's imminent future world political and economic dominance over the rest of the world in the near future. However, is this really the case?

China's development in the early 1980s began at an extremely low base. The country was one of the poorest countries in the Third World, largely thanks to Mao Zedong's "successful" rule (Khoros 2014: 98-99). For 30 years, China has naturally, *nihil novum sub sole*, followed the path of other Asian tigers – Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore. At present, the PRC has reached a stage well described by the Marxist dichotomy base – superstructure. The base can no longer be developed because changes to the upgrade are required. South Korea from the 1980s can serve as an example – a stage has been reached when the dictatorship cannot ensure the further development of the economy and society and changes in the political system (superstructure) are required. Currently, the nominal GDP of the Republic of South Korea, a country with an area of 100,000 sq. Km. and a population of 51 million, is larger than that of the Russian Federation.

During Xi Jinping's rule, the PRC also pursued an extremely aggressive foreign policy towards its neighbours in Southeast Asia. China's military budget is approaching \$300 billion (second only to the United States, which has a budget of \$700 billion). The People's Liberation Army of China (PLA) is being reformed and numbers 2,035,000 people, of which 965,000 are the Ground Forces, the Air Force 395,000, the Navy – 260,000, Strategic Missile Forces – 120,000, Strategic Support Force (space and cyber troops) – 145,000, Other – 150,000 (IISS 2021: 249), over 4,000 combat aircraft, 6 APLBR, and up to 3600 nuclear charges. The army has been rearmed and reformed, but it continues to give way, and a lot, to NATO and Japan. China has 10 nuclear submarines, two aircraft carriers (two more are under construction). The United States has 11 nuclear aircraft carriers and 70 nuclear submarines. The Air Force has over 5,000 fighter jets, 150 of which are strategic bombers (B-1B - 60, B-2A - 20, B-52H - 70).

In other armaments, the ratio is similar - dozens of times in favour of the United States. Under these circumstances, war between PRC and USA would be a disaster.

At present, strange processes in the economy are taking place in the PRC, some man-made, some not. The country is experiencing enormous problems in the construction industry (a third of the entire economy), in electricity supply, in coal mining. There is definitely a strong opposition in the country to the political, economic and military policies of its president (it is no coincidence that he is not travelling outside China, apparently waiting for the CCP Congress). We hope so the Chinese ‘comrades’ know very well what should or should not be done, especially learning from Russia’s war with Ukraine, which is happening right now. Thus, the whole history of China is a combination of non-cyclical and cyclic beginnings when the first is replaced by the second – walking in a circle and repeatability of the traditional scenario: “decomposition – recovery – another degradation – another sanitation (Khoros 2014: 82)”. At what stage of this cycle is China currently? Depending on all this is the very implementation of the Silk Road project in its two versions: as Silk Road and as Maritime Silk Road.

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