
EACS AT FIFTY: SPEECH

Chinese Studies in Romania After the Fall of Communism

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The fall of the Communist regime in Romania, in December 1989, triggered many changes, some of them huge and visible, such as the changes from a paranoiac authoritarian political system into a democratic multiparty one, and from a planned economy into a market economy, some with a less visible impact within the larger picture, but nevertheless important, such as redefining the relationship with former traditional partners such as China. On the one hand, the following paper comments upon the development of Chinese Studies in Romania in a context in which, for the general population, the association with a Communist regime would be perceived negatively, and on the other hand, it discusses the influence which international academic organisations, such as the European Association for Chinese Studies (EACS), or the founding of the Confucius Institutes have upon China-related research and teaching.

1989 年 12 月羅馬尼亞共產主義政權的更迭引發了深刻的社會轉型。除政治體制向民主多黨制、經濟體制向市場經濟的宏觀轉軌外，羅馬尼亞對華等傳統夥伴關係的歷史性重構亦不容忽視。本文旨在探討在民眾普遍對共產主義政權持負面認知的社會語境下，羅馬尼亞漢學研究的發展態勢；同時，分析了歐洲漢學學會（EACS）等國際學術組織及孔子學院的建立，對相關領域的研究與教學所產生的深遠影響。

Keywords: Romania, Chinese Studies, EACS, Confucius Institutes

關鍵詞： 羅馬尼亞，中國研究，歐洲漢學學會，孔子學院

Sinology or Chinese Studies

For those interested in the history of cultural relations between China and Eastern Europe it is not at all difficult to see that, unlike Poland, Hungary or the Czech Republic, whose Christian missionaries reached China as early as the 17th century (Ding & Song 2015), direct contacts between Romania and China started quite late, and one can talk about Sinology or Chinese Studies in Romania only after the second half of the last century, and more specifically, after the founding of the People's Republic, in 1949.

Those eager to show that, in spite of not having sent missionaries, there was still a Romanian envoy who set foot in Kangxi's China would immediately mention Nicolae Miclescu Spătarul (Nicolai Miclescu Spathary, 1636–1708), a diplomat born into a Greek family in the Principality of Moldavia. An erudite, Miclescu was sent to China by the Russian Tsar Alexey Michailovich, in March 1675, arriving in Beijing a year later, in May 1676, and being received by the Kangxi emperor in June. As a result of his mission, besides his reports, Miclescu wrote *Notes of Travel to China* and *The Description of China* (Ding 2008; Miclescu 1975—timeline by the translator Bărbulescu), which are believed to have contributed to deepening Europe's understanding of China (Ding and Song 2015). Although Miclescu's works eventually became appreciated,¹ Dumbravă (2023) shows that Miclescu's writings remained basically unknown until the 19th century, when they were rediscovered by Yuri Arsenev, a geographer. The texts were first translated from Russian into Romanian in 1956 and 1958, respectively. Under these circumstances, even if there was someone who can be associated with present-day Romania and who travelled to China at the same time as the Polish or Hungarian Jesuits, one can hardly argue that his writings laid the foundations of Romanian research on China.

Another question that needs to be addressed when talking about research on China in Romania is whether it falls within the field of Sinology, or that of Chinese Studies. Dessein (2025) shows that Sinology (漢學 *hanxue*) started as the philological study of Chinese philosophical texts, mainly Confucian, and it was then extended to include historical texts and literature. In other words, a basic definition of Sinology would probably be “the philological study of Chinese texts, for which knowledge of both classical and modern language is compulsory”. On the other hand, Chinese Studies (中國研究 *Zhongguo yanjiu*) means approaching China from other fields, such as political science or economics, and analysing various phenomena by employing theoretical frameworks belonging to these fields,

¹ See John K. Baddeley's “Introduction” to *Russia, Mongolia, China*, initially published in 1919, where he appreciates Miclescu's writings as “stand[ing] apart. His position and fame are, or should be, unique. Nor would it be easy to point a greater contrast amongst persons in the same employment than existed between this learned Wallachian-Greek and the illiterate “cossacks” who were his forerunners on the road from Tobolsk to Peking.” (1964: v)

while knowledge of the language (mainly modern Chinese) is desirable, but not compulsory, because research can be based on secondary language sources.

Chinese, as a BA programme, is currently taught in Romania in faculties of foreign languages and literature, and it has always been like this. Before the fall of Communism, in 1989, the only Chinese language programme that existed was called Sinology, and Chinese was approached through textual analysis. Even after 1990, it took a few decades for things to change, for scholars to start studying China from other angles than the philological and accepting that working with secondary sources does not necessarily mean that the results of one's research are less valuable.

Because until now research on China in Romania has been done mainly in philological centres, it seems to be closer to Sinology, rather than Chinese Studies. However, younger generations of scholars tend to go beyond the limits of philological study and approach China from an interdisciplinary perspective. These steps, together with courses on China offered by non-philological faculties, tend to redefine the way we approach the area, and move it from Sinology towards Chinese Studies.

Romanian and Chinese Relations Before and After 1989

Diplomatic contacts between Romania and China were very limited before 1949. In 1881, Carol I, king of the newly formed Romania, sent a diplomatic cable to the Guangxu emperor, asking for recognition (Budura 2005). Later, in 1939, the Romanian government established diplomatic relations with the Nationalist Party (KMT), but these lasted only until 1941, when Romania recognised Manchukuo and Wang Jingwei's government (Ding & Song 2015).

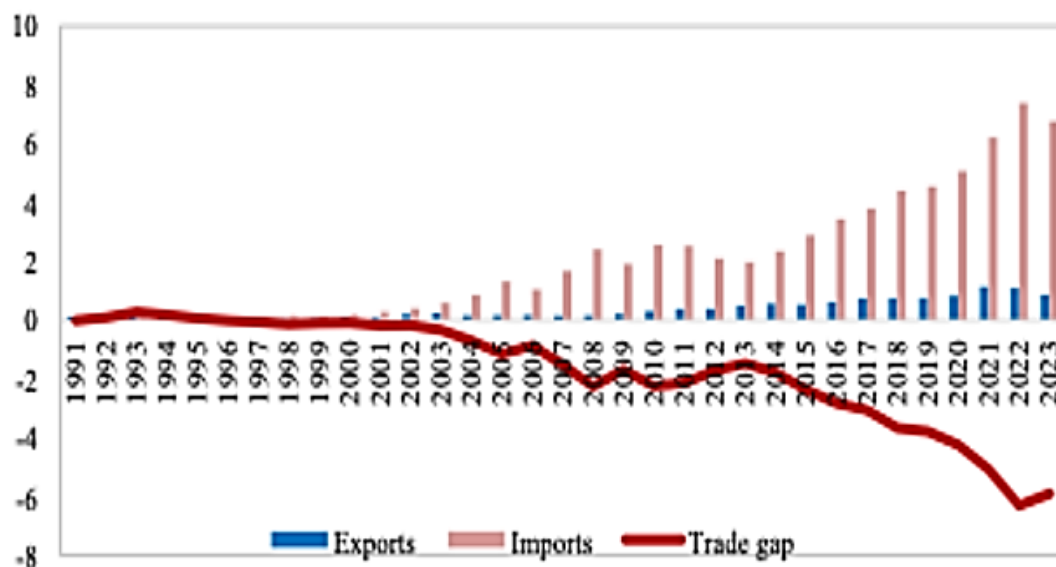
In 1945, after World War II, a Communist government was installed in Romania, and in 1947 the country was renamed the People's Republic of Romania. It was only natural that relations between Romania and China became much closer after the founding of the People's Republic of China and on October 5th, 1949, Romania was the third country to recognise the PRC, after the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.

Between 1950 and 1989, high-level visits were quite frequent, which translated to close political, economic, and cultural relations (see Ding 2008). In 1950, answering a call from Poland to allow student exchange, Premier Zhou Enlai decided to extend the exchange programme to all Eastern European countries, with the first batch of Chinese students arriving in Bucharest in August of the same year, and the first group of Romanian students arriving in Beijing a few months later, in November (Brînză 2022). Starting from then, Romania sent students to China almost every year, until 1966, and then again from 1974

onwards. In China, Romanian students took first a year of language, followed by a few years of specialisation in various fields, such as economics, agriculture, philology, history etc., depending on what the Romanian government deemed important. Upon their return, the former students were assigned posts in various institutions, sometimes totally unrelated to China or Chinese.

After the regime change in December 1989, China immediately recognised the new Romanian government, and, for a while, political relations continued to develop. In August 1990, the Chinese deputy foreign minister visited Bucharest; in 1991, President Ion Iliescu paid a visit to China. Premier Li Peng visited Romania in 1994, Secretary-General Jiang Zeming arrived in Bucharest in 1996, President Emil Constantinescu visited in 1997, and Premier Adrian Nastatse in 2002 (Gao 2017). However, political relations fluctuated depending on the governing party in Romania, warmer under the Social Democrats, more distant under the other parties.

Political fondness did not translate into deeper economic ties, with bilateral trade slowing down and the trade deficit deepening in China's favour. After reaching more than a billion US dollars in the 1970s, bilateral trade fell to a few hundred million in the 1990s, then it regained momentum in the 2000s and especially after Romania's accession to the EU in 2007, with China becoming one of Romania's most important non-EU trading partners (Petre 2025, Belu 2018, Roth 2018). Along with the increase in trade, the trade deficit also increased, reaching almost 6 billion euros in 2023 (Rădulescu 2024).



Romania-China Trade flows (Euro, bn) (Rădulescu 2024)

Chinese investment in Romania is not very high; the Romanian Embassy in China mentions that, in March 2025, the Chinese social capital registered has reached 487.6 million US dollars (MAE 2025). However, according to Drahokoupil et al. (2017), only two types of companies have entered the Romanian market: those undertaking simple industrial activities which benefit from close access to European markets, such as Eurosport DHS, a bicycle factory based in Deva, and companies that benefit from highly trained low-cost professionals, such as Huawei or ZTE. Besides these, there are also the small businesses owned by Chinese migrants, located mainly in Bucharest, in the Red Dragon market.

Located at the outskirts of Bucharest, the Red Dragon Market (紅龍市場) is the main Chinese commercial complex in Romania, founded in 2003 by the Niro Investment Group. According to their website (<https://www.dragonulrosu.ro/despre-noi>), it is the largest platform dedicated to selling Chinese goods in European markets, covering 63 hectares, with 10 pavilions and more than 4500 shops.

The Chinese presence in Romania, and especially in Bucharest, increased dramatically between 1992 and 1998, when Romania granted visa-free entry to Chinese citizens. The visa-free regime was valid at the beginning for all types of passports, but in 1993, the increased migration made the Romanian government wave visas only for those holding a work passport, and from 1998 onwards visas were required for all types of passport. Since then, the Chinese community has reached almost 10,000 individuals, of whom close to 90% live in Bucharest. It is the second largest Chinese community in Eastern Europe, after Hungary, with over half of them coming from the southern provinces of Zhejiang, Fujian, and Guangdong, many engaged in small businesses in the Red Dragon market, retail trade in the city, or the restaurant business (Liu 2021).

Despite the substantial Chinese presence, there is little contact between locals and this community, many Chinese lacking proficiency in Romanian. A survey comparing two migrant groups to Romania – the Muslim community from the Middle East and North Africa and the Chinese – conducted by Amy Liu (2021: 142), shows that only 56% of the Chinese interviewed had daily interactions with locals, as opposed to 81% within the Muslim community; only 52% of the Chinese respondents had studied Romanian versus 91% of the members from the other group, and as many as 57% of Chinese respondents said they intended to go back home, while only 37% of Muslim respondents answered positively to this question. Also, a little over 14% of the Romanians interviewed in a different survey were opposed to having a Chinese neighbour, compared to 9% who were opposed to living next to a Moldovan (2021: 173).

The Beginning of Romanian Sinology

Sinology started in Romania at the University of Bucharest, in 1956, after the return of the first group of students from China. At the beginning, it was a 5-year programme, with 5 students admitted every fourth year, then every second year, until 1964, when Chinese was offered yearly, as a major.² Until 1974, Chinese as a major could be studied only in combination with Romanian as minor; after that, it could be combined with any minor offered by the university. Starting from 1978, Chinese was offered alternately, one year as major, the next as minor, and the number of students increased first to 7, then to 10 (Vişan 2006).

Lecturers were Romanians who had studied in China or, rarely, in the Soviet Union, helped by a native Chinese lecturer. The lack of materials and dictionaries made Chinese language teaching difficult, and the teachers had to make up for this by compiling the first grammars and histories of Chinese literature. Language was taught using textbooks published in China, which changed over time, but with many containing texts such as *Lenin's Overcoat* (列寧的大衣), *The Story of Norman Bethune* (白求恩的故事), *The army and the people are one family* (軍民一家) or *Visiting a people's commune member's home* (訪問社員家庭), supplemented with extracts from magazines and newspapers. The first generation of Romanian teachers compiled a language textbook; however, it was never published.

The return of the first group of Romanian students from China marked the beginning of literary translations from Chinese. Before 1966, when Toni Radian (the first Chinese language lecturer at the University of Bucharest) published a selection of stories by Pu Songling, all translations of Chinese literature and philosophy had been done from French, German, or English. After 1966, many works were translated directly from Chinese, although the practice continued of translating from a third language, this time mainly Russian. Most of the translated texts were either classical literature, deemed politically safe, or works by famous modern writers, such as Ba Jin or Mao Dun, and revolutionary novels (see Giţă and Wang 2022).

Besides translations or philological works authored by teachers at the University of Bucharest, there were basically no other academic articles about China. All other analyses and reports written by former students working in various institutions, such as those authored by Anna Eva Budura, the only historian specialising in China, who was employed at the Party's Institute for Historical and Socio-Political Studies, were not for public circulation.

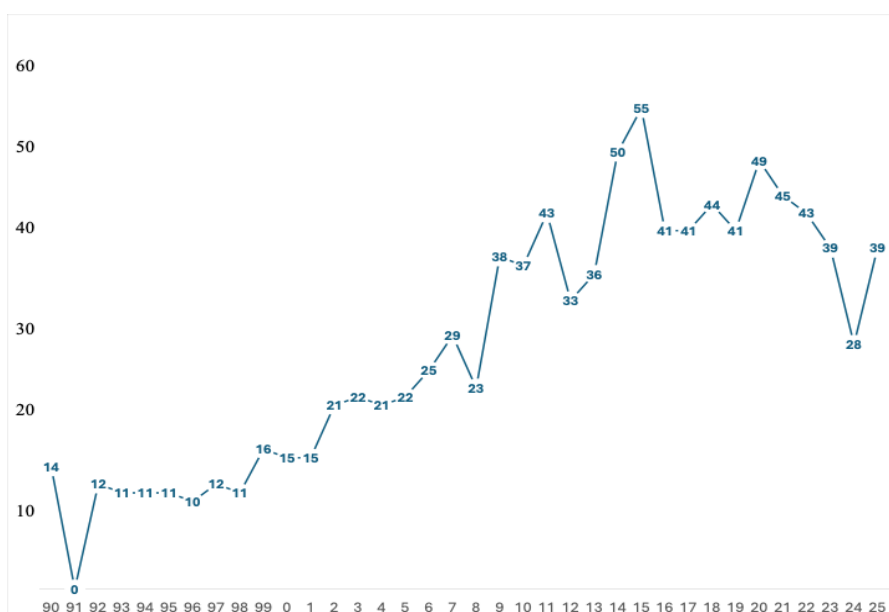
² Foreign languages in Romania are studied as a double degree. For example, Chinese needs to be studied together with another language; it cannot be studied as a single degree. The combination is always of two languages; one cannot combine a foreign language with a discipline from another field of studies (language and history, for example). The first language is called a major and the second one a minor because of administrative considerations; in fact there is very little difference between the curricula of the two languages.

Trapped in a paranoiac regime in which all contacts with the exterior world were forbidden, sinologists in Romania lived isolated, with no contacts with their peers, either in the other Communist countries or in the West, the only contacts being limited to a few books or magazines brought into the country by relatives living abroad and visiting occasionally. The programme benefited from occasional book donations by the Chinese embassy in Romania, especially after 1980.

Chinese Language Programmes After 1989

The *status quo* of Chinese Studies in Romania remained unchanged for a few years after 1989, and it was offered as a diploma programme only at the University of Bucharest, both as a major and minor, in alternate years until 1994. After 1994, it became only a major and it was offered to students every year, with the number of students enrolled in the programme limited to 10. Although only 10 places were available, sometimes more students were registered, because some of them, for example those winning first places in national or international philological contests, were not required to sit the entrance exam and could choose from any programme offered by the university in that particular academic year.

Tuition fees were introduced in 2000, and the number of students accepted increased, universities offering two types of places, state-funded and tuition-paying, depending on results in the entrance exam. The number of students accepted in the Chinese language programme also increased gradually from 10 to 15, then 20, and up to 40 or 50 students at present.



Students enrolled in the 1st year at the University of Bucharest (1990–2025)

Until 2008, the University of Bucharest was the only university in Romania offering a BA in Chinese, and, since 2005, an MA in East Asian Studies. In 2008, Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj also opened a Chinese language programme, followed by two more, at Lucian Blaga University in Sibiu in 2010, and at Transylvania University in Braşov in 2015. The new programmes were directly related to the opening of the Confucius Institutes at those universities.

There are currently five Confucius Institutes in Romania, four in general universities, one in a specialised medical university. The first Confucius Institute opened at Lucian Blaga University in Sibiu in 2007, three years prior to the BA programme, followed in 2009 by the one at Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj. In 2012, a third institute opened in Braşov, at Transylvania University, and in 2015 the fourth was inaugurated at the University of Bucharest. The newest one opened in 2024 at the University of Medicine and Pharmacy in Iaşi. With the exceptions of the University of Bucharest, which already had a long-established programme in Chinese, and the University of Medicine and Pharmacy in Iaşi, where a BA programme in philology would have been somehow out of place, the opening of a Confucius Institute led very quickly to opening new BA programmes in the host universities. Even though the institute in Cluj was inaugurated one year after the programme itself, many of the courses offered in the programme were taught by teachers and volunteers at the institute.

The Romanian academic system is still quite rigid and does not allow for students from other fields of studies, such as History or Political Studies, to register for the philological courses. They can be accepted as auditing students or can register for elective courses offered for non-philological majors, if they exist. Depending on the (mainly) human resources available, faculties other than philological have also started introducing courses related to China, such as Introduction to Chinese Politics (University of Bucharest, Political Sciences), Cultural Politics and Economic Development in Taiwan (Bales-Bolyai University, Political Sciences), China and the World Economy (Lucian Blaga University, Sibiu, elective course), or Chinese Traditional Medicine (University of Medicine and Pharmacy, elective course), etc. (The courses mentioned here appear either in the timetables or on public posts available on the university website at the time of writing.)

The distribution of the Confucius Institutes in Romania is quite even, covering basically the whole country, with Bucharest in the south-east, Iaşi in the north-east, Cluj in the north-west, and Braşov and Sibiu in the centre.

One positive aspect derived from the presence of the institutes in Romania is the fact that they helped to establish new BA programmes. In theory, more programmes translate into a larger pool of China scholars who could produce more and deeper knowledge about China, no matter whether the knowledge is the result of competition or cooperation. The reality is slightly more nuanced.

All the four general universities mentioned above enroll students in their Chinese programmes every year, offering between 15 and 20 state-funded places, and more tuition-paying places. All programmes are accredited as philological programmes and offer the same courses, although the specific number of teaching hours assigned to each course could vary from one university to another. They all teach practical Chinese (which can be divided into grammar, listening, and speaking), literature covering both the classical and modern periods, linguistics – phonetics, morphology, syntax, lexicology, semantics and pragmatics –, history (sometimes called Civilisation, which leans more towards intellectual history), and a series of electives, depending on the resources available, which could be courses in translation, philosophy, visual arts, or popular culture. The University of Bucharest and Babeş-Bolyai also offer MA programmes in East Asian Studies, which bring together graduates from Chinese, Korean, and Japanese studies.

Obtaining scholarships or going as exchange students to a partner university in China is another way in which Romanian students benefit from the existence of the Confucius Institutes. Every year, students apply and most of them receive one-year full scholarships to various universities for language programmes; there are also a few who are given MA scholarships, although MA programmes available through the Confucius Institutes are limited to the teaching of Chinese as a foreign language. The institutes also organise one-month or two-week summer camps at the partner university in China, which are very popular among the students. Transylvania University in Braşov gives its students the possibility of going to China for one or two semesters as an exchange student.

This being said, one cannot ignore the fact that the newly opened programmes are dependent on the institutes, and this makes them vulnerable to any changes of policies or financing rules in China. Financially speaking, it seems ideal for a university to have the teachers and volunteers at the institute teach the courses offered in the programme, since their salaries are paid by China; having most of the classes taught by native speakers could be also an element of attraction. On the other hand, the host universities have limited control over the Chinese staff. I am not talking here about political agendas that might be carried out by some; if such agendas really exist, having one's salary paid by one university or another would not make much difference. My point is about the background of the people teaching in an institute. It is true that those accepted as teachers or volunteers must go through a selection process, but most of them are trained to teach Chinese as a foreign language; they have limited knowledge of Chinese literature and literary theory and almost none of linguistics. Chinese history and culture can also be a challenging class to teach, especially when it comes to modern and contemporary China. Paper-cuts, knots, festivals, and calligraphy are an important part of Chinese culture, but equally important is to discuss in class historical events and cultural patterns that are still relevant in present-day China and help in understanding the country and its people. The reality is that not many of the Chinese teachers and volunteers can teach

these classes properly. Most of the classes are not taught in Chinese (it would be impossible to teach Chinese literature or history in Chinese to students in the first or second year), but in English. In a way, the Chinese programmes offered with the help of the Confucius Institutes are less philological programmes and more language courses.

One might argue that language skills are the most important factor when looking for a job involving Chinese. If this were true, then Chinese companies need not look for foreigners speaking Chinese; there are a billion people who speak the language much better than any foreigner. A foreigner must be able to bridge the two cultures, to understand not only the language but also the culture and the mentality of the people for whom he/she works.

However, not many graduates end up using Chinese in their daily work. For one, having more Chinese language programmes has not meant more job opportunities. Since the newly established programmes do not need local staff, there are only about 11 full-time Romanian Chinese-language teachers, of whom only one works in a high school; in addition to these, there are also a few PhD students teaching part-time. Confucius Institutes in Romania do not employ local staff. A few graduates work in research institutes, and, as I have mentioned above, Chinese companies are not very present in the Romanian market.

Literary translation is one field in which Chinese language graduates have become more active, especially in the last decade, after Mo Yan was awarded the Nobel Prize in 2012, which attracted the attention of publishing houses in Romania and ushered in a wave of literary translations. Some novels had been translated before 2012, not too many, among them one book by Mo Yan, translated by Dinu Luca, and one each by Ma Jian and Jiang Rong, translated by Roxana Ribu. After 2012, the number of translations increased, with six more books by Mo Yan, translated by Luminița Bălan, Florentina Vișan, and Dinu Luca, six by Yu Hua (one in print), translated by Mugur Zlotea and Luminița Bălan, two by Su Tong, translated by Dinu Luca and Ionela Voicu, four by Yan Lianke, translated by Roxana Ribu and Irina Ivașcu, three by Can Xue (two in print), translated by Luminița Bălan, Mugur Zlotea, and Paula Teodorescu, one by Ah Cheng, translated by Luminița Bălan and Florentina Vișan, to name just a few authors (see also Giță and Wang 2022).

It should be added that classical Chinese philosophy has also become very popular in Romania, with the most important texts already translated from classical Chinese: Confucius's *Analects*, *The Great Learning* and *The Golden Mean* translated by Florentina Vișan, *Xunzi* translated by Luminița Bălan, three versions of *Dao de jing* translated by Dinu Luca, Șerban Toader, and Su Yan, *Zhuangzi* translated by Luminița Bălan and Tania Segal, *Liezi* translated by Florentina Vișan and Irina Ivașcu, Sun Zi's *Art of War*, translated by Mugur Zlotea, and extracts from the *Zuozhuan*, translated by Romulus Ioan Budura. The one missing, *Mengzi*, is being translated at the time of writing.

On the bright side, when it comes to translations, there are more young people eager to translate; on the less bright side is that translation is more of a hobby, rather than a full-time job, since the number of titles translated is still limited and work as a literary translator does not pay much. The payment depends on whether the text chosen to be translated benefits from a translation and publishing grant offered by a Chinese institution. Not all authors chosen by Romanian publishing houses make it on the list approved by the Chinese side to receive translation grants, and some major Romanian publishers are apprehensive about publishing the authors promoted by China, afraid that lesser-known authors and their texts might not be so popular with Romanian readers. Even so, the European Idea Publishing House and Integral Publishing House have two heterogeneous collections dedicated to China, the “Chinese Culture Collection” and “China - Integral”, which bring together books translated from Chinese or related to China (at the time of writing, European Idea’s Chinese Culture Collection webpage contained 59 titles and the China - Integral webpage 28 titles.).

The Way Forward

Can Chinese Studies grow in Romania? Based on the trends I have seen so far, the potential is there, even if the pace is slow.

Romanian sinology has changed after 1989, turning shyly toward Chinese Studies. Attitudes have changed and now research done by scholars who do not know Chinese is no longer dismissed as superficial. China’s economic growth and its increasing presence on the international stage have led to the introduction of new lectures and courses; to judge by the profile of the students enrolled in language classes at the Confucius Institute at the University of Bucharest, more young people consider learning the language as an asset, especially those studying political science, history, or economics. Even the courses offered in the philological departments have changed, trying to bridge more disciplines, combining, for example, literature with visual arts and film studies. The generations have changed: younger colleagues who have studied in both China and the West are endeavouring to implement newer and more interactive teaching methods. Candidates continue to enroll in Chinese BA programmes, and up to now, none of the four universities have been in danger of closing their programmes due to lack of potential students.

International associations such as the European Association for Chinese Studies (EACS) are very important. The few Romanian members active in the EACS might not mean much for the association, but the association means a lot to them. One of the most important roles the EACS has is in providing Romanian scholars with a feeling of belonging. It is through EACS that we join the larger academic community, the association being a vital link to other

colleagues in Europe, as well as in China, the US, or Australia. EACS helps us in keeping up to date with new research and perspectives in the field of Chinese Studies, and at the same time it functions as a platform where we can check the validity of our own findings. It is an incentive for our younger colleagues who can visit libraries and museums thanks to the travel grant, can meet their peers working on similar topics, and participate in events and workshops organised by fellow-members.

Chinese Studies in Romania, and probably elsewhere in the world, are also influenced by the geopolitical situation. Ever since Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine, articles about China in the Romanian mass-media have fallen roughly into two major categories: positive, if they talk about China's economic success—Chinese electric vehicles, science and innovation, the manufacturing sector, etc. —, and negative, if the news item discusses political aspects, such as China's siding with Russia in the war of aggression against Ukraine, its increasing military budget, the unstable relations with the European Union, or lack of basic human rights. China's response to the economic measures taken by the second Trump administration has given birth to another image, that of a daring China, ready to confront the most powerful nation in the world. However, opinions are still very divergent in this matter, with many having not decided yet if this is a good or a bad thing. The conflicting images about China one gets from the national mass media might deter some potential candidates from enrolling in a Chinese Studies programme.

Even if the number of students registering in the first year is rather constant, the number of those graduating is much smaller, because close to one half of those initially enrolled either drop out or are unable to graduate. Many times, joining a BA programme in Chinese proves totally different from what the student envisioned initially. To enjoy Chinese language and culture as a hobby and to study them systematically are two different things. The complexity of the subject-matter, the demanding schedule and time one needs to spend to become a student of China prove too much for some people.

The huge gap between the imagined China, its economic power and global influence, and the reality, especially as regards China's presence in the Romanian market, may also be a hindrance. Learning good Chinese is not easy for Romanian students; it requires sustained effort and it is time-consuming. The difficulty in finding a very well-paid position in a company and in feeling that all the years spent on becoming familiar with the Chinese language and culture were not in vain could turn some people away. Even if some jobs requiring Chinese do exist, students are reluctant to take them, complaining of less-than-ideal salaries.

However, there is still hope. Chinese culture has not lost its appeal; the language is still fascinating. China is much more present in our daily lives than it used to be—in the things we wear and use, in the Chinese restaurants so popular with urban dwellers, in the media, its quarrels with the United States. As long as Chinese can be used to access both the East and

the West, Chinese Studies in Romania will continue to exist and develop, albeit at a slower speed than some of us would like to see.

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