LIU YONG

SINO-ROMANIAN RELATIONS 1950's-1960's



ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ INSTITUTUL NAȚIONAL PENTRU STUDIUL TOTALITARISMULUI

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FOREWORD

Having pursued the tough study for several years, Doctor Liu Yong completed his doctoral dissertations Sino-Romanian Relations Between 1950's-1960's and had it published at last. Utilizing many precious historical materials, his book reveals the history of Sino-Romanian relations from the historical and academic angles, especially the development in their relations of friendly cooperation during the previous 20 years after the establishment of their relations, and provides his own distinctive viewpoints, which all serve highly reference for the research of Sino-Romanian Relations. This monograph now published in Romania is another witness of Sino-Romanian friendship. I would like to extend my sincere congratulations to the author.

China established the diplomatic relations with Romania on 5 October 1949. Romania is the third country to recognize the People's Republic of China in the World. Since the last half century, Sino-Romanian relations have developed smoothly all along, and the friendship between the two peoples has been promoted continuously. Now the development of Sino-Romanian relations marches to a new stage. The successful visit to Romania by Hu Jintao, The President of P. R. China, promotes the relations between the two countries to the new level of overall friendly cooperative partnership. The exchanges and cooperation in the fields such as politics, economy, culture, education, science and technology, and so on, between the two countries develops greatly. And Romania's joining in European Union opens a great new foreground for the overall development of Sino-Romanian relations and even Sino-European relations.

Sino-Romanian Friendship is a valuable wealth which has been accumulated by generations of both countries. I am convinced, with the joint efforts of both sides, Sino-Romanian relations will be bound to gain a greater development.

The Ambassador of P. R. China to Romania, Xu Jian

INTRODUCTION

The earliest association between the Chinese and the Romanian ancestors can be traced back to 4th century AD. After World War II, both countries established socialist state powers successively. Both newborn countries, the People's Republic of China and Romanian People's Republic (it was renamed the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1965) set up their diplomatic relations in 1949. Since then, their contacts of politics, economy and culture increased rapidly, and formed the friendly relations rather close step by step after the mid of 1960's. Sino-Romanian relations are praised as the model of seeking common ground while reserving differences among the relations between socialist countries. Even if after the drastic change happened in social system in 1989, and the socialist system existed no longer in Romania, the friendly relations between China and Romania can still keep on, and has gained a further development after the new millennium's coming. While visiting Romania in June 2004, Chinese President Hu Jintao said to Romanian President Ion Iliescu: "During the fifty-five years since there established diplomatic relations between China and Romania, both nations and peoples mutual respect, mutually trust, understand and support all the time, it can be rated as the model of country-country relations¹.

In 1999, being a visiting scholar, I was selected and sent to Bucharest University in Romania for advanced study by China Scholarship Council. It was the first time I was ever exposed to and learned Romanian language in my life, and began to understand more about Romanian national conditions and Sino-Romanian relations. One year later, I was enrolled a doctoral student by the History Department of the University. My academic supervisor suggested me to take the history of Sino-Romanian relations as the subject of my doctoral

¹ People's Daily, 14.06.2004.

dissertation. I accepted after being hesitated for a while. The reasons why I was hesitated was because I know it very well that how difficult is to study history of country-country relations, especially to study those such as Sino-Romanian relations: Both international standings can not be compared with that of the past, and the positions of their relations in their respective national diplomacies are all dropped to the inferior place already. I learned Romanian language for only a half year. There hasn't any works on the history of Sino-Romanian relations published in the world so far. And I was already over 40 years old at that time, and so on.

The reasons why I agreed to were also because of those above-mentioned. It requires high qualification to the people who research this subject. He must satisfy the conditions such as foreign languages (at least two), knowledge (at least including general histories and the foreign relation histories of the two countries and history of international relations), research materials (utilizing national archives of the two countries), experiences (having lived in both countries), and so on, and I have qualified these conditions preliminarily, though it is only preliminary. The fundamental research of this subject is rather deficient so far, so it must be very difficult to fulfill, but it is very challenging to deal with this kind of pioneer research. It will be a Chinese name to write in this blank domain of research field at first. With regard to undertake this subject, the advantage of researching ability and urgent sense to gain success brought by the age would much more than the disadvantage of language learning caused by age.

The significance of researching history of Sino-Romanian relations lies in: 1) To record and narrate the 50 years' course of Sino-Romanian relations accurately — which is praised "cele mai bune relații de stat" (the words of the former Chinese ambassador to Romania Liu Guchang)², to

² Liu Guchang, Relațiile chino-române sunt cele mai bune relații de stat, în Evantaiul celor 1000 de gânduri: România și China: trei veacuri de istorie, Editura "Ion Cristoiu" SA, București, 1999, p.235.

summarize its success and failure, gain and loss, experience and lesson, in order to offer reference for continuously developing today's Sino-Romanian relations which "may be rated as the models of the country and country relation". This is the need either for China or for Romania. 2) To expand the research on history of Cold War, history of Sino-Soviet relations and history of the relations between China and other countries in Eastern Europe, so as to summarize the experience and lesson in Chinese external contacts in the past more comprehensively, and develop further Sino-Russian relations and China-European relations. 3) To learn Romanian successful experience of unfolding omni-directional independent diplomacy, "small country deals with great things", in the past, providing reference to the independent peaceful diplomacy carried out by China today. 4) To fill in a gap in research of the history of foreign relations in China, and to finish the first academic book on the history of Sino-Romanian relations.

My first scientific coordinator professor Constantin Buşe, the former vice-rector of Bucharest University and some other professors provided important guide and help for my study and research. They put forward three suggestions. 1) Only to study Sino-Romanian relations during 1950's-1960's. Firstly, it was because the topic of doctoral dissertation shouldn't be too extensive. Secondly, it was because the Romanian national archives only opened to public till to 1965 around. 2) The first part of the thesis should track back Sino-Romanian relations before 1949. 3) To utilize the Romania archives and the fruits of research as much as possible. These suggestion played an important guiding role for me to be able to finish this book.

The Evolution and Present Condition of the Research on Sino-Romanian Relations

The existing research achievement to history of Sino-Romanian relations can be summarized with three sentences: It started as late as 1970's. There is no academic monograph on the history of Sino-Romanian relations published

in China up to now. Romania takes this research more seriously than China and has more achievement published.

After the People's Republic of China and Romanian People's Republic established their diplomatic relations in October 1949, being the same newborn socialist countries, both of them began to introduce to and learn from each other. In 1951, Hua Dong People's Publishing House in Shanghai published a "series of popular books of People's Democracies Countries", and The People's Romania was among them, compiled by Ni Haishu. It was the first book to introduce Romania to new China. In 1956, New Knowledge Publishing House in Shanghai published Romanian People's Republic, compiled by Jian Jiang. There were 3 pages to introduce "Sino-Romanian Friendship and Cultural Exchange" in the end of the book. We may say it was the earliest paragraphs to introduce Sino-Romanian relations in China. In 1964, World Affairs Press in Beijing translated and published The Development of the National Economy in the Rumanian People's Republic, written by Romanian professor Ervin Hutira. In 1965, the reference room of World Affairs Press translated and published Communism in Rumania (1944-1962), written by professor Ghiță Ionescu, the most famous Romanian historian, who was residing in America. It was the first work on Romanian history translated and published in China written by Romanian scholar. From then on until to the early 1970's, The Chinese publications relating to Romania gave priority to the introducting and publicizing Romania and Sino-Romanian relations on the whole, and had nothing like the research to them.

Since mid 1950's, both embassies staying in the other countries began to write documents successively entitling "Sino-Romanian Relations" or "Romania-Chinese Relations", for reference internally. They involved history, politics, economy and trade, culture, sciences and technology, news and publication, etc. Some of them were rather long. Though were mainly introduction and summary, they offered abundant materials and important reference for the research later. In 1968, the number three of *Studii şi referate*, issued by Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs internally, published *Relațiile româno-chineze până în anul 1949*, written by Eugenia Chitic,

with the length about 40 pages. It was the earliest research result on early Romania-Chinese relations in Romania as I know so far. It mentioned that a Romanian, Nicolae Spătarul Milescu, had been in China in 1675, as the tsar's special envoy, and wrote *Descrierea Chinei*; both Chinese and Romanian monarches extended their greeting each other through correspondence around 1880; and both governments built up their diplomatic relations through negotiation in 1930s and broke off because of Romanian side in 1941, and so on.

Sino-Romanian relations entered the best developing period from 1970's on, the publicizing and researching began to be attached importance by both countries. After Ceauşescu's visit to China in 1971, the Central Institute of History and Social Politics of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) received order to research Sino-Romanian relations. Traditii ale poporului român de solidaritate si prietenie cu poporul chinez, published by Editura Politica in Bucharest in 1973, was one of the achievements. It selected articles both published in the Romanian newspapers and periodicals, public, partly public or underground, reflecting political situation and revolutionary struggle in China, and printed as well as distributed within the RCP and the Romanian Communist Youth League to express support for Chinaese revolution during 1900-1949, amounting to 159 historical documents. What the especially precious one was, the editors wrote an introduction as long as 43 pages. "It traces back to both up to the origin of Romania-Chinese current situation associations and down to the Sino-Romanian relations. many important It enumerates historical facts in China-Romanian relations in order to prove how far-reaching the relations between both countries are. Some of them are rarely known." Not only it is the first achievement on research of the history Sino-Romanian relations by Romania, but also the contents is more detailed than Chitic's.

³ Yu Chi, "A Documentary Book of the Friendship Between Chinese and Romanian Peoples", Beijing: East Europe, No. 1, 1990. p.44.

Editura Politică also published Reprezentantele diplomatice ale României in the same year. Its volume three (6,1948-3,1973) introduced the development of the Socialist Republic of Romania's foreign relations with every country which had established diplomatic relations with Romania in the form of special topic separately. The special topic Republica Populară Chineză, compiled by professor Lucian D. Petrescu, was as long as 24 pages. The writer pointed out explicitly that the earliest contact between Romanian and Chinese nations was Milescu's visit to China in 1675, who was known as Mi-Ko-Lai in Chinese historical archives. Tradiții ale poporului român de solidaritate si prietenie cu poporul chinez attached importance to track back Sino-Romanian relations during 1940-1949, while this special topic covered the phylogeny of Sino-Romanian relations from 17th century to 1972, but laying stress on the part after 1949. Both books were just mutual complementary. Though the depiction of this article to Sino-Romanian relations after 1949 was mainly to introduce the exchange visits at high level and the public speeches and statements since the diplomatic relations between both countries were established, it was the first time to sum up the history of Sino-Romanian relations rather intactly after all. This was an achievement of hardworking research by Romanian historians, to which nobody can surpass during more than 20 years since then.

At the same time, China really started the research to Romania, springing up the first batch of researchers. One of the representative figures among them was the researcher Lu Xianggan, the present adviser of Social Science Documentation

Publishing House in Beijing, who is regarded as the founder of the research of Romanian history in China. The Chinese version *Istoria României*, *compendiu*, written by Miron Constantinnescu and some other people, which was translated by him and some other people and published by The Commercial Press in Beijing in 1976. It is the first works on Romanian general history written by a Romanian then translated and published in China. From 1976 to 1980, he published 3 these successively in *Historical Research*, the most authoritative history periodical in China: *The Aggression and*

Expansion of Tsar's Russia to Romania and Bessarabia Issue, A Glorious Chapter of Struggle - the 100th Anniversary of Romania's Independence, as well as Dacian Civilization and the Birth of Dacian Kingdom. In 1981, he finished his doctoral dissertation entitled as Opinia publică românească și mișcarea revoluționară din China la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea, and obtained doctorate in Cluj University in Romania. However, this thesis wasn't published.

With the end of "Great Cultural Revolution" and the carrying out of reform and opening-up policy, in order to provide reference for modernizing construction and ruling party's building in China, the introduction and research to Romania emerged overall prosperity in China, there were a lot of publication. In 1980, România în anii socialismului, 1948-1978, compiled by Dr. Gheorghe Surpat, was published by Editura Politică in Bucharest. Later, Jiangsu People's Publishing House in Nanjing translated and published its Chinese version in 1985. The translator said: "This book was the first one with academic value which systematically introduced the socialist construction in Romania." Actually, there was full of stereotyped content and seemed to be little academic and reference value.

Romania's 40 Years - Collection of Documents and Materials, compiled by Guo Qingyun, a well-known expert of Romania research in China in 1980's, printed and distributed by the Scientific Research Office of the Central Party School of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1986. It compiled a "Bibliography of Researching on Romanian issue (limited to the Chinese edition)." It included 90 kinds of books concerning Romania which had been published in China since the new China was established, available for consulting.

Romania, compiled by Zhang Hanwen and some other people, was published by Shanghai Lexicographic Publishing House in 1987. It had 179 pages, and is still the most detailed books to introduce Romanian national condition that ever published in China so far. The book also introduced Sino-Romanian relations in a special topic, but it was too simple.

China Today: Diplomacy, chiefly compiled by Han

Nianlong, published by China Social Science Press in 1988, was the first diplomatic history of new China which was ever published. Though there was only less than 2,000 Chinese characters to discuss the history of Sino-Romanian relations, it was the first paragraphs of publicly discussing the history of Sino-Romanian relations in China.

1999 was the 50th anniversary of both the People's Republic of China's establishment and Sino-Romanian relations' establishment. Diplomatic History of the People's Republic of China, volume 1 to 3, compiled by a group of diplomats organized by Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and was published by World Knowledge Press successively from 1994 to 1999. In the space of 1,400 pages in three volumes, there are total 38 pages expounding the history of Sino-Romanian relations specially. If combining the contents which scattered in the book together, it can be regarded as a brief history of Sino-Romanian relations. This book begins with tracing back the support and assistance to the Chinese people by the RCP and Romanian people in period of Anti-Japanese War in China, and ends with narrating both the supreme leaders' exchanging visits in 1978, then Sino-Romanian relations "toped to the new peak". It published a large amount of important historical materials for the first time, summarizing and appraising Sino-Romanian relations during the 30 years, realistically and truthfully. It believed that Romania is "the country with whom China maintains both national relations with the least ups and downs, and the longest friendly cooperation among the Chinese relations with socialist countries besides Korea." And "Sino-Romanian relations may as well be accepted a relatively successful model that how a socialist country ruling by Communist party deal with both inter-party and inter-nation relations". Therefore, this book is the most important Chinese guidebook for the research of

⁴ Wang Taiping, Diplomatic History of the People's Republic of China, Vol.2: 1957-1969, Beijing: World Affairs Press, 1998, p.258.

⁵ Ibidem.

Sino-Romanian relations so far.

In Romanian respect, România, o fereastră în cortina de fier, written by Alexandru Oșca and Vasile Poppa, published by VRANTOP publishing house in Focșani in 1997. It mainly explicated the relation between Romania, China and the Soviet Union during Great Sino-Soviet polemics, enclosing the come-and-go letters and telegrams, etc. between the Communist Parties of Romania, the Soviet Union and China in the same period.

Edited by Associația Română de prietenie cu R.P. Chineză which established on 18 October 1995, "Ion Cristoiu" Publishing Ltd. Company in Bucharest published a commemorative collected works Evantaiul celor 10000 de gânduri: România și China: trei veacuri de istorie in 1999. The book collected a number of commemorative articles and theses on Sino-Romanian relations written by diplomats and scholars in both countries. The Chinese Ambassador Liu Guchang took such words as the title of his article: Relațiile chino-române sunt cele mai bune relații de stat. These relating to Sino-Romanian relations from ancient time to 1960's which were included in this book are as below:

Un român în China secolului al XVII-lea: Nicolae Spătarul Milescu, written by professor Radu Ștefan Vergati, an expert of Milescu research, and La orizontul imaginarului written by Iolanda Țighiliu (her Chinese name is Jin Lan), a historian, proved how Milescu and his works promoted mutual understanding between the two peoples and exchange between the two civilizations in 17th century, and as a result, they made Milescu and his works be renowned all over Europe.

Relațiile româno-chineze (1880-1949), written by diplomat Eugenia Chitic, tracked back the course that both heads of state exchanged letters in the end of 1880's to express the recognization each other, and the process from both countries established diplomatic relations through negotiation in 1930's to they broke off afterward in 1941. Its textual research explication is more detailed and accurate than Reprezentanțele Diplomatice ale României.

The former Romanian ambassador to China Romulus, Ion

Budura, namely Luo Ming, wrote Relații româno-chineze, summarizing the rich archivement and trials as well as the hardship of Sino-Romanian relations during the 50 years. He divided the 50 years into 4 periods and explicated different characteristics respectively. He worked in Romanian Embassy in China more than 20 years, assuming the post of Ambassador to China nearly 6 years during this period, and was considered as one who understands Chinese language the best among the Romanian. Moreover, he dared to publish his personal opinion in the article therefore that made this article serve a rather great reference.

Paul Niculescu-Mizil, the former central secretary of the RCP and vice-Chairman of the Romanian Council of Ministers, who once took charge of Romania-Chinese mixed committee of economy, science and technology for 20 years, now is called an economist, remembered his visits to China since 1959, his contacts with the Chinese leadership of the first and second generations, and the situations when he took charge of Romania-Chinese relations, in his article Amintiri despre China. It published a lot of important historical details, so that it serves as great reference too. Due to age-old and personal reasons, some of his recollection was obviously a bit inaccurately. Many of the articles' content were coincided with O istorie trăită, which the author published years ago. Nevertheless, there were also paragraphs that he never included in the past.

aniversary of building is the 55th up Sino-Romanian relations and this book's sequel was also

published in this year.

We may say, in a sense, this book is a history of Sino-Romanian relations in the style of special topic. Comparing with Diplomatic History of the People's Republic of China, which published a little earlier in China, the former explication on Romania-Chinese relations before 1949 is little more than the latter, while the latter basically only involves the history after 1949. Because the former is in style of collected works, many authors are famous diplomats or scholars, therefore its advantage is there are a lot of original opinions in the former, and its disadvantage is that is organized too loose. The latter is a joint achievement of Chinese diplomats. Its