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From Sinology to Slavonic: The flow of Eurasian knowledge production and the scholarly gaze between China and CEE

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From Sinology to Slavonic: The flow of Eurasian knowledge production and the scholarly gaze between China and CEE

Radovici, Mihai Christopher Marian[1]

Abstract

Since it's race to primacy in the international arena, the PRC has demanded increased attention from the academic realm. Then, the question begs *how has the scholarly „gaze" between PRC and CEE evolved over the past two decades, and what are its main pillars?*. Therefore, the research aims to conduct a comparative bibliometric analysis of PRC respectively CEE-related academic publications to investigate how knowledge has been constructed between the two. Employing Web of Science, Scopus and Lens.org databases, the study analyses publication trends, thematic foci across key contributions from 2004 to 2024. Employing various bibliometric techniques, the study explores the punctual scholarly engagement between PRC and CEE. Specifically, the comparison assesses (1) volume and growth trends of PRC and CEE-related publications; (2) geographical distribution, institutional affiliations and financing of key research contributions; (3) role of transnational academic collaborations and key thematic cross-influencing tendencies; (4) predominant shifts in tonality, wording and topics of this reciprocal academic gaze. Thus, a preliminary literature review suggests that, while PRC has garnered increasing global research interest, particularly in the fields of economics, environmental studies, public health and foreign policy, CEE-related research (*per se* and coming from PRC) remains concentrated on domains like political science, historical evolutions, social structures and economic transition. Moreover, we can hypothesize that scholarly engagement between these regions remains asymmetric, with PRC receiving broader international attention, whereas CEE remains a niche area, often framed through European and post-socialist transformation lenses. Otherwise, data extraction includes country and institutional affiliations, citation counts, co-authorship patterns, and thematic clusters derived from keyword co-occurrence networks, amongst others. By comparing research outputs, we can uncover the epistemic structures underlying academic knowledge production. Hence, the research contributes to a deeper understanding of global academic knowledge flows,

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highlighting disparities and connections about how PRC and CEE scholarly represent each-other. Furthermore, this observation provides insight into grander contexts that can shape academic interests and influence regional knowledge, as well as helping practitioners that aim to foster deeper academic cooperation between the two spaces.

Keywords: People's Republic of China; Central and Eastern Europe; Comparative bibliometrics; Scholarly discourse analysis; Research networks; Eurasian knowledge production.

I. Introduction

The dynamics of the People's Republic of China's (PRC) engagement with Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) have evolved significantly since the collapse of communism in the region, attracting increasing attention. Hence, over the past decade, Beijing has actively sought to reestablish its presence, particularly by reviving cooperation formats and „bridges" that were prominent during the Cold War, with policymakers framing this renewed engagement as its „return" to the region (Tubilewicz, 1998; Wasserstrom, 2000; Castrillón-Kerrigan, 2022). Moreover, this relation was formalised in 2012 through the 16+1 framework, which brought together the heads of state and government in Warsaw and began a cycle of regular interactions (Pencea, 2013; Zuokui, 2013). Consequently, a complex web of interactions has emerged, involving governmental actors at various levels, state-owned and private enterprises, think tanks, media conglomerates, and other stakeholders, with academic endeavours often being at the periphery of these collaborative pursuits (Jing, 2014; Xiaozhong, 2017). Nonetheless, these engagements, which grow in frequency and scale, play a crucial role in shaping and deepening Sino-CEE relations, especially if they are founded upon sound academic understanding of regional affairs.

Thus, PRC holds an increasingly prominent position in the strategic outlook of CEE countries, particularly since academic collaborations continue to expand at the rate highlighted in our analysis (Horváth, 2020; Pencea, 2024). The establishment of the China-CEE Cooperation framework in 2019, with Greece's inclusion, highlights the broader continental impact of multilateral cooperation, warranting analysis beyond the regional level. Moreover, resurgence of this multifaceted rapprochement raises key questions that shape research and societal discourse. First, it calls for an exploration of the underlying drivers and strategic goals of PRC-CEE relations, including how each party constructs its self-image and global narrative

through knowledge production. Second, it prompts an examination of the broader impact on bilateral, regional, and global relations, as well as on forward-looking fields where innovation enhances national branding and international prestige.

These multilateral frameworks have increasingly aligned with Beijing's broader foreign policy strategies and global aspirations. The 16+1 format, for example, is closely integrated with the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), with all participating countries signing Memorandums of Understanding and engaging in various developmental stages (Gu et al., 2021; Yamanlar, 2023). As a result, PRC-CEE relations offer a valuable perspective for analysing Beijing's regional strategies, its evolving global role, and its expanding influence within international systems (Habova, 2021). These overlapping interests add complexity to PRC-Europe interactions, affecting Eurasian connectivity, intra-European political alignments, and scholarly as well as public narratives. This dynamic is reflected in the growing scholarly interest from both PRC and CEE, highlighting the importance of these exchanges in shaping global discourse and enhancing the outward projection of knowledge production formats.

Nonetheless, in academic discourse, Europeans have historically struggled to present a unified stance on external affairs. PRC-CEE scholarly interactions reflect this fragmentation, as varied responses indicate that European countries pursue different approaches to global affairs based on distinct national interests. These divergences also reveal differing needs and perspectives within Europe regarding engagement with the PRC, including intellectual pursuits (Suetyi & Yidong, 2022). Consequently, the process of building these interconnections offers insight into PRC's complex role as a late entrant in regional, Eurasian, and global affairs, while highlighting its multilayered engagement with CEE through growing academic collaborations and the redirection of scholarly thought toward its spheres of interest.

Moreover, Beijing's policy measures and narratives in CEE, along with the region's evolving discourse on the PRC, raise critical questions about the driving forces behind this relationship. Key considerations include whose ideas, norms, and policy principles shape these interactions, to what ends, and with what consequences. Given the potential of scholarly efforts to influence long-term regional orientations, whether by fostering mutual understanding, focusing on specific interests, or reshaping discourse on contentious issues, it is essential to examine how these intersections are constructed at a specialized level. This inquiry goes beyond a scholarly overview, offering a nuanced understanding of PRC-CEE relations, as academic focus can shape public perceptions, societal narratives, and programmatic efforts

(Lo, 2011; Hernández-Pérez & Baños-Moreno, 2023). Also, as academic discourse evolves, it indirectly influences public understanding and policy approaches, underscoring the importance of examining these often-overlooked engagements and their broader effects (Wojciuk, 2015; Knight, 2022).

Additionally, most multilateral frameworks facilitating PRC-CEE cooperation favour asymmetrical interactions, emerging at a time when socio-economic and political models once seen as global benchmarks faced growing challenges, alongside the foundational principles of Europe's supranational structures. This trend is especially evident in CEE, where shifting perspectives on international engagement complicate China's regional presence, reflected in the diffusion of knowledge production and academic narratives (Habova, 2021). This context not only adds variables to the broader PRC-CEE relationship but also highlights the limited scholarly examination, particularly in anglophone literature. Localized efforts have taken the lead in interpreting these growing interconnections, though this remains an incipient process. However, PRC-CEE studies, having reemerged after decades of neglect, face the challenge of a limited foundation for meaningful analysis. Consequently, this field remains underdeveloped, with few scholars possessing expertise in both regions simultaneously (Liu et al., 2015). Moreover, dedicated institutional structures bridging PRC and CEE studies are scarce, further widening the knowledge gap and aligning knowledge construction with global trends rather than enabling more particularized insights.

Similarly, the scarcity of comprehensive multidisciplinary studies on PRC-CEE relations is unsurprising, given the fragmented nature of research across disciplines. However, as highlighted in our applied analysis, a deeper investigation is essential to develop a nuanced and cohesive understanding of these relations, their historical evolution, and multifaceted impact. Thus, a crucial starting point is examining knowledge-production patterns in both spheres. For example, when the 16+1 framework was introduced, early research focused on interpreting the sudden expansion of PRC-CEE relations, as practitioners primarily analysed Beijing's motivations and strategic objectives, emphasizing economic and political dimensions. While this generated brief spikes in specialized literature, scholarly engagement soon became fragmented, progressing unevenly rather than evolving into a consolidated research agenda. Hence, early scholarship on PRC-CEE relations was largely policy-oriented, with much of the initial analysis produced by Western actors. As a result, these studies often overlooked local specificities, reflecting Western-centric biases in funding and citation patterns, as well as the transitional period faced by CEE institutions. Additionally, many scholars contextualized PRC-

CEE relations within national and regional policy debates, particularly regarding government approaches toward Beijing. However, these discussions often lacked interdisciplinary depth, remaining confined to either CEE- or PRC-specific perspectives, which limited their broader analytical significance.

On the other hand, Chinese scholars have primarily focused on evaluating the effectiveness of Beijing's foreign policy toward CEE, offering recommendations for improvement and tailoring their analyses to individual countries. In contrast, CEE experts have concentrated on interpreting PRC's strategic intentions and advising on potential policy responses. These perspectives often split into two opposing camps: one viewing PRC as an economic and geopolitical opportunity, advocating for policies that maximize national and regional benefits, and the other seeing it as a potential threat, promoting strategies to constrain or counterbalance its influence (Pavlićević, 2018; 2019; Grzywacz, 2019). Despite its relatively nascent state, the academic literature on PRC-CEE relations has provided valuable insights and a solid foundation for further research. Fürst and Tesař (2013), for example, contextualized PRC's „charm offensive" within a post-ideological and post-transitional framework, arguing that material interests drive engagement on both sides, a shift also reflected in the growing amalgamation of research funding within PRC and CEE, moving away from reliance on global institutions and traditional knowledge-production formats.

Otherwise, early research predominantly examined PRC-CEE relations through the lens of the BRI, focusing on regional perceptions of Beijing's diplomacy. Only recently have scholars begun adopting more nuanced perspectives that incorporate Bejing's own viewpoint (Vangeli, 2017; Matura, 2018; Pendrakowska, 2018; Kavalski, 2018). Other studies have concentrated on trade and investment flows, emphasizing quantitative assessments of economic exchanges while often overlooking broader Eurasian geopolitical and structural trends shaping these interactions (Shang et al., 2016; McCaleb & Szunomár, 2017).

Yet, recent findings show that research and knowledge production in PRC-CEE relations are evolving beyond foundational studies. Scholars are increasingly exploring new avenues and adopting multidisciplinary approaches that integrate perspectives from both PRC and CEE. There is also a growing focus on questions relevant to understanding the trajectories of both regions in global politics. This shift has introduced new analytical dimensions, including sub-regional and subnational analyses, comparative perspectives, and greater internationalization through English-language publications and cross-border academic collaborations. Thus, a

review of recent scholarly developments highlights a growing body of research examining PRC-CEE relations from various angles. For example, Jakóbowski (2018), Kowalski (2017), and Song and Pavlićević (2019) have analysed the 16+1 framework as part of PRC's broader regional multilateral diplomacy, positioning it within the emerging global infrastructure of Beijing-led initiatives. Vangeli (2017; 2018) has focused on regional frameworks to explore PRC's role as a global actor, emphasizing its symbolic power in shaping international perceptions, including through knowledge production and narrative-building techniques.

Other scholars have examined the sources and extent of PRC's influence in CEE, especially within the context of deepening economic ties. Pepermans (2018) argued that PRC uses both economic and soft power to expand its political influence, while Matura (2019) highlighted the limited political impact of Beijing's economic diplomacy compared to other soft power techniques. Additionally, Pavlićević (2019) conducted a comparative analysis of PRC and EU's economic, political, security, and soft power resources, assessing their respective leverage over CEE and hinting at potential long-term pathways. Whereas beyond these broader studies, some researchers have concentrated on specific cases and aspects of PRC-CEE interactions. If we were to select some works, Kamiński (2019) stands out, as it introduced a subnational level of analysis by examining PRC's engagement with Poland's Lodz region. Also, Turcsányi and Qiaoan (2019) explored the tension between PRC's official rhetoric, which often invokes the shared socialist past, and the prevailing anti-communist sentiments in CEE, which are hard lines to bridge and require careful manoeuvring. Additionally, Grgić (2017) analysed the widely discussed case of PRC's involvement in Montenegro's highway project, investigating how infrastructure diplomacy intersects with domestic political dynamics in the CEE periphery and how such programmes can impact other regional perspectives.

However, despite the growing body of research on PRC-CEE relations, significant gaps remain, particularly in specialized, cooperative, and multidisciplinary studies. Hence, much of the literature frames regional cooperation within PRC's grand strategy, focusing on Beijing's objectives and CEE's role rather than exploring alternative analytical paths, overlooking the domestic drivers of PRC's engagement and CEE's Eurasianist orientations. Additionally, few studies contextualize PRC's strategy within the structural imperatives of its developmental model, examining how its incentives and constraints shape foreign policy and vice versa. Moreover, the strategic-level focus reinforces a state-centric perspective, treating PRC as monolithic and prioritizing national-level analysis, neglecting the contribution of key

stakeholders, international groupings, government agencies, corporate entities, and bureaucratic actors, in shaping policies on both sides. This limitation is particularly evident in economic studies, where discussions centre on state policies while overlooking the diverse interests of bureaucratic and corporate players and their market impact.

Moreover, microlevel, multilayered or comparative analyses, remain largely absent, leaving key mechanisms of interaction underexplored, overlooked or misunderstood altogether. Additionally, there is room for deeper investigations into the soft power and normative dimensions of PRC-CEE relations, especially when it comes to academic endeavours. Furthermore, existing studies predominantly treated this dynamic as omnidirectional, focusing on how PRC influences CEE perceptions and strategies, which is reflected across the scholarly works in our analysis. This approach not only disregards potential feedback loops that could inform and refine PRC's policymaking but also downplays the agency of CEE actors, as highlighted through funding tendencies. Yet, empirical evidence suggests that CEE governments have leveraged relations with PRC for domestic and intra-European purposes. Furthermore, regional actors have actively contributed to shaping the ideational and material aspects of their engagement with PRC, an aspect that remains insufficiently addressed and demands a more robust understanding.

Moreover, power dynamics between CEE, PRC, and the EU have been widely discussed in media and think-tank reports, yet largely eluded systematic scholarly investigation. Hence, as PRC's growing influence in the region is taken as a given, leading to both rhetorical and policy pushback from Brussels, critical questions remain unanswered, as underscored by the low representation of Social Sciences and cooperative works in our analysis. Chief among them are the implications of PRC's emergence as a regional actor for the EU, its evolving relationship with CEE, and the broader triangular interactions between these entities.

Otherwise, PRC's ascent as a systemic leader, has undeniably fuelled growing interest in the region, including from CEE actors, albeit at a smaller rate than their western counterparts (Liu, et al., 2015). Nonetheless, the renewed gaze is reflected in the expanding network of PRC-CEE engagements, surge in academic FDI, and the intensification of bilateral and multilateral ties, including scholar ones (Gaulier et al., 2007; Whalley & Xin, 2010). However, despite the increasing volume of academic research on PRC, little is empirically known about how knowledge production in CEE engages with PRC-related topics. Therefore, some key questions remain unexplored: *How is the PRC and CEE academic landscape structured when*

it comes to knowledge production about each other? What specific aspects of PRC or CEE capture the researcher's attention and how are they spreading across different disciplines? What are the main formats that shape this scholarly engagement and how are they funded? What are the key topics, themes and sub-domains that spark an investigative interest between PRC and CEE scholars and how are they interconnected? To date, no studies have systematically addressed these questions in a comparative and summarized manner. Therefore, to bridge this gap, this research employs a uniquely constructed large-scale dataset to conduct a bibliometric analysis of PRC and CEE-related academic works from the perspective of the other.

II. Methodology and data collection

Data Collection

This study conducts a comparative bibliometric analysis of PRC-CEE academic engagement from 2004 to 2024. Using data from Web of Science (WoS), Scopus, and Lens.org, it identifies overarching trends by extracting, coding, and interpreting results based on various filtering criteria (see annex for details). To extract relevant PRC-CEE publications, structured keyword-based searches were employed, refined, and qualitatively tested to minimize irrelevant entries. Filters included geographic, material, and timeframe constraints, alongside a quantitative query incorporating „China" (with variations in English and Mandarin) and key province names, while avoiding duplicates. Similarly, „Central and Eastern Europe" (with country-specific names in English and national languages) was included, alongside socio-historical references, avoiding redundancies (e.g., „SEE", „Western Europe").

To maximize relevant integration, these sequences were applied to title, abstract, keyword, and content fields within scholarly materials (e.g., books, articles, theses, and conference proceedings). Data extraction, filtering, and graphical analysis were conducted separately using each platform's official tools to ensure consistency and reproducibility.

Analytical Techniques

1. *Publication Volume and Growth Trends* – The number of PRC and CEE-related publications were respectively examined over time to assess the inclination towards each of the spheres, trajectory of scholarly interest and assessment of how major tendencies have evolved in this timespan, while avoiding systemic spikes;

2. *Tonality and Content Analysis* – To investigate shifts in academic discourse and public narratives key results were subjected to qualitative content analysis and clustering, to examine changes in wording, framing and underlying interests pathways;

3. *Thematic and Subject Mapping* – Disciplines, domains, thematic and topics were derived from the keywords analysis to identify prevalent research areas, multilevel domain orientation, and overall preferences in terms of academic pursuit;

4. *Institutional Distribution and Funding* – The affiliations of contributing authors, research institutions, publishers and grant providers were qualitatively inspected, to identify dominant research hubs and patterns of intervention into the academic production;

5. *Co-authorship and co-occurrence* – Clusters where derived from the initial coding of the manuscripts to identify prevalent research inclinations, impact, mediums preferred, language options and cross-disciplinarity, providing better insight into the ways academic research is structured and how it influences itself and the real world.

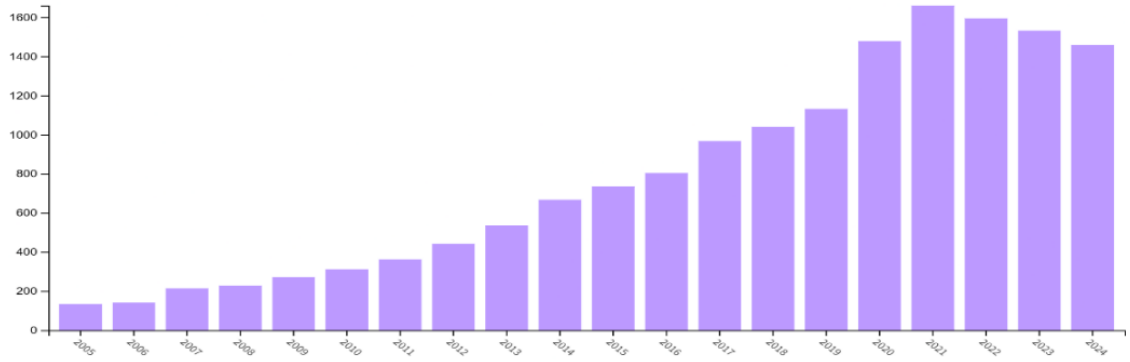
Scope and Limitations

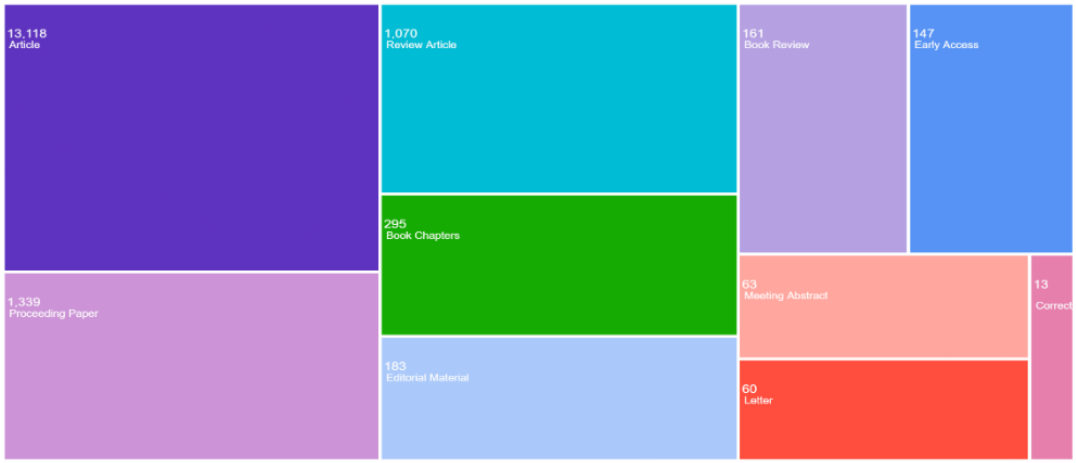
The study examines materials published between 2004 and 2024, as earlier works from CEE or PRC were sparse and would dilute results. While WoS, Scopus, and Lens.org offer extensive coverage, some regionally or linguistically specific publications, along with non-indexed knowledge (e.g., official reports, think-tank commentaries, specialty op-eds), may be underrepresented. Additionally, thematic classification relies on keyword clustering, which, while systematic, may not fully capture scholarly nuances or exclude irrelevant references. By integrating quantitative bibliometric methods with qualitative content analysis, this research provides a nuanced understanding of the epistemic structures shaping PRC-CEE academic exchanges, yet it doesn't encompass the totality of vectors that influence them.

III. Comparative bibliometric analysis of PRC-CEE' scholarly works

1. Results from CEE regarding PRC from the WoS database:

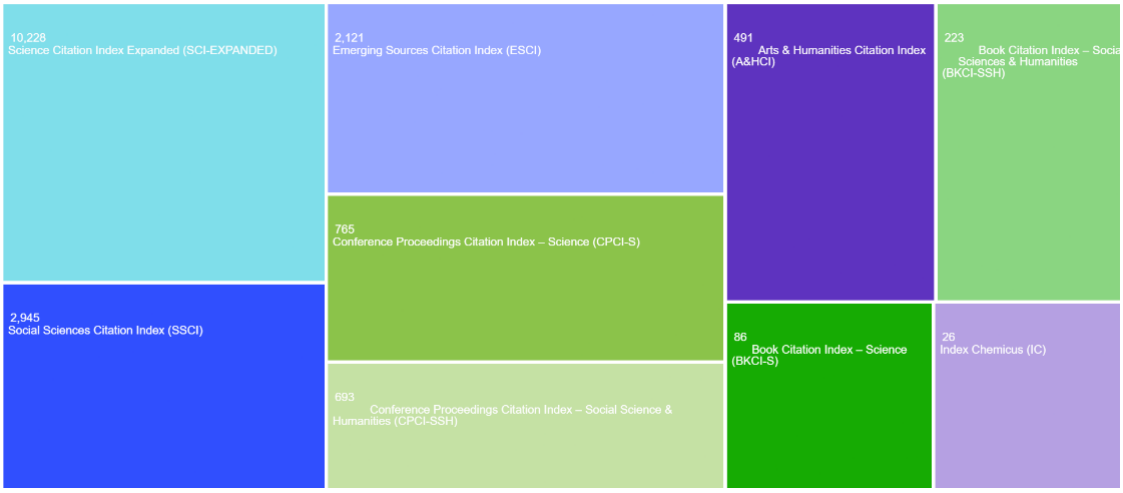
The number of publications from CEE concerning PRC has exhibited a significant increase over time, growing from 134 publications in the earliest recorded year to 1,457 publications, with a peak in 2021 at 1,659 publications, partially attributable to the Covid-19 pandemic, bringing the total number to 15,831. Also, the publication types are predominantly articles, accounting for 82.8% (13,118 elements), followed by proceeding papers at 8.4% (1,339), and review articles at 6.7% (1,070). Other categories such as book chapters (1.8%, 295), editorial material (1.1%, 183), and book reviews (1.0%, 161) contribute marginally to the overall regional scholarly output, and showcase a tendency to increasingly opt for fast-paced and co-creationist result dissemination mechanisms (articles and conferences).





Moreover, the thematic focus within the CEE research community is diverse, with environmental sciences leading at 10.3% (1,641 publications), followed by economics at 6.8% (1,089), zoology at 4.9% (783), and geosciences/multidisciplinary studies at 4.8% (774). However, more „traditional" research areas such as plant sciences (3.7%, 597), business (3.1%, 502), international relations (2.2%, 355), political science (2.0%, 331), and humanities (1.6%, 254) are also covered but to a lesser extent, making the region more prone to growth in specialized fields rather than generalist domains. In terms of citation topics, the most referenced themes include phylogenetics and genomics (5.4%, 857 citations), geochemistry/geophysics and geology (5.1%, 809 citations), economics (4.4%, 702 citations), sustainability science (4.3%, 693 citations), management (3.3%, 538 citations), and political science (2.9%, 463 citations), which is a rather fair spread and cross-influencing between domains.

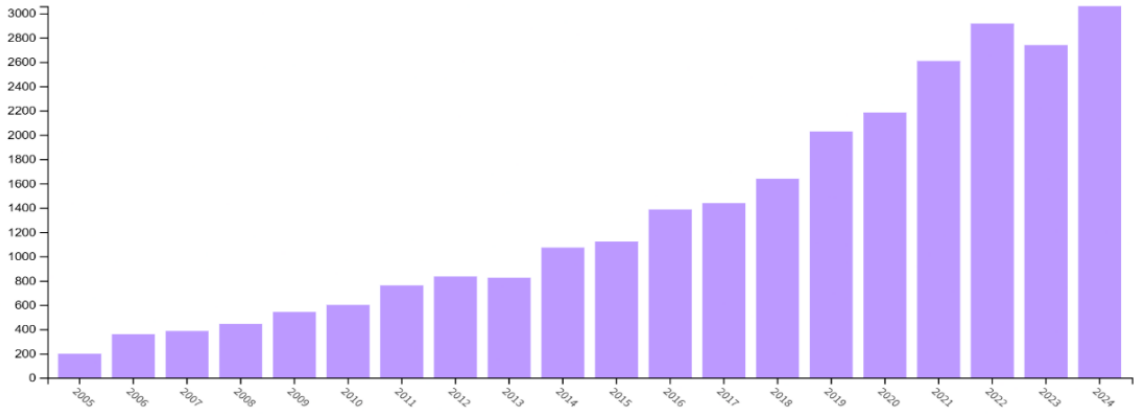
Furthermore, when it comes to citation indexing, a significant proportion of CEE research on PRC is indexed in the Science Citation Index Expanded (64.6%, 10,228), with 18.6% (2,945) in the Social Sciences Citation Index, 13.3% (2,121) in the Emerging Sources Citation Index, and 4.8% (765) in the Conference Proceedings Citation Index, albeit the fact that the last two are growing yearly and might take a more substantial portion of the results dissemination in the near future. Otherwise, the primary language of publication is overwhelmingly English, comprising 96.5% (15,287) of the total, with Polish (1.1%, 179) and Czech (0.5%, 92), alongside other regional languages, being minor contributors, which showcases an increasingly internationalised environment, prone to exchanges with the global academic systems. Additionally, the distribution of research areas reflects an emphasis on environmental sciences/ecology (12.8%, 2,042), business/economics (10.3%, 1,644), engineering (6.6%, 1,050), science/technology (6.3%, 1,004), geology (6.1%, 974), and zoology (5.0%, 795), most of which bear real-world results and have a high societal impact.

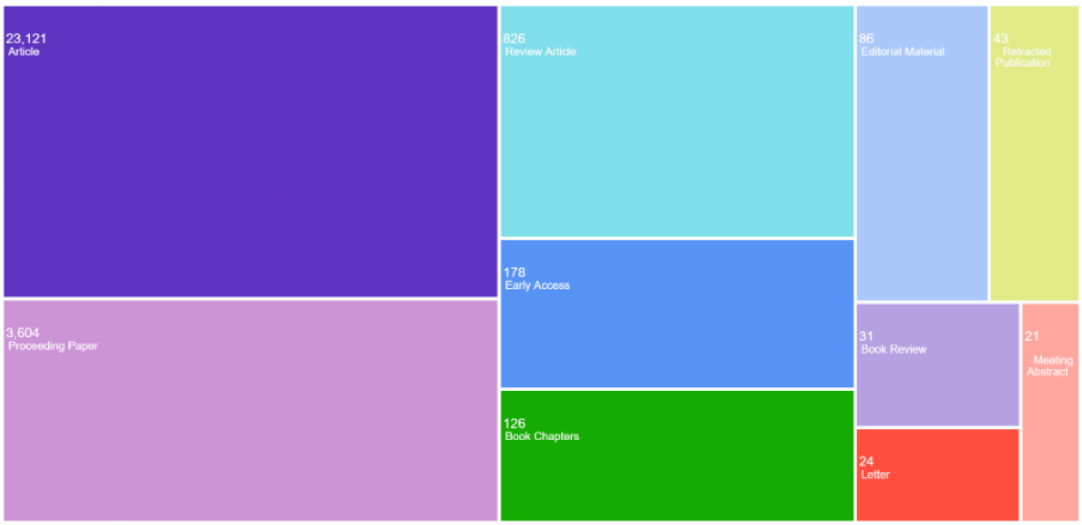


Lastly, funding sources, selected amongst the top 10 contributions, indicate a strong direct involvement from the PRC, with the National Natural Science Foundation of China financing 11.9% (1,895) of the materials published in this timeframe. Other significant sources include the European Union (3.7%, 587), the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic (3.1%, 490), and the National Science Center of Poland (2.3%, 372), coupled with other national authorities. Nonetheless, although these actors are increasing their contribution and become more present in supporting regional academic endeavours, for the moment they still cannot cover a large portion of the research that is produced and do not meet the overall needs of the region. Also, Chinese funding sources also include the Chinese Academy of Sciences (1.8%, 290) and the National Key Research Development Program of China (1.2%, 195), as way of example, making it a key partner in the first 10 places.

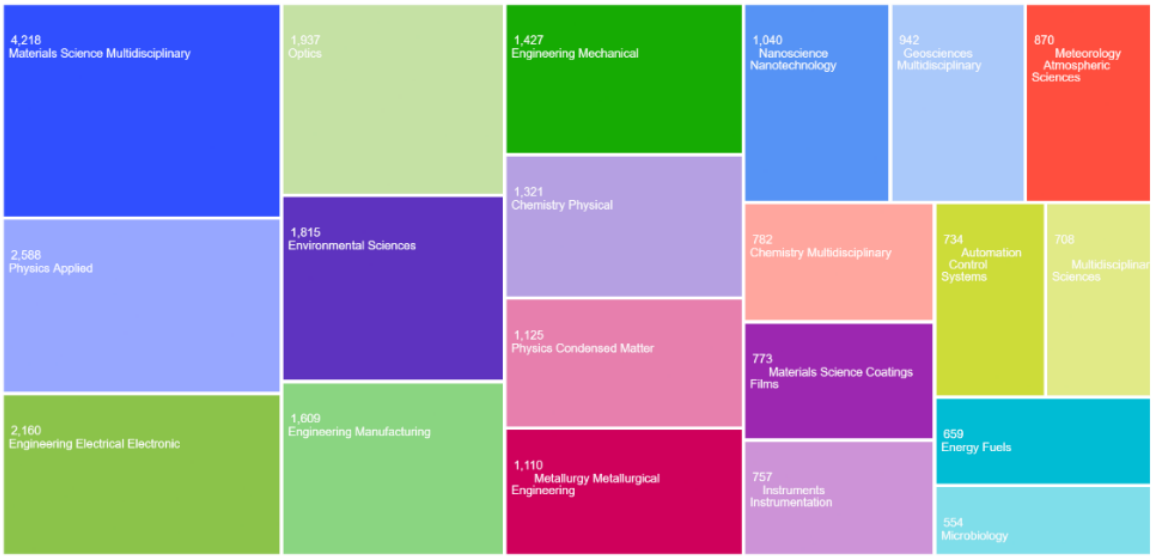
2. Results from PRC regarding CEE from the WoS database:

When it comes to research originating from PRC regarding CEE, we can notice that it has also expanded significantly, with the number of yearly publications increasing from 199 to 3,058 in 2024, culminating in a total of 27,347 publications. Additionally, articles dominate the publication formats, comprising 84.5% (23,121), followed by proceeding papers at 13.1% (3,604), review articles at 3.0% (826), book chapters at 0.4% (126), editorial material at 0.3% (85), and book reviews at a mere 0.1% (31), which showcases the emergence of a tendency to opt for peer-review materials while knowledge-sharing formats still take a large portion of the scholarly activities.

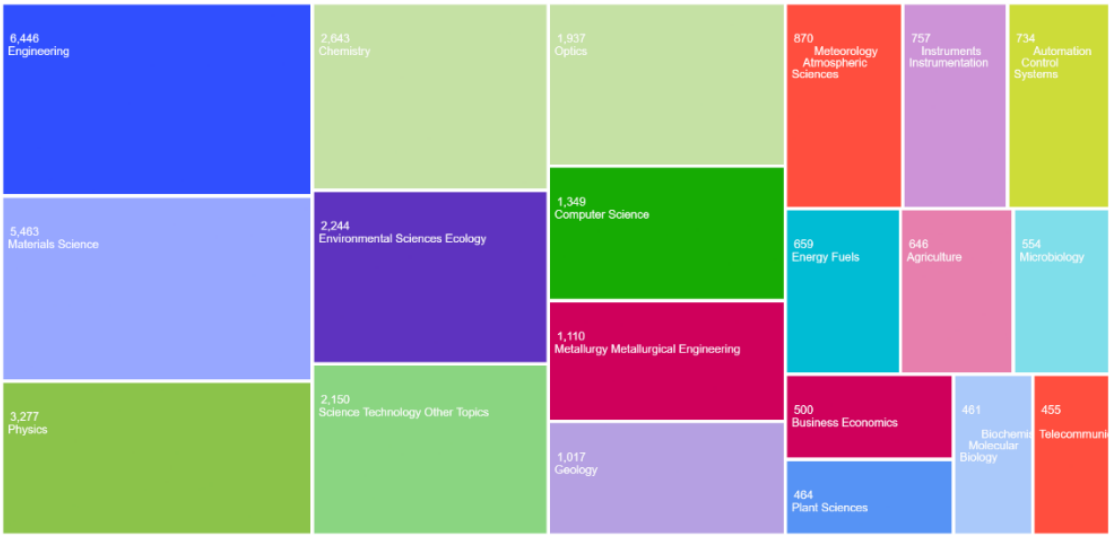




Otherwise, when it comes to the core research categories we can observe a rather structured coagulation towards specialized domains, as materials science/multidisciplinary studies lead with 15.4% (4,218 publications), followed by applied physics at 9.4% (2,588), electrical and electronic engineering at 7.8% (2,160), optics at 7.0% (1,937), and environmental sciences at 6.6% (1,815). Whereas, international relations and political science are marginally represented, each accounting for only 0.3% (95 publications), notwithstanding the fact that humanities stand at 0.2% (69 publications), which means that PRC prefers to look at CEE through more focused points rather than have the broader approaches traditionally found across the social sciences. Moreover, when it comes to the most cited topics these include manufacturing (13.1%, 3,603 citations), oceanography/meteorology and atmospheric sciences (3.5%, 962 citations), inflammatory bowel diseases and infections (2.6%, 723 citations), metallurgical engineering (2.5%, 699 citations), optical electronics and engineering (2.5%, 699 citations), and geochemistry/geophysics and geology (1.9%, 523 citations). In turn, this translates into a contained „contagion" effect, where knowledge spread linearly and clusters around the initial categories rather than having rippled effects across a wide range of schools of thought.



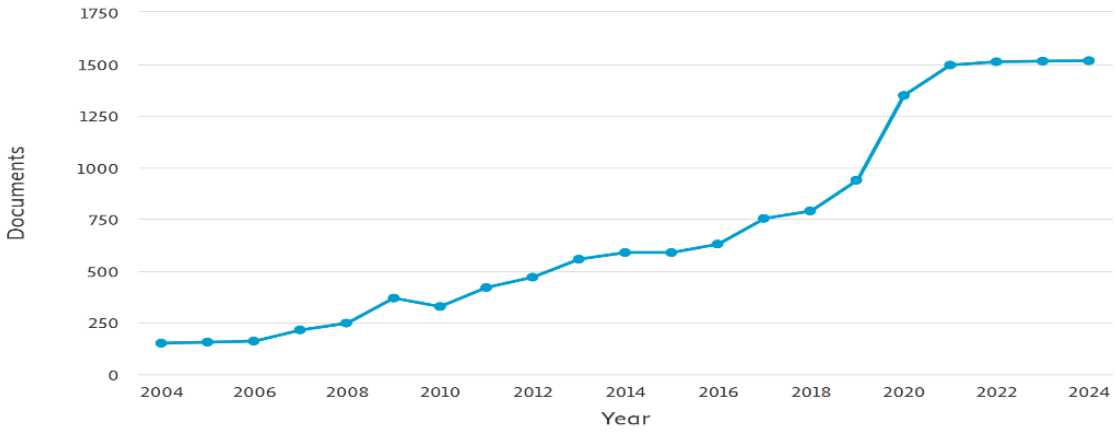
Furthermore, by looking at the indexing of citations, we can reveal a strong preference for the Science Citation Index Expanded, which includes 79.5% (21,757) of PRC publications on CEE. Moreover, other indexes include the Conference Proceedings Citation Index (12.7%, 3,482), the Social Sciences Citation Index (4.3%, 1,195), and the Emerging Sources Citation Index (4.3%, 1,195), which showcases a tendency to follow through with more established publishers and topics rather than venturing into emerging spaces. Also, most of these publications are in English (97.3%, 26,611), with minor contributions in Chinese (2.4%, 677) and Russian (0.1%, 28), which equates to a more internationally oriented academic environment that is prone to global dissemination and absorption. Similarly, the spread of primary research areas include engineering (23.5%, 6,446), materials science (19.9%, 5,463), physics (11.9%, 3,277), chemistry (9.6%, 2,643), environmental sciences/ecology (8.2%, 2,244), and science/technology (7.8%, 2,150), all of which generate punctual programmatic and operational developments that can be transposed into concrete results.



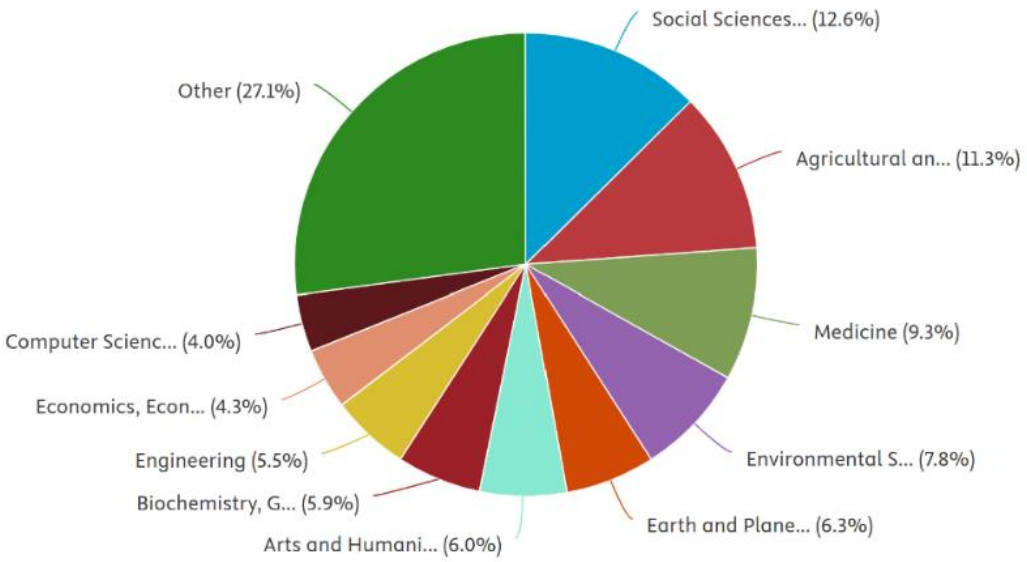
Lastly, by overlooking the first 10 institutions, we can notice that funding is predominantly sourced from within the PRC, with the National Natural Science Foundation of China providing direct assistance to a significant portion of works, more precisely 44.5% (12,193). Furthermore, other major funding agencies include the National Key Research Development Program of China (5.2%, 1,428), the Fundamental Research Funds for the Central Universities (4.5%, 1,247), the National Basic Research Program of China (3.1%, 852), and the Chinese Academy of Sciences (3.0%, 828). Meanwhile, the involvement of the European Union, alongside other national agencies, remains comparatively minimal and accounts for only 0.8% (244), which can prove to be a window of opportunity for further enhancing Eurasian ties and contributing to a shift in academic endeavours.

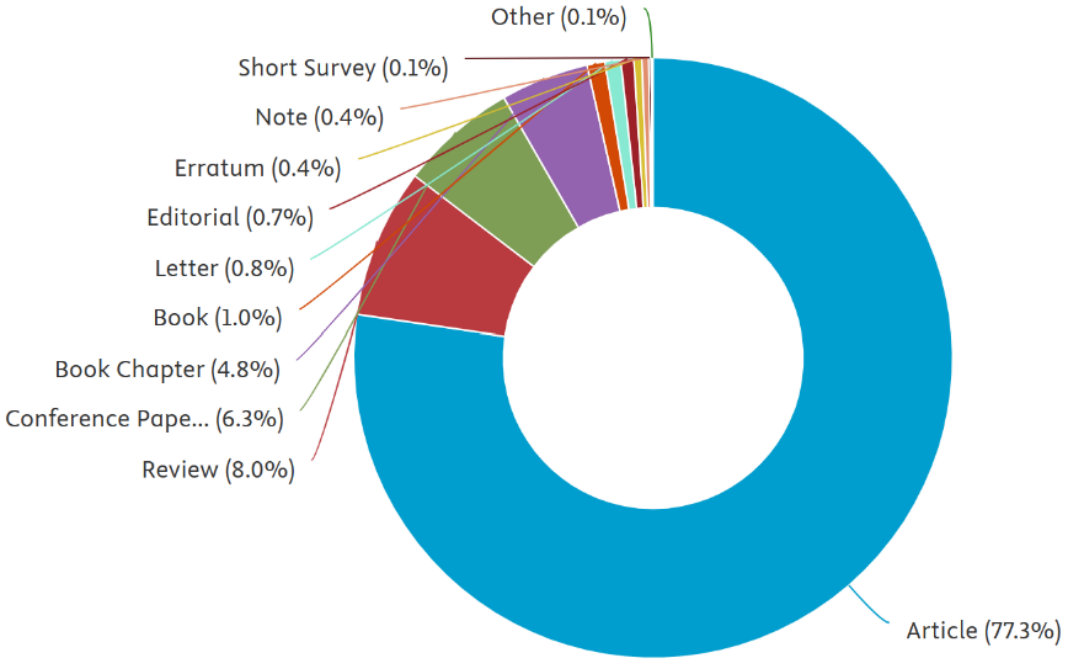
3. *Results from CEE regarding PRC from the Scopus database:*

From this data set, we can observe that academic research from CEE regarding PRC has seen a steady increase, with yearly publications rising from 151 to 1,516 in 2024, leading to a total of 14,750 publications. Hereby, dominant publication type remains journal articles, making up 77.3% (11,405) of the total, followed by reviews at 8.0% (1,186), conference papers at 6.3% (935), book chapters at 4.8% (701), and books at 1.0% (145), which confirms the initial numbers from WoS.



However, due in part to a different clustering algorithm, there are some major changes when it comes to the distribution of subject areas. In turn, the current data reveals that social sciences hold the largest share at 12.6% (3,191), followed closely by agricultural and biological sciences at 11.3% (2,863), medicine at 9.3% (2,350), environmental science at 7.8% (1,973), and earth and planetary sciences at 6.3% (1,590), which can mean that, when clustering all of the social sciences domains, we have a more concentrated distribution that favours areas linked to policy making and societal strategy. Nonetheless, these new subject areas, qualitatively suggest a focus on both the natural sciences and social sciences, albeit slightly unbalanced, when scholars examine the PRC and can showcase a stratification of the research.



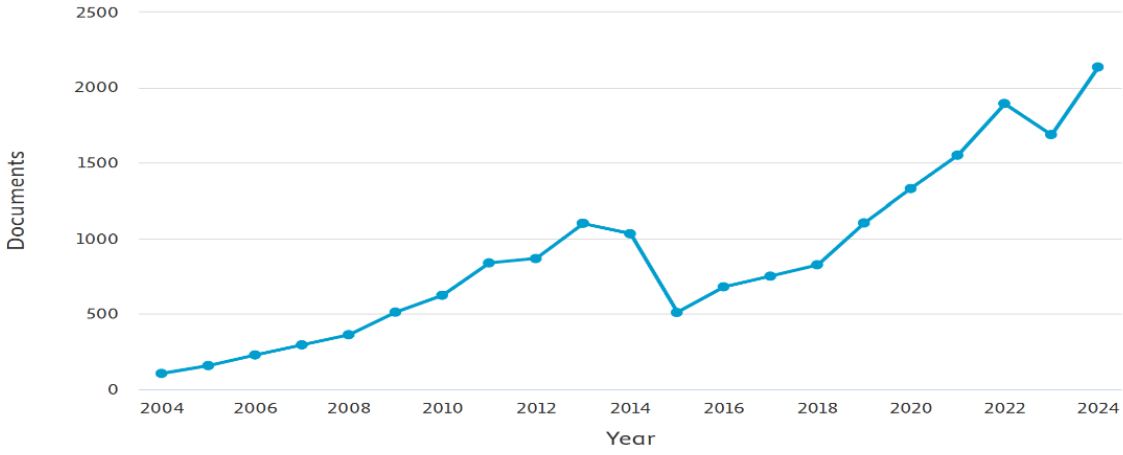


In addition, funding sources, selected from the first 10, indicate a strong reliance on Chinese and European financial support, almost identical to the WoS results. As such, the National Natural Science Foundation of China (1,664 funded studies) is the largest contributor, followed by the Ministry of Science and Technology of the People's Republic of China (974), the European Commission (727), the Chinese Academy of Sciences (370), the National Key Research and Development Program of China (355), the Horizon 2020 Framework Programme (274), and the European Regional Development Fund (268). This spread, which encompasses

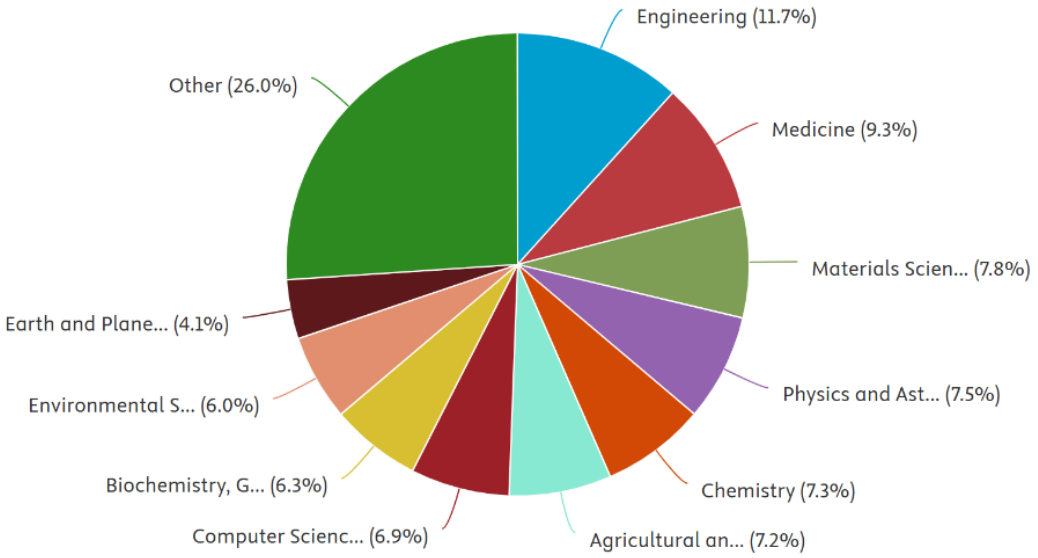
a wider array of European grants, highlights that, when these formats are separated, there is a rather balanced mix of support received by CEE towards the research PRC-related matters, although the limited presence of national organizations indicates the need for increased support.

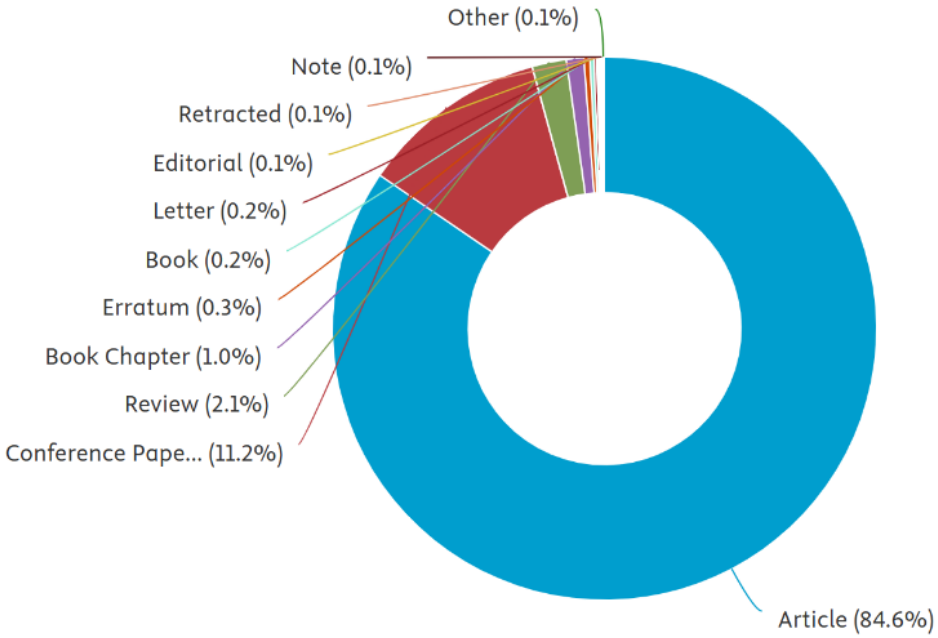
4. Results from PRC regarding CEE from the Scopus database:

From this dataset, publications from PRC concerning CEE have significantly increased, with yearly publications rising from 105 to 2,136 in 2024, accumulating a total of 18,590 publications. Similarly, articles form the largest proportion at 84.6% (15,718), while conference papers account for 11.2% (2,078), reviews for 2.1% (383), book chapters for 1.0% (192), and books for a minor share of 0.2% (45), which validates the initial interpretations from WoS results.



Nonetheless, when it comes to subject areas things remain rather stable, as engineering leads with 11.7% (4,102 publications), followed by medicine at 9.3% (3,248), materials science at 7.8% (2,727), physics and astronomy at 7.5% (2,616), and chemistry at 7.3% (2,546). This strong emphasis on STEM disciplines, alongside a slight increase in social sciences, reconfirms the findings from WoS sources and indicates that research from PRC regarding CEE is more technically oriented compared to the broader thematic scope of CEE research on PRC.



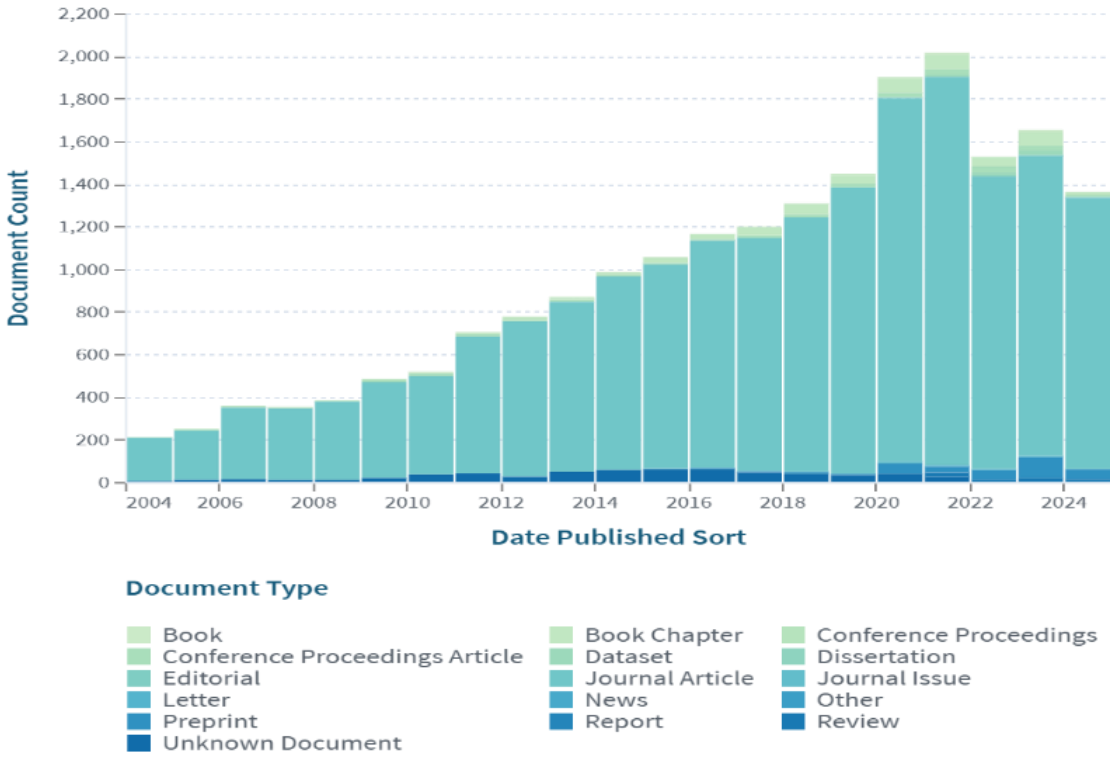


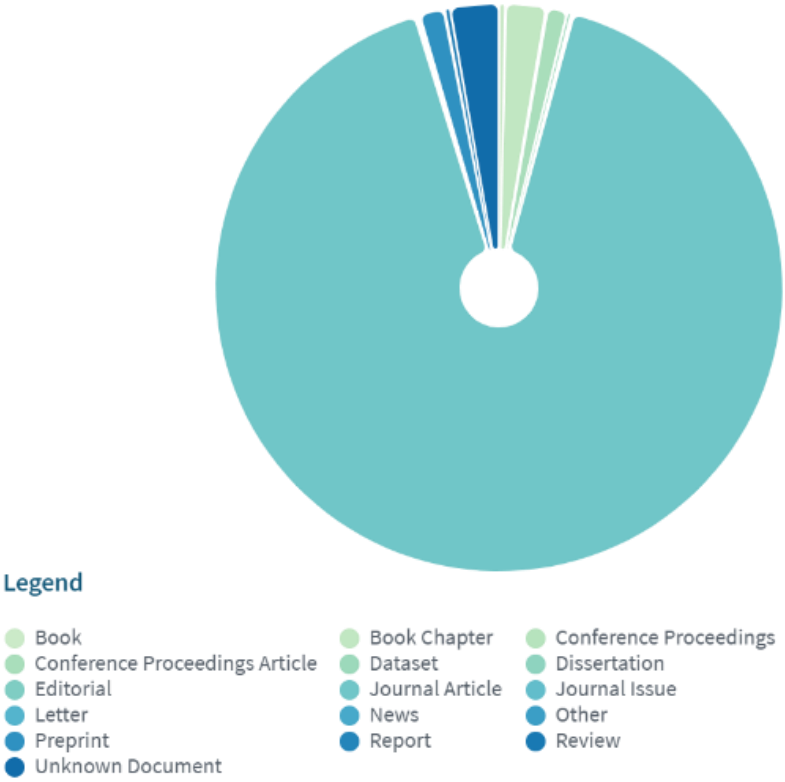
Moreover, the top 10 places of funding agencies are overwhelmingly occupied by PRC actors, as indicated by the WoS interpretations, with the National Natural Science Foundation of China leading at 6,637 funded studies. Other major contributors include the Ministry of Science and Technology of the People's Republic of China (3,021), the National Key Research and Development Program of China (1,204), the Fundamental Research Funds for the Central Universities (702), and the Chinese Academy of Sciences (571). Yet, European funding plays a smaller role, with the European Commission and UK Research and Innovation both contributing 279 grants, indicating a relatively limited Western financial involvement in PRC's

research on CEE, albeit the increased internal interest in the area and the fact that increased intervention could lead to more regionally applicable results and added value.

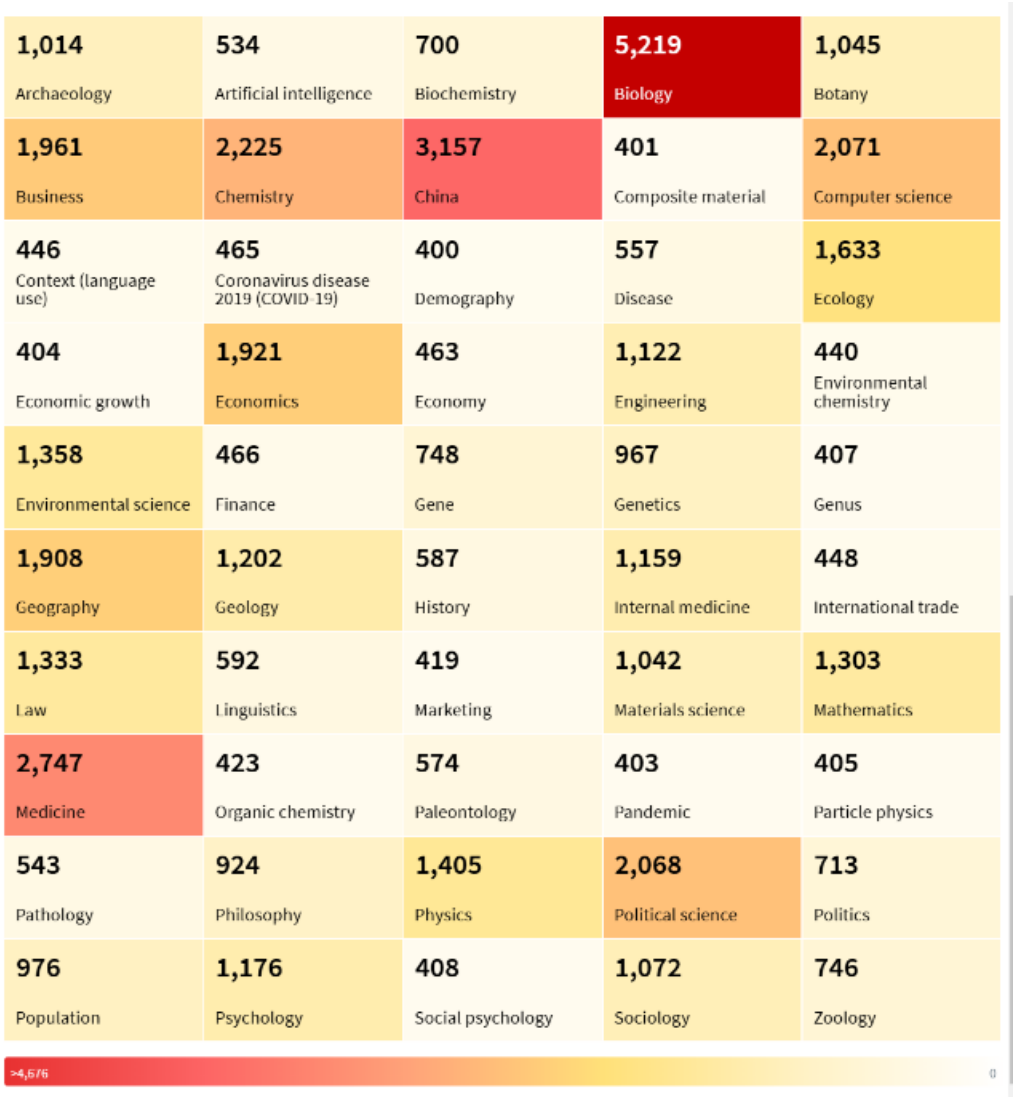
5. Results from CEE regarding PRC from the Lens.org database:

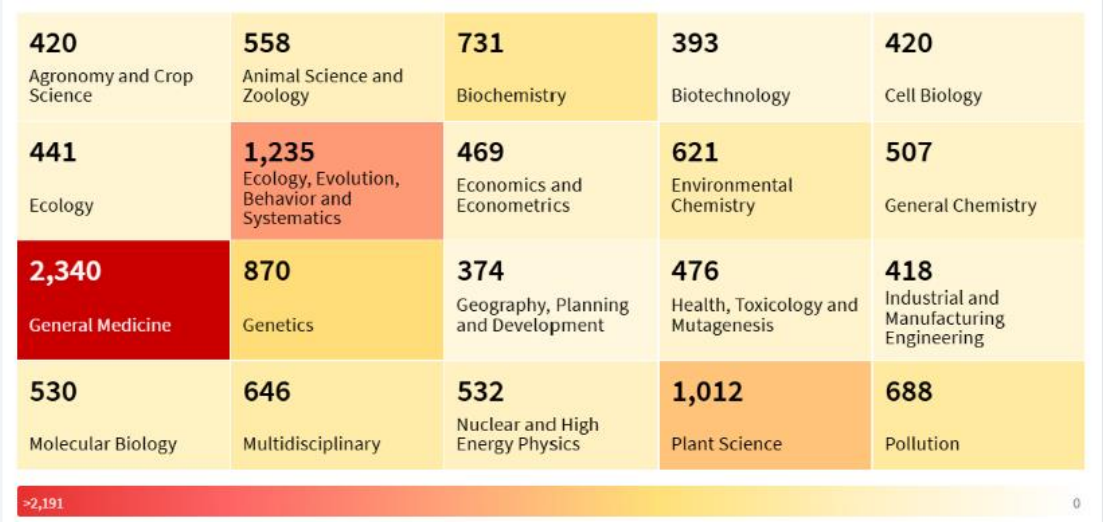
When it comes to this dataset, we can notice that the academic output from CEE regarding PRC has seen significant expansion, with yearly publications increasing from 211 to 1,362, with a peak in 2021 at 2,015, resulting in a total of 20,527 publications, which is explainable to a higher incorporation of adjacently indexed materials. Regardless of this fact, articles dominate at 90.9% (18,673), followed by book chapters at 2.2% (469), preprints at 1.3% (283), conference proceedings at 1.1% (230), and books at 0.3% (78), all of which seem to be in line with WoS and Scopus findings and confirm the overall tendencies of researcher to bring forth faster results.





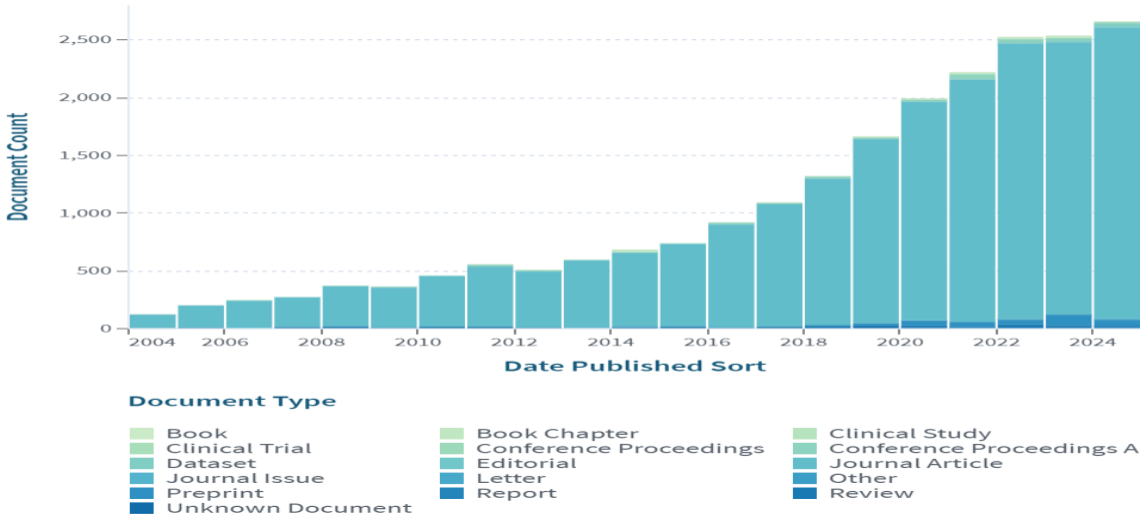
Moreover, reaffirming the previous results, this time the top fields of study reveal a strong focus on biology, accounting for 24.4% (5,219 publications). Additionally, medicine follows at 13.3% (2,747), chemistry at 10.8% (2,225), computer science at 10.0% (2,071), political science at 10.0% (2,068), and business at 9.5% (1,961), which includes a slightly more advanced distribution of social sciences but retains the primacy of STEM. Also, within these fields, the most studied topics include general medicine (11.3%, 2,340), ecology/evolution/behaviour and systematics (6.0%, 1,235), plant science (4.9%, 1,012), genetics (4.2%, 870), biochemistry (3.5%, 731), and pollution (3.3%, 688). These perspectives further accentuate the commonplace and stability of the previously established clusters, reconfirming that CEE research regarding PRC is not necessarily narrowed down but encompasses a higher degree of variety and tends to specialize on key areas that can shape the socio-political and economic landscape.

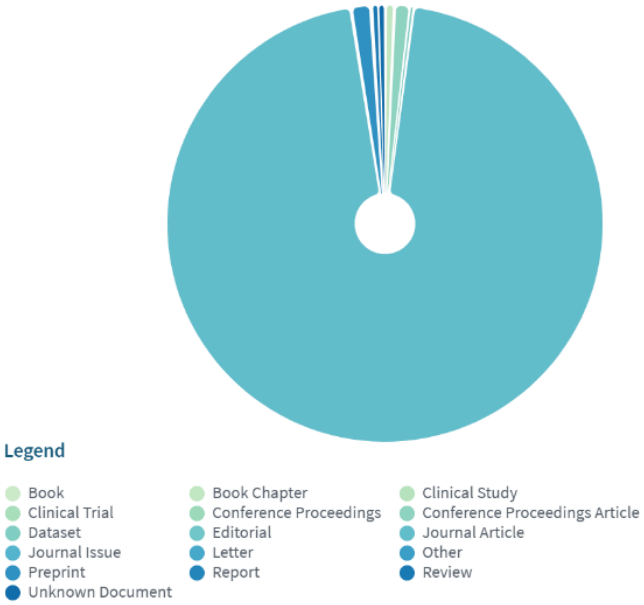

1,014
Archaeology
534
Artificial intelligence
700
Biochemistry
5,219
Biology
1,045
Botany
1,961
Business
2,225
Chemistry
3,157
China
401
Composite material
2,071
Computer science
446
Context (language use)
465
Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19)
400
Demography
557
Disease
1,633
Ecology
404
Economic growth
1,921
Economics
463
Economy
1,122
Engineering
440
Environmental chemistry
1,358
Environmental science
466
Finance
748
Gene
967
Genetics
407
Genus
1,908
Geography
1,202
Geology
587
History
1,159
Internal medicine
448
International trade
1,333
Law
592
Linguistics
419
Marketing
1,042
Materials science
1,303
Mathematics
2,747
Medicine
423
Organic chemistry
574
Paleontology
403
Pandemic
405
Particle physics
543
Pathology
924
Philosophy
1,405
Physics
2,068
Political science
713
Politics
976
Population
1,176
Psychology
408
Social psychology
1,072
Sociology
746
Zoology
>4,676
0


420
Agronomy and Crop Science
558
Animal Science and Zoology
731
Biochemistry
393
Biotechnology
420
Cell Biology
441
Ecology
1,235
Ecology, Evolution, Behavior and Systematics
469
Economics and Econometrics
621
Environmental Chemistry
507
General Chemistry
2,340
General Medicine
870
Genetics
374
Geography, Planning and Development
476
Health, Toxicology and Mutagenesis
418
Industrial and Manufacturing Engineering
530
Molecular Biology
646
Multidisciplinary
532
Nuclear and High Energy Physics
1,012
Plant Science
688
Pollution
>2,191
0

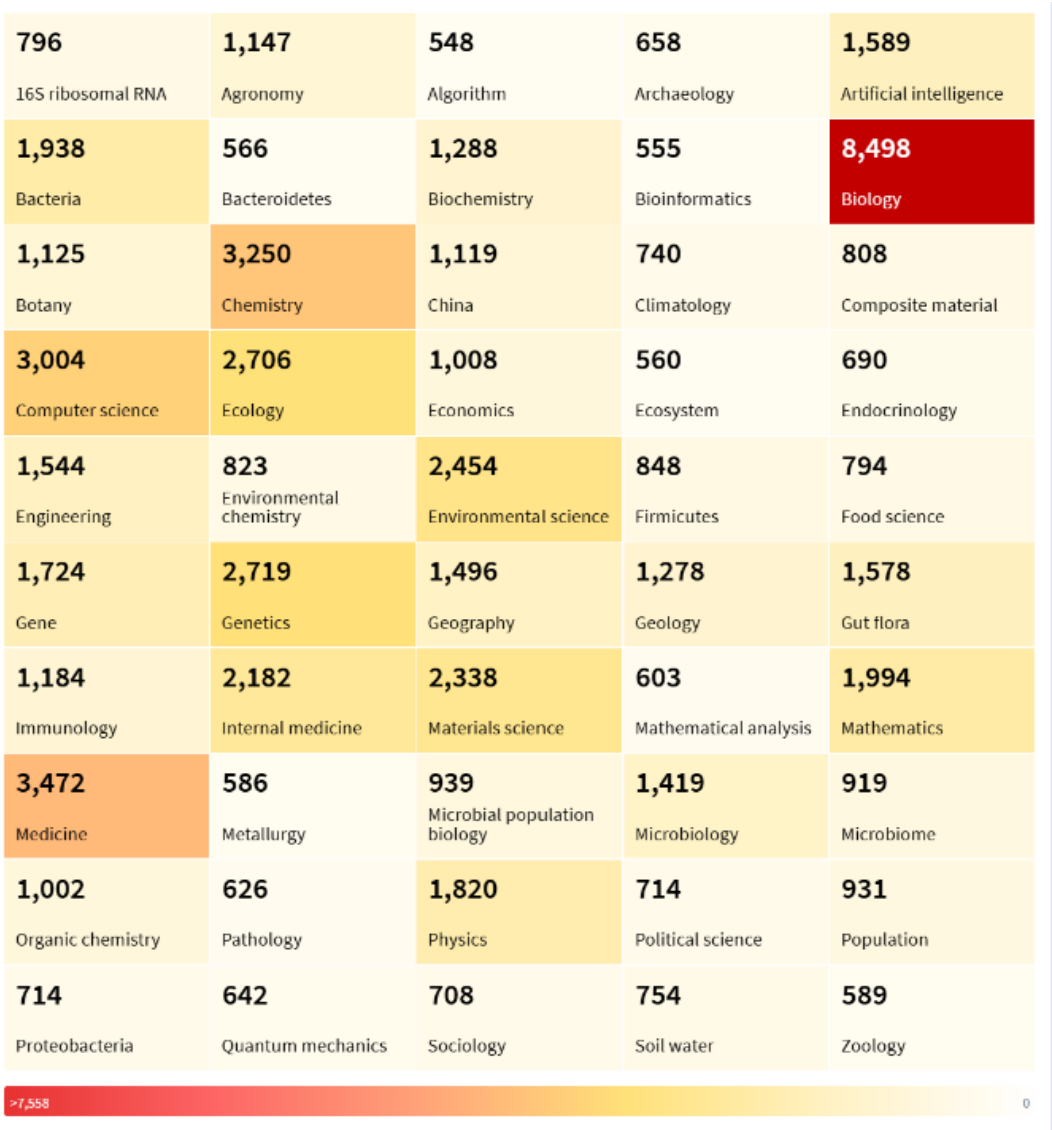
6. Results from PRC regarding CEE from the Lens.org database:

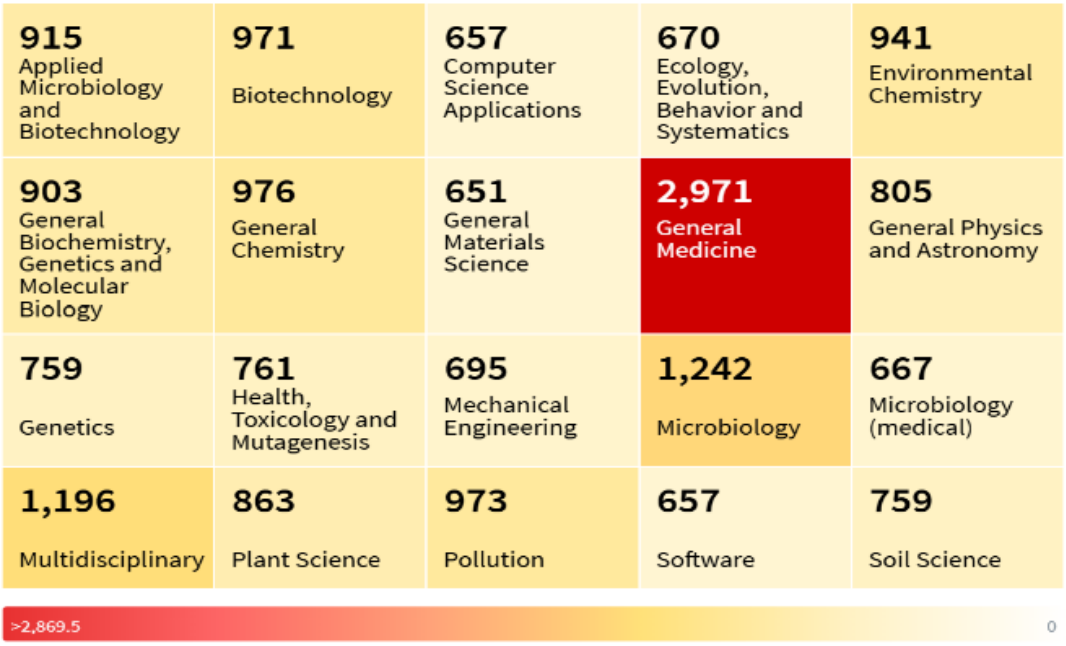
Within this dataset, the publications from PRC on CEE have increased substantially, with yearly publications rising from 120 to 2,656 in 2024, accumulating a total of 21,978 publications, which is just slightly higher than the previous recorded rates across WoS or Scopus. Moreover, articles are by far the most common format, accounting for the vast majority of 20,945 publications, while other formats include preprints (297), conference proceedings (237), book chapters (132), and reviews (100). In turn, this underscores the previous conclusions that PRC scholars tend to focus on peer-review publications





Across this dataset the top fields of study indicate a strong focus on STEM and life sciences, with biology leading at 38.6% (8,498 publications), followed by medicine at 15.7% (3,472), chemistry at 14.7% (3,250), computer science at 13.6% (3,004), genetics at 12.3% (2,719), and ecology at 12.3% (2,706). Furthermore, within these fields, the most studied topics include general medicine (13.5%, 2,971), microbiology (5.6%, 1,242), multidisciplinary research (5.4%, 1,196), general chemistry (4.4%, 976), pollution (4.4%, 973), and biotechnology (4.4%, 971). As such, like the findings from the WoS and Scopus datasets, these trends further indicate a focus on health sciences, environmental studies, and biotechnology, areas that align with PRC's overarching global academic strategies and interests in scientific advancements that can be transposed into concrete growth.





IV. Conclusion: Trends and tendencies across PRC and CEE's knowledge production

The academic relationship between the PRC and CEE is marked by a structural asymmetry when it comes to knowledge production, distinct disciplinary focus and varying degrees of institutional support. Hence, the bibliometric analysis reveals that Beijing has established itself as a more dominant producer of focalised research concerning CEE and regional matters. Meanwhile, CEE' scholarly engagement with the PRC remains more diffuse, covering an entire palette of disciplines, and is constrained by external funding dependencies outside of the neighbourhood. Moreover, this asymmetry is not merely a quantitative imbalance but reflects deeper geopolitical and socio-economic dynamics that shape the intellectual engagement between the two. Hence, the disparity underscores the way knowledge production functions as an extension of global power structures, allowing the PRC to shape some of the programmatic intellectual landscape of CEE while positioning itself as the primary driver of academic discourse on the relationship, due primarily to clustering, stratification and focalisation.

1. The asymmetry in knowledge production: PRC as a knowledge exporter, CEE as a knowledge interpreter

One of the most evident patterns emerging from the data is the overwhelming dominance of highly specialized and concentrated PRC research on CEE, both in terms of total output,

growth trends and dissemination patterns. Thus, PRC consistently generates a significantly higher volume of research concerning CEE than vice versa, and while this might be in part attributable to a higher volume of specialists it also underscores a more concerted effort to focus on the neighbourhood. However, even though CEE might lag behind in this quantitative academic engagement, it doesn't necessarily entail the fact that PRC is actively defining the analytical frameworks nor the nature of the discourse through which CEE is studied, as Western participants continue to dictate the global scholarly narratives (albeit it can showcase the emergence of an Eurasian revival).

Additionally, the disparity in volume, albeit not necessarily in variety, showcases PRC and CEE's broader disparity in scholarly capacity and capability, which is a topic on its own rights. However, CEE's engagement with the PRC, even if somewhat overshadowed, often reacts promptly to Beijing's growing global influence and seeks to proactively shape the narrative through multidisciplinary efforts that have higher cross-field impact, especially in socially inclined matters. Furthermore, CEE's knowledge production is largely shaped by policy concerns, international economic dynamics, and environmental issues, whereas PRC appears to approach its study of CEE from a technological and industrial perspective, focusing on more micro affairs. Nonetheless, this imbalance raises important questions about intellectual agency, as CEE finds itself in the position of studying and interpreting the macro and systemic movements of PRC but not necessarily influencing the latter's academic engagement in return.

Therefore, such balancing acts reinforces PRC's position as an epistemic power, capable of exporting knowledge about other regions while maintaining intellectual sovereignty over its own discourse, even if CEE is not necessarily an entity of its own and doesn't possess the same degree of interventionist freedom. By contrast, CEE appears to function more as a knowledge recipient, absorbing, filtering and interpreting PRC's stances without exerting significant impact on Eurasian academic thought. The consequence is that PRC's perspectives, interests and narratives, regarding CEE, even though highly pinpointed (which can be reverted later), can gain greater traction in the global discourse, while CEE's interpretations remain more diffuse and thus lack the traction needed to influence the broader academic circles.

2. Disciplinary trends: science and technology development vs. social sciences and environmental thought

Beyond the numerical asymmetry, the thematic focus of PRC and CEE research reveals fundamentally different priorities, aligning closely to their national and regional interests. In

turn, PRC research on CEE is overwhelmingly concentrated across the STEM fields, particularly in materials science, engineering, physics or chemistry. Across all databases, over 60% of PRC research concerning CEE falls within these disciplines, highlighting a strong focus on applied sciences, technological development, and industrial applications. This suggests that PRC views CEE primarily as a technological and industrial partner, rather than a central player in global political affairs, overlooking most of the socio-economic particularities of the neighbourhood.

Moreover, this emphasis on STEM disciplines aligns closely with PRC's broader economic strategy, particularly in relation to its BRI aspirations and Eurasian multilateral diplomacy patterns. Thus, by investing in research related to materials science, physics, and engineering, PRC strengthens its role as a global leader in industrial and technological development, seeking to secure innovation, patents or breakthroughs. Yet, the integration of CEE into these research networks indicates a strategic interest in leveraging the region's industrial capacities, infrastructure, and energy resources, rather than engaging with it from a purely ideational standpoint. This means that the production of knowledge in these fields serves as a hard power mechanism, positioning Beijing as an indispensable technical partner for CEE, reinforcing its economic influence through academic collaborations.

By contrast, CEE's overall research on PRC follows a markedly different trajectory, albeit one that we can argue fluctuates based on each country's foreign approaches. Hence, the social sciences, environmental studies, business, and economics dominate the academic engagement emerging from CEE, reflecting a different mode of intellectual inquiry, closely tied to regional and European desiderates. Hence, rather than positioning itself as a technical competitor or industrial collaborator, CEE appears to engage with Beijing through the lenses of systemic developments, economic networks, geopolitical strategy and environmental concerns. This can underscore that CEE's knowledge production concerning PRC is primarily policy-driven, shaped by the need to better understand PRC's positions and calculate possible engagement avenues.

In turn, this thematic divergence reflects a broader structural reality in global academic hierarchies, like the international order in which they operate. Thus, while PRC produces knowledge that aligns with its strategic ambitions in technology and industry, CEE's engagement remains proactively diagnostic, primarily analysing Beijing's approaches and

seeking to capitalize on it through profound refinements. This dynamic metaphorically places CEE in a thinker's position while PRC takes the doer's side.

3. The role of funding: PRC's autarchic self-sufficiency vs. CEE's externalised co-dependence

Another key distinction in PRC-CEE academic engagements, albeit dependent on other Eurasian actors and attributable to economic prowess, stems from the source of research funding. Hence, we can notice that PRC research on CEE is overwhelmingly kept „in-house" and supported by domestic institutions. This reflects a slight academic autarchic behaviour, with Beijing seeking self-sufficiency and the capability to strategically direct its knowledge production outputs to better align with its overall societal desiderates.

By contrast, CEE's research on PRC is significantly more dependent on funds from outside the neighbourhood, particularly from the EU, Western and PRC institutions, while national agencies take only a fraction of the financial burden and are less involved into directing the scholarly process. Hence, across this fragmented funding landscape, experts and practitioners are turned into science „mercenaries", seeking to compete and adjust their priorities to better fit short-term opportunities rather than having long-term consolidation, which is reflected in the diversity of topics and formats employed. Moreover, this financial exposure limits CEE's intellectual autonomy, as it can hinder progress, coerce ideational entrepreneurship or distribute the efforts towards initiatives that do not necessarily benefit the region.

In this context, PRC showcases that it has the financial and institutional resources to (re)define how CEE is studied, both from within and outside the neighbourhood, while CEE actors must navigate external funding constraints that can dilute their self-sufficiency and independence. This issue of academic agency leaves room for CEE to coagulate its scholarly efforts under a locally driven, self-sufficient and autonomous framework that could harmonize regional programmes, facilitate cohesive strategic scientific approaches and ensure a fair distribution of resources.

4. The broader implications for grander academic power dynamics

PRC's dominance in this academic engagement, despite being rather centralised, enables it to shape the contexts in which the region is understood, influencing both the programmatic and operational dimensions of the academic discourse surrounding CEE. Furthermore, the fact

that PRC's research is highly concentrated and specialised indicates that Beijing is interested in practical, industrial and technical applications rather than broad socio-political engagement, seeking outputs that can solidify its long-term economic standing rather than dwindling in fluctuant societal affairs.

Contrastingly, CEE's more policy-oriented approaches suggest that the neighbourhood's outward academic engagement with PRC is driven by forecasting and foresight concerns over complex socio-political and economic processes rather than punctual matters. Additionally, this high discourse diversification means that it relies more on cooperative and collaborative frameworks to push it intellectual outcomes unto the global community, but it retains the ability to spearhead high impact multidisciplinary initiatives that can influence cross-sectorial affairs.

Lastly, these particularised contexts and nuances have profound implications for global academic hierarchies and the international ideational power dynamics. As showcased, regardless of the differences that align with their academic approaches, all these endeavours can lead to the reshaping of regional discourses, influence policy making or the public imagery, enable the engraving of preferred narratives into the global schools of thought, etc. In turn, this demands an even more comprehensive, structured and in-depth analysis of the ways in which the PRC and CEE portray each other, to better capture all societal ramifications that these academically facilitated soft power projections have.

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Annex – Query structure

Employed in the WoS database search:

1. In relation to CEE towards the PRC

((((((TS=(China OR People's Republic of China OR Peoples Republic of China OR PRC OR Chinese OR Sino)) NOT TS=(Repubic of China OR Taiwan))) OR TS=(Beijing OR Tianjin OR Hebei OR Shanxi OR Inner Mongolia OR Liaoning OR Jilin OR Heilongjiang OR Shanghai OR Jiangsu OR Zhejiang OR Anhui OR Fujian OR Jiangxi OR Shandong OR Henan OR Hubei OR Hunan OR Guangdong OR Guangxi OR Hainan OR Chongqing OR Sichuan OR Guizhou OR Yunnan OR Tibet OR Shaanxi OR Gansu OR Qinghai OR Ningxia OR Xinjiang OR Hong Kong OR HongKong OR Macau OR Macao)) OR TS=(Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region OR Tibet Autonomous Region OR Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region OR Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region OR Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region OR Hong Kong Special Administrative Region OR Macau Special Administrative Region)) OR TS=(Běijīng OR Tiānjīn OR Héběi OR Shānxī OR Nèi Měnggǔ OR Liáoníng OR Jílín OR Hēilóngjiāng OR Shànghǎi OR Jiāngsū OR Zhèjiāng OR Ānhuī OR Fújiàn OR Jiāngxī OR Shāndōng OR Hénán OR Húběi OR Húnán OR Guǎngdōng OR Guǎngxī OR Hǎinán OR Chóngqìng OR Sìchuān OR Guìzhōu OR Yúnnán OR Xīzàng OR Shǎnxī OR Gānsù OR Qīnghǎi OR Níngxià OR Xīnjiāng OR Xiānggǎng OR Àomén)) OR TS=(Nèi Měnggǔ Zìzhìqū OR Xīzàng Zìzhìqū OR Guǎngxī Zhuàngzú Zìzhìqū OR Níngxià Huízú Zìzhìqū OR Xīnjiāng Wéiwú'ěr Zìzhìqū OR Xiānggǎng Tèbié Xíngzhèngqū OR Àomén Tèbié Xíngzhèngqū)

2. In relation to the PRC towards CEE

((TS=(Central and Eastern Europe OR Central Europe OR Eastern Europe OR Eastern European OR Central European OR Central and Eastern European OR CEE OR Central Eastern Europe OR C.E.E. OR Post-Communist Europe OR Oriental Europe OR Eastern Bloc OR Batic States OR Visegrad Group OR V4 OR Southeastern Europe OR Three Seas Initiative OR 3SI OR Bucharest Nine OR Bucharest 9 OR East Central Europe OR ECE OR Former Eastern Bloc OR EU-11 countries OR European Union 11 OR Central European Initiative)) OR TS=(Estonia OR Estonian OR Republic of Estonia OR Eesti Vabariik OR Latvia OR Latvian OR Republic of Latvia OR Latvijas Republika OR Lithuania OR Lithuanian OR Republic of Lithuania OR Lietuvos Respublika OR Poland OR Polish OR Republic of Poland OR Rzeczpospolita Polska OR Czechia OR Czech Republic OR Czech OR Republic of Czechia OR Česká republika OR Slovakia OR Slovak OR Slovak Republic OR Slovenská republika OR Hungary OR Hungarian OR Republic of Hungary OR Magyarország OR Romania OR Romanian OR România OR Bulgaria OR Bulgarian OR Republic of Bulgaria OR Република България OR Republika Bălgariya OR Slovenia OR Slovenian OR Republic of Slovenia OR Republika Slovenija))

Employed in the Scopus database search:

1. In relation to CEE towards the PRC

(TITLE-ABS-KEY(China OR "People's Republic of China" OR "Peoples Republic of China" OR PRC OR Chinese OR Sino)

OR TITLE-ABS-KEY(Beijing OR Tianjin OR Hebei OR Shanxi OR "Inner Mongolia" OR Liaoning OR Jilin OR Heilongjiang OR Shanghai OR Jiangsu OR Zhejiang OR Anhui OR Fujian OR Jiangxi OR Shandong OR Henan OR Hubei OR Hunan OR Guangdong OR Guangxi OR Hainan OR Chongqing OR Sichuan OR Guizhou OR Yunnan OR Tibet OR Shaanxi OR Gansu OR Qinghai OR Ningxia OR Xinjiang OR "Hong Kong" OR HongKong OR Macau OR Macao)

OR TITLE-ABS-KEY("Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region" OR "Tibet Autonomous Region" OR "Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region" OR "Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region" OR "Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region" OR "Hong Kong Special Administrative Region" OR "Macau Special Administrative Region")

OR TITLE-ABS-KEY(Běijīng OR Tiānjīn OR Héběi OR Shānxī OR "Nèi Měnggǔ" OR Liáoníng OR Jílín OR Hēilóngjiāng OR Shànghǎi OR Jiāngsū OR Zhèjiāng OR Ānhuī OR Fújiàn OR Jiāngxī OR Shāndōng OR Hénán OR Húběi OR Húnán OR Guǎngdōng OR Guǎngxī OR Hǎinán OR Chóngqìng OR Sìchuān OR Guìzhōu OR Yúnnán OR Xīzàng OR Shǎnxī OR Gānsù OR Qīnghǎi OR Níngxià OR Xīnjiāng OR Xiānggǎng OR Àomén)

OR TITLE-ABS-KEY("Nèi Měnggǔ Zìzhìqū" OR "Xīzàng Zìzhìqū" OR "Guǎngxī Zhuàngzú Zìzhìqū" OR "Níngxià Huízú Zìzhìqū" OR "Xīnjiāng Wéiwú'ěr Zìzhìqū" OR "Xiānggǎng Tèbié Xíngzhèngqū" OR "Àomén Tèbié Xíngzhèngqū"))

2. In relation to the PRC towards CEE

(TITLE-ABS-KEY("Central and Eastern Europe" OR "Central Europe" OR "Eastern Europe" OR "Eastern European" OR "Central European" OR "Central and Eastern European" OR CEE OR "Central Eastern Europe" OR "C.E.E." OR "Post-Communist Europe" OR "Oriental Europe" OR "Eastern Bloc" OR "Baltic States" OR "Visegrad Group" OR V4 OR "Southeastern Europe" OR "Three Seas Initiative" OR 3SI OR "Bucharest Nine" OR "Bucharest 9" OR "East Central Europe" OR ECE OR "Former Eastern Bloc" OR "EU-11 countries" OR "European Union 11" OR "Central European Initiative")

OR TITLE-ABS-KEY(Estonia OR Estonian OR "Republic of Estonia" OR "Eesti Vabariik" OR Latvia OR Latvian OR "Republic of Latvia" OR "Latvijas Republika" OR Lithuania OR Lithuanian OR "Republic of Lithuania" OR "Lietuvos Respublika" OR Poland OR Polish OR "Republic of Poland" OR "Rzeczpospolita Polska" OR Czechia OR "Czech Republic" OR Czech OR "Republic of Czechia" OR "Česká republika" OR Slovakia OR Slovak OR "Slovak Republic" OR "Slovenská republika" OR

Hungary OR Hungarian OR "Republic of Hungary" OR Magyarország OR Romania OR Romanian OR România OR Bulgaria OR Bulgarian OR "Republic of Bulgaria" OR "Република България" OR "Republika Bălgariya" OR Slovenia OR Slovenian OR "Republic of Slovenia" OR "Republika Slovenija"))

Employed in the Lens.org database search:

1. In relation to CEE towards the PRC

(title:(("China" OR "People's Republic of China" OR "Peoples Republic of China" OR "PRC" OR "Chinese" OR "Sino") NOT ("Republic of China" OR "Taiwan") OR ("Beijing" OR "Tianjin" OR "Hebei" OR "Shanxi" OR "Inner Mongolia" OR "Liaoning" OR "Jilin" OR "Heilongjiang" OR "Shanghai" OR "Jiangsu" OR "Zhejiang" OR "Anhui" OR "Fujian" OR "Jiangxi" OR "Shandong" OR "Henan" OR "Hubei" OR "Hunan" OR "Guangdong" OR "Guangxi" OR "Hainan" OR "Chongqing" OR "Sichuan" OR "Guizhou" OR "Yunnan" OR "Tibet" OR "Shaanxi" OR "Gansu" OR "Qinghai" OR "Ningxia" OR "Xinjiang" OR "Hong Kong" OR "HongKong" OR "Macau" OR "Macao") OR ("Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region" OR "Tibet Autonomous Region" OR "Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region" OR "Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region" OR "Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region" OR "Hong Kong Special Administrative Region" OR "Macau Special Administrative Region")) OR abstract:(("China" OR "People's Republic of China" OR "Peoples Republic of China" OR "PRC" OR "Chinese" OR "Sino") NOT ("Republic of China" OR "Taiwan") OR ("Beijing" OR "Tianjin" OR "Hebei" OR "Shanxi" OR "Inner Mongolia" OR "Liaoning" OR "Jilin" OR "Heilongjiang" OR "Shanghai" OR "Jiangsu" OR "Zhejiang" OR "Anhui" OR "Fujian" OR "Jiangxi" OR "Shandong" OR "Henan" OR "Hubei" OR "Hunan" OR "Guangdong" OR "Guangxi" OR "Hainan" OR "Chongqing" OR "Sichuan" OR "Guizhou" OR "Yunnan" OR "Tibet" OR "Shaanxi" OR "Gansu" OR "Qinghai" OR "Ningxia" OR "Xinjiang" OR "Hong Kong" OR "HongKong" OR "Macau" OR "Macao") OR ("Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region" OR "Tibet Autonomous Region" OR "Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region" OR "Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region" OR "Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region" OR "Hong Kong Special Administrative Region" OR "Macau Special Administrative Region")) OR full_text:(("China" OR "People's Republic of China" OR "Peoples Republic of China" OR "PRC" OR "Chinese" OR "Sino") NOT ("Republic of China" OR "Taiwan") OR ("Beijing" OR "Tianjin" OR "Hebei" OR "Shanxi" OR "Inner Mongolia" OR "Liaoning" OR "Jilin" OR "Heilongjiang" OR "Shanghai" OR "Jiangsu" OR "Zhejiang" OR "Anhui" OR "Fujian" OR "Jiangxi" OR "Shandong" OR "Henan" OR "Hubei" OR "Hunan" OR "Guangdong" OR "Guangxi" OR "Hainan" OR "Chongqing" OR "Sichuan" OR "Guizhou" OR "Yunnan" OR "Tibet" OR "Shaanxi" OR "Gansu" OR "Qinghai" OR "Ningxia" OR "Xinjiang" OR "Hong Kong" OR "HongKong" OR "Macau" OR "Macao") OR ("Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region" OR "Tibet Autonomous Region" OR "Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous

Region" OR "Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region" OR "Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region" OR "Hong Kong Special Administrative Region" OR "Macau Special Administrative Region")))

2. In relation to the PRC towards CEE

(Title: (("Central and Eastern Europe" OR ("Central Europe" OR ("Eastern Europe" OR ("Eastern European" OR ("Central European" OR ("Central and Eastern European" OR (CEE OR ("Central Eastern Europe" OR (C.E.E. OR ("Post-Communist Europe" OR ("Oriental Europe" OR ("Eastern Bloc" OR ("Baltic States" OR ("Visegrad Group" OR (V4 OR ("Southeastern Europe" OR ("Three Seas Initiative" OR (3SI OR ("Bucharest Nine" OR ("Bucharest 9" OR ("East Central Europe" OR (ECE OR ("Former Eastern Bloc" OR ("EU-11 countries" OR ("European Union 11" OR "Central European Initiative")))