

## **- Curriculum Vitae -**

**Sebastian Heilmann**

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### **EMPLOYMENT**

Trier University, Germany

Full Professor for Comparative Government / Political Economy of China, 1999-  
Chair of the Department of Political Science, 2006-2008

Federal Institute for Asian Affairs, Hamburg

Senior Researcher for China's domestic affairs (with additional assignments as an advisor on  
China policy to the German federal government), 1994-1999

### **EDUCATION**

University of Muenster, Germany

Habilitation thesis and exam, 1999 (additional academic qualifications necessary for senior  
professorial positions in Germany; habilitation thesis: "The Politics of Economic Reform in  
China and Russia" [in German])

The Saar University, Saarbruecken, Germany

PhD (Dr.rer.oec.), Faculty of Law and Economics, 1993 ("summa cum laude"; dissertation:  
"Social Protest in the PRC" [in German]; supervisor: Prof. Dr. Juergen Domes)  
PhD Program in public law, economics and political science, 1991-1993

Tuebingen University, Tuebingen, Germany

M.A. Political Science, 1990 ("with distinction")

Coursework in Political Science, Chinese Studies, Comparative Linguistics and Economics,  
1984-1986/1988-1989

Nanjing University, People's Republic of China, 1986-1988

Chinese language training, coursework in Contemporary Chinese History

### **CURRENT FIELDS OF RESEARCH**

Political foundations of economic development

Economic governance in China in a diachronic perspective

Policy Experimentation in comparative perspective

## FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

- Federal Ministry of Education and Research, principal investigator (national research network on "Governance in China"; research group on Chinese technology and industrial policies), 2010-2014
- Harvard-Yenching Coordinate Research Scholar Fellowship (Harvard University), April-September 2009
- German National Research Roundation, research grant (formulation and implementation of policies against money laundering in China), 2007-2009
- Harvard-Yenching Coordinate Research Scholar Fellowship (Harvard University), February-March 2007
- German National Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG), research grant (facilitating a full year of research at Harvard University), 2005-2006
- German National Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG), research grant (financial market regulation), 2004-2006
- German National Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG), research grant (transnational cooperation with China), 2003-2005
- Volkswagen Foundation, research grant (business associations in China), 1999-2001
- Federal Ministry of Education and Science, research grant (Asian studies in Europe), 1998-1999
- Helmut Storz Foundation, research grant (government promotion of biotechnology in China), 1997-1998
- Dissertation Fellowship, German National Academic Foundation ("Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes"), 1991-1993
- China Fellow of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), 1986-1988
- Undergraduate and Graduate Fellowship of the German National Academic Foundation ("Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes"), 1985-1990

## SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

### ***Books and Monographs***

- Transformative Governance: Planning and Experimentation in China's Economic Rise* [book manuscript in preparation].
- Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011 (co-edited with Elizabeth J. Perry).
- Außenpolitik und Außenwirtschaft der Volksrepublik China (co-authored with Dirk Schmidt)*. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag (2008, updated and expanded edition 2011).
- The Political System of the PRC* [in German]. Wiesbaden: VS, two editions, 2002 and 2004.
- The Chinese Equity Market* [in German] (co-editor). Hamburg: Institute for Asian Affairs, 2002.
- The Politics of Economic Reform in China and Russia* [in German]. Hamburg: Institute for Asian Affairs, 2000.
- Social Protest in the PRC: The April Fifth Movement and the Counter-Cultural Revolution of the 1970s* [in German]. Hamburg: Institute for Asian Affairs, 1994.
- Nanjing 1976: Spontaneous Mass Movements in the Wake of the Cultural Revolution* [in German]. Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1990.
- The Political System of the PRC in Transition* [in German]. Hamburg: Institut for Asian Affairs, 1996 (reprints in 1997, 1998 and 1999).
- Turning Away from the Cultural Revolution in China: Political Grass-Roots Activism in the Mid-Seventies*. Stockholm: Center for Pacific Asia Studies, Stockholm University, 1996.

### **Articles in Journals (selection)**

- "The Limits of Policy Diffusion: Introducing International Norms of Anti-Money Laundering Into China's Legal System", *Governance*, Vol.24, No.4 (Oct 2011).
- "Making Plans for Markets: Policy for the Long Term in China", *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, June 2011.
- "Politikdiffusion im Schatten des Parteistaats: Die Integration Chinas in das internationale Regime zur Geldwäschebekämpfung", *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, No.2, 2010, 251-274.
- „通过试验制定政策：中国独具特色的经验”，*当代中国史研究 Dangdai Zhongguo shi yanjiu*, Vol.17, No.3, May 2010, 103-112.
- „中国异乎常规的政策制定过程:不确定情况下反复试验“，*开放时代 (Guangzhou)*, No.4, July 2009, 41-48.
- „Maximum Tinkering under Uncertainty: Unorthodox Lessons from China“, *Modern China*, Vol.35, No.4, July 2009, 450-462.
- „中国经济腾飞中的分级制政策试验“，*开放时代 (Guangzhou)*, No.5, September 2008, 31-51.
- „Volksrepublik China: Neue Aufsichts- und Regulierungsmaßnahmen zur Geldwäschebekämpfung nach dem FATF-Beitritt“, *Recht der Internationalen Wirtschaft*, Vol.54, No.6, 2008, 352-364 (with Nicole Schulte-Kulkmann).
- "Policy Experimentation in China's Economic Rise", *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol.43, No.1, March 2008, 1-26.
- "From Local Experiments to National Policy: The Origins of China's Distinctive Policy Process", *The China Journal*, No.59, January 2008, 1-30. (Reprinted in Andrew Kipnis, Luigi Tomba and Jonathan Unger (eds.), *Contemporary Chinese Society and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2009), Vol.II.
- "Policy-Making and Political Supervision in Shanghai's Financial Industry", *The Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol.14, No.45, November 2005, 643-668.
- "Regulatory Innovation by Leninist Means: Communist Party Supervision in China's Financial Industry", *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 181, March 2005, 1-21.
- "'The Color of Power Has Changed': Controversies over Constitutional Reform in the PRC" [in German], *China aktuell*, January 2004, pp.33-39 (with N. Schulte-Kulkmann and L. Shih).
- "China's politico-economic shadow system: Smuggling networks and WTO accession" (with I.Gras and K.Kupfer) [in German], *China aktuell*, July 2000, pp.769-784.
- "On the Way to a Post-Communist Society: ‚Cadre Capitalism‘ in the PRC" [in German], *Zeitschrift fuer Politik*, Vol.43, No. 4, 1996, pp.375-393.
- "Administrative Reforms in the PRC: From a Cadre System to a Civil Service?" [in German], *China aktuell*, July 1996, pp.670-678.
- "Greater China: Economic Integration between the PRC, Hong Kong and Taiwan" [in German], *Nord-Sued aktuell*, Vol.X, No.2, 1996, pp.332-341.
- "China's Efforts at Political Modernization", *ISEAS Trends* (Singapore), No.60 (August 26-27, 1995).
- "The Suppression of the April Fifth Movement and the Persecution of 'Counterrevolutionaries' in 1976", *Issues and Studies*, Vol.30, No.1 (January 1994), pp.37-64.
- "The Social Context of Mobilization in China: Factions, Work Units, and Activists during the 1976 April Fifth Movement", in: *China Information*, Leiden, Vol.VIII, No.3 (Winter 1993-1994), pp.1-19.

### **Articles in Books (selection)**

- "National Planning and Local Technology Zones in China", in: Barry Naughton (ed.), *The Political Economy of China's Technology and Innovation Policies* (forthcoming) (co-authored with Lea Shih and Andreas Hofem).
- „Experience First, Laws Later: Experimentation and Breakthroughs in the Restructuring of China's State Sector“, in: Jean Oi (ed.), *Going Private in China: The Politics of Corporate Restructuring and System Reform*. Baltimore, MD: The Brookings Institution, 2011, 95-118.

- “Embracing Uncertainty: Guerrilla Policy Style and Adaptive Governance” (co-authored with Elizabeth Perry), in: Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth J. Perry (eds.), *Mao’s Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011, 1-29.
- “Policymaking Through Experimentation: The Formation of a Distinctive Policy Process”, in: Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth J. Perry (eds.), *Mao’s Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011, 62-101.
- “Economic Governance: Authoritarian Upgrading and Innovative Potential”, in: Joseph Fewsmith (ed.), *China Today, China Tomorrow: Domestic Politics, Economy, and Society*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010, 109-126.
- “Patterns of Policy Experimentation in China’s Economic Rise”, in: Guangzhou Academy of Social Sciences (ed.), *China on the Move: Selected Papers from Open Times (2000-2008)*, Guangzhou: Academy of Social Sciences, 2010, 137-152.
- “Managing the Crisis: A Comparative Assessment” (co-authored with Rolf J. Langhammer), in: Bertelsmann Foundation (ed.), *Managing the Crisis: A Comparative Analysis of Economic Governance in 14 Countries*, Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2010, 9-31.
- “Managing the Crisis: China Country Report” (co-authored with Dirk Schmidt), in: Bertelsmann Foundation (ed.), *Managing the Crisis: A Comparative Analysis of Economic Governance in 14 Countries*, Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2010.
- „Weltwirtschaftliche Integration und politisch-administrative Modernisierung: Die Volksrepublik China als lernendes autoritäres System?“, in: Hanns W. Maull und Martin Wagener (Hg.), *Globalisierung in Ostasien*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2009, 155-168.
- „People’s Republic of China“ [in German], in: Siegmund Schmidt, Gunter Hellmann, Reinhard Wolf (eds), *Handbuch zur deutschen Außenpolitik*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2006, 580-590.
- „A Revised Model of the East Asian Developmental State“ [in German], in: Verena Blechinger-Talcott et al. (eds.), *Politik in Japan: System, Reformprozess und Außenpolitik im internationalen Vergleich*. Frankfurt: Campus, 2006, 103-116.
- “Totalitarian Heritage and Democratic Transition in China and Russia” [in German], in Paul Kevenhoerster and Dietrich Thraenhardt (eds.), *Democratic Rule after the Experience of Totalitarianism and Dictatorship*. Muenster: LIT, 2003, 79-100.
- “The Lessons of the Asian Financial Crisis: Structural Reform and State Capacity in China“ [in German], in Werner Draguhn (ed.), *Wirtschaftliche Potenziale und politische Stabilität in Asien*. Hamburg: Institute for Asian Affairs, 2001, 57-75.
- “China Between National Interest and Interdependence“ [in German], in Wolfgang Wagner (ed.), *Jahrbuch Internationale Politik 1995-1996*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999, 258-269.
- “Associations and Interest Representation in the PRC: The Market-Induced Transformation of a Leninist State“ [in German], in Wolfgang Merkel and Eberhard Sandschneider (eds.), *Systemwechsel IV: Die Rolle von Verbänden im Transformationsprozess*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1998, 279-328.
- “Modernization without Democracy?“ [in German], in Carsten Herrmann-Pillath/Michael Lackner (eds.), *Laenderbericht China: Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im chinesischen Kulturraum*. Bonn: Bundeszentrale fuer politische Bildung, 1998, 186-205.
- “Making Human Rights Work in China“, in: Christoph Mueller-Hofstede/Ruediger Sielaff (eds.), *China’s International Role: Key Issues, Common Interests, Different Approaches*. Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 1997, 156-166.
- “The PRC’s Domestic Transition and International Rise” [in German], in Joachim Betz und Stefan Bruene (eds.), *Jahrbuch Dritte Welt 1997*. Munich: Beck, 1996, 184-199.
- “Beijing and the 1997 Takeover of Hong Kong: Centralized Political Control and the Promise of Autonomy”, in Dieter Cassel/Carsten Herrmann-Pillath (eds.), *The East, the West, and China’s Growth*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1995, 233-248.

### **Working Papers (selection)**

- “Dealing With Economic Crisis in 2008-09: The Chinese Government’s Crisis Management in Comparative Perspective”, *China Analysis* 77 (Jan. 2010) (co-authored with D. Schmidt).
- „China als lernendes autoritäres System: Experimentierende Staatstätigkeit und wirtschaftliche Modernisierung“, *China Analysis* 63 (Juli 2008) (publiziert in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Sonderseite „Themen und Thesen der Wirtschaft“, 28-29. Juni 2008).
- “Experimentation under Hierarchy: Policy Experiments in the Reorganization of China’s State Sector, 1978-2008”, CID Working Paper No.172, *Center for International Development, Harvard University*, June 2008.
- “Policy Experimentation in China’s Rise”, paper prepared for the New England China Seminar, Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University, April 2006.
- “U.S.-China Legal Cooperation – Parts I-III”, *China Analysis* 42-44 (April 2005), co-authored with Nicole Schulte-Kulmann.
- “Law-Making in the PRC, 1998-2003: Introduction and Overview on Selected Laws and Regulations” [in German], *China Analysis* 29 (Jan. 2004) (with N.Schulte-Kulmann and L.Shih).
- „The 2004 Constitutional Reforms in the PRC: Translation and Commentary“, *China Analysis* 32 (March 2004) [in German] (with N.Schulte-Kulmann and L.Shih).
- “民主选举在中国的推行：为什么中国的选举应该在国家的层面而不是在地方层面上开始“ [Introducing democratic elections in China: Why China should start with elections at the national level, not at the local level], *China Analysis* 25 (June 2003).
- “Capital Market Reform as an Economic and Political Process”, REGEM Analysis 1 (May 2003).
- “From a ‘Class Party’ to a ‘Catch-all Party’: The 16<sup>th</sup> Party Congress of the CCP” [in German], *China Analysis* 20 (January 2003).
- “The Chinese Stock Market: Pitfalls of a Policy-driven Market”, *China Analysis* 15 (Sep. 2002).
- “The Chinese Nomenklatura in Transition: A Study Based on Internal Cadre Statistics of the Central Organization Department of the Chinese Communist Party” (with S.Kirchberger), *China Analysis* 1 (June 2000).

### **RESEARCH GROUPS / RESEARCH ADMINISTRATION**

- Principal investigator in the national research network on "Governance in China"; head of research group on Chinese technology and industrial policies, 2010-2014 (funded by German Federal Ministry of Education and Research) ([www.chinapolitik.de](http://www.chinapolitik.de)).
- Director of the Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies, Trier University, 2000-2003 and 2005-
- Member of the Board of the German Association of Asian Studies, 2003-2011
- Member of the Board of the “Bertelsmann Transformation Index” (long-term project assessing the status of transition toward democracy and market economy and the quality of political management in 116 political systems, [www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de](http://www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de)), 2001-
- Member of the Editorial Boards of “Modern China” and “Journal of Current Chinese Affairs”
- Co-Organizer of the “Research Group on Equity Market Regulation” (dealing with the political economy of equity markets in a comparative perspective, [www.regem.org](http://www.regem.org)), 2001-2008
- Editor of „China Analysis“ (academic online publication dealing with contemporary political and economic developments in the Greater China region, [www.chinapolitik.de](http://www.chinapolitik.de)), 2000-
- Founder and head of the multi-disciplinary “Research Group on the Political Economy of China” ([www.chinapolitik.de/dokumente/profil\\_forgrup.pdf](http://www.chinapolitik.de/dokumente/profil_forgrup.pdf)), 2000-

## **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

Trier University, Professor, Political Science Dep./Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies, 1999-  
Courses on comparative politics; Chinese and East Asian politics and political economy;  
comparative political economy of market transition; analysis of formal and informal institu-  
tions; financial market regulation in comparative perspective

University of Heidelberg, Invited Lecturer, Department of Chinese Studies, 2007/8 and 2008/9  
Courses on economic governance and the national innovation system in China

University of Muenster, Invited Lecturer, Department of Political Science, 1997-1999  
Courses on Chinese politics, comparative political transition and democratization

University of Hamburg, Invited Lecturer, Sinology, 1995-1997  
Courses on China's political system

University of Tuebingen, Teaching Assistant, Chinese Studies, 1988-1990  
Chinese language tutorials

## **LANGUAGES**

German, English, Chinese (reading, writing and speaking)

French, Classical Greek, Latin, Russian (basic reading capability)