

## ***Curriculum Vitae***

***Dr. Tim Rühlig***

### ***Work***

2019-	Research Fellow, Swedish Institute of International Affairs
2018-2019	Research Analyst, Swedish Institute of International Affairs
2018	Coordinator of the European Think Tank Network on China's (ETNC) on behalf of the Swedish Institute of International Affairs
2013-2018	Associate Research Fellow at the Cluster of Excellence "The formation of normative orders" at the University of Frankfurt, Chair on International Organizations
2013	Quality management AVO Carbon
2009-2011	Student research assistant at the Chair of International Relations and theories of global orders (Prof. Deitelhoff) at the University of Frankfurt
2005-2006	Voluntary social year at the Kibbutz Kvutzat Shiller, Rehovot/Israel

### ***Education***

2013-2019	PhD International Relations, University of Frankfurt/Germany ("summa cum laude")
2009-2012	M.A. International Studies/Peace and Conflict Research, University Frankfurt/Technical University of Darmstadt (very good, 1.0)
2006-2009	B.A. Political Science, Cultural Anthropology, University of Tübingen (very good, 1.2)
1992-2005	General schooling, University Entrance Examination (very good, 1.0)

### ***Visiting Research Fellowships***

2018	Visiting Research Fellow European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS), Brussels
2016	Visiting Research Fellow China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU), Beijing
2015	Visiting Research Fellow Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm
2015	Visiting Research Fellow, Department for Asian Studies, University of Stockholm

### ***Scholarships***

2014-2017	PhD scholarship foundation "Polytechnische Gesellschaft"
2007-2012	Student scholarship Heinrich Böll foundation

## ***Academic Projects***

### *Ongoing research:*

#### *1. China's Standard Power (2019-)*

For long, technical standardization was perceived as being a dry and non-political issue. In recent years, however, the People's Republic of China has identified the strategic value of technical standardization. The country has reformed its domestic standardization system, massively increased its presence in international standardization agencies such as ISO/IEC and 3GPP and aims to internationalize Chinese technical standards bilaterally along the Belt and Road. This project aims to better understand China's technical standardization strategy through the lenses of the rising geopolitical conflict between the US and China.

#### *2. The emerging tech rivalry between China and the US – a challenge for Europe (2019-)*

The world is witnessing an emerging confrontation over high technology between the United States and China. The first chapter is the debate over Huawei and the roll-out of 5G mobile infrastructure. This project aims to develop a genuinely European perspective on the subject acknowledging that Europe has been caught at its back foot.

#### *3. State and future of EU-China relations (2018-)*

In this ongoing research, I investigate the current realignment of the EU's China policy. The transatlantic partnership is questioned in times of Donald Trump's presidency leading debates within the EU how to strategically reorganize the relations with China. The project focuses on the role of political values and the question whether the EU will carry out a principled policy towards China and what such a policy would entail.

### *Previous research:*

#### *1. PhD project: "State control in times of China's rise. How the vulnerability of the party-state shapes China's approach to state control and selective international integration" (2013-2018):*

The dissertation empirically engages with China's foreign policy and its approach to international cooperation. The main question is whether, when, how far and why China is willing to limit its sovereign state control as a result of its international affairs. After a review of Chinese approaches to the concept of state and state control as well as a description of the party-state's structure, the dissertation empirically analyzes China's ambivalent approach to state-control in three concrete case studies. These case studies range from economic affairs and party-state permeation of China's economy to issues of security and political authority. The research is based on the investigation of the existing literature, official documents, speeches and 150 in-depth interviews with advisors, think tanks, regulators, politicians, experts and activists conducted in the period 2015-2017 in the People's Republic of China. I demonstrate the importance of concerns for the Chinese Communist Party's legitimacy and the internal decision-making structure. In addition, I point out mechanisms of foreign policy-making and argue that China's approach to sovereign state control is largely the result of perceived vulnerabilities. This counters the widespread perception of China acting purely out of a position of strength and confidence. The dissertation concludes with implications for the future of international relations and international cooperation.

#### *2. China's political economy, the threat of a financial crisis and its implications for CCP rule (2014-2018):*

China's political economy is characterized by a strong intertwining of political and economic elites. While this has allowed the Chinese Communist Party to maintain comprehensive control over all spheres of public life including the economy (even after formal privatization) it is increasingly coming at significant economic costs. Lowering growth rates, known as the "new normal", demonstrate that China's state-permeated capitalism is well equipped to cope with crises but less efficient in "normal" times. In the financial system, the state-permeated character of the economy is particularly visible and decisive culminating in significant systemic risks. This research project investigates whether the widespread prediction that China will face a severe financial crisis will come true or what alternatives the People's Republic could take and its implications for one-party rule.

3. *Present and future of Hong Kong politics (2016-2017):*

Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China that guarantees the city a "high degree of autonomy". This far-reaching autonomy has led to the fact that Hong Kong is the only free society under the control of the Chinese Communist Party. In recent years, demonstrations for freedom, democracy and the preservation of fundamental civil liberty rights in Hong Kong have led to a clash of interests between large parts of Hong Kong's society and the rulers in Beijing. This research project aims to understand how Beijing deals with a free society under its own sovereignty and keeps track of the developments in the Special Administrative Region.

4. *MA thesis: "In Search of a Good Political Order for the 'Chinese Century'. Comparing the Governments' with Chinese Internet Users' Perspectives" (2012):*

The MA thesis analyzes online discussions in China's most popular forums and blogs on Confucianism, Socialism and Maoism and compares them with the official party-state's discourses on the same concepts.

5. *Student research project: "Virtuous by Weakness? The Role of Small Developing States in the 2010 Cancún Climate Negotiations" (with J. Pfister & H. Weismann) (2010-2011):*

This project is based on secondary literature, primary sources and interviews conducted with diplomats at the UNFCCC Conference in Cancun. It investigates strategies of small states in international negotiations.

6. *BA thesis: "'... giving back humanity ...' A long way to sustainable peace. Measuring success and failure of storytelling projects after large scale violent conflict" (2009):*

This research project investigates material from reconciliation projects in Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland and South Africa and proposes a procedural evaluation scheme which may help to retrace the process of reconciliation and estimate its success or failure.

7. *Student research project: "Conditions of Success for Religious Framing in Violent Domestic Conflicts. Case studies of Pakistan" (with G. Burger & L. Kaufmann) (2008-2009):*

The project investigates the role of religious leaders and narratives for violent domestic conflicts in two Pakistani provinces (Punjab and the Afghan-Pakistani border region).

## ***Publications (as of June 2019)***

### *Books:*

Forthcoming: State control in times of China's rise. How the vulnerability of the party-state shapes China's approach to state control and selective international integration.

2017: Which political order do Chinese internet users and the government want? Implications for the international political order of the “Chinese century”. Saarbrücken: Éditions Universitaires Européennes.

*Edited report*

2018 (with Björn Jerdén, Frans-Paul van der Putten, John Seaman, Miguel Otero, and Alice Ekman): Political values in EU-China relations. European Think Tank Network on China – annual report. (presented at the European Parliament, the European Council, the European Commission, and the European External Action Service among others; on the list of “recommended readings” by the US State Department for all diplomatic missions of the United States).

*Articles, papers and think tanks publications:*

2019 (forthcoming) (with John Seaman and Daniel Voelsen): 5G and the US-China Tech Rivalry – a test for Europe’s future in the digital age. How can Europe shift from back foot to front foot? SWP Comment. Berlin: SWP.

2019 (forthcoming): How principled is the EU’s China policy? Paris: Ifri.

2019: Hong Kong and the quest for judicial independence, in: Utrikesmagasinet, June 2019. Stockholm: The Swedish Institute of International Affairs.

2019 (with Björn Fägersten): China’s Standard Power and its Geopolitical Implications for Europe. UI Brief 2/2019. March 2019. Stockholm: UI.

2018: Political values in EU-China relations. Towards a “principled” or a “pragmatic” approach?, in: Tim Nicholas Rühlig, Björn Jerdén, Frans-Paul van der Putten, John Seaman, Miguel Otero, and Alice Ekman (eds.): Political values in EU-China relations. European Think Tank Network on China – annual report. Brussels: ETCN, pp. 91-95.

2018 (with Björn Jerdén, Frans-Paul van der Putten, John Seaman, Miguel Otero, and Alice Ekman): Introduction: The role of political values in Europe-China relations in: Tim Nicholas Rühlig, Björn Jerdén, Frans-Paul van der Putten, John Seaman, Miguel Otero, and Alice Ekman (eds.): The role of political values in EU-China relations. European Think Tank Network on China – annual report. Brussels: ETCN, pp.9-22.

2018: The EU’s New China Resolution: Principled but not strategic, in: The Diplomat. 13 September 2018.

2018: How China Approaches International Law: Implications for Europe. May. Brussels: European Institute for Asian Studies.

2018: China’s international relations in the new era of Xi Jinping. Implications for Europe. EU-Asia at a Glance. March. Brussels: European Institute for Asian Studies.

2018: Is China turning into an aggressive or responsible power under Xi Jinping? Implications for European policy-making. Policy Brief. Stockholm: Institute for Security and Development Policy.

2017: “Expressing my attitude and doing something impossible to make it happen...” Listening to the Voices of Hong Kong’s Umbrella Movement Protesters, in: Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An International Journal 3:2, pp. 747-818

2017: “Honkongs framtid på en skör tråd”, in: Kinarapport 1/2017.

2017: The deceptive promise of Xi Jinping’s control? The 19th Chinese Communist Party Congress and its implications for the “new era”. UI Brief. Stockholm: Swedish Institute of International Relations.

2017: China and the new International Order. Op-ed, 1 October 2017. EU-Asia Centre. Brussels.

2016: “Do You Hear the People Sing” “Lift Your Umbrella”? Understanding Hong Kong's Pro-democratic Umbrella Movement Through YouTube Music Videos, in: China Perspectives 4/2016, pp. 59-68.

2016: “Do You Hear the People Sing” “Lift Your Umbrella”? Le Mouvement des parapluies vu à travers ses chansons protestataires, in: Perspectives Chonoises 4/2016, pp. 59-68.

2016 (with Johan Lagerkvist): The Mobilization of Memory and Tradition: Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement and Beijing's 1989 Tiananmen Movement, in: Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An International Journal 2:2, pp. 735-774.

2016: How Does China Impact the Future International Political Order? Conceptual Reflections of the “China Model” in Light of China's Fragmented Polity, in: International Relations and Diplomacy 4:1, pp. 48-59.

2016: (with Christopher Daase, in German): Sicherheitskultur nach 9/11 [Security Culture after 9/11], in: Masala, Carlo/Fischer, Susanne (eds.): Innere Sicherheit nach 9/11. Sicherheitsbedrohungen und (immer) neue Sicherheitsmaßnahmen? [Internal Security after 9/11. Security threats and (always) new security measures?] Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften; pp. 13-33.

2015: Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement in Search of Self-determination. UI Paper, No. 3, November 2015. Stockholm: Swedish Institute of International Relations.

2010 (with Katharina Grabietz, Fee Müller and Markus Patberg, in German): “Internationale Politische Theorie” [International Political Theory], in: Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik 4/2010.

#### *Blog posts:*

Blog posts in German and English appeared in Bretterblog, TRAF0 blog, Carta, Menschenhandel heute, UI Blog and Sicherheitspolitik-blog.

Topics include the transformation of Germany's international role, inner European migration, the Ukrainian conflict, China and the Middle East, etc. Apart from commentaries, it includes interviews and reviews of political books and documentaries. Book

#### ***Conference Papers, lectures, panel discussions:***

2019: In search for a European Approach to the BRI – the Role of Scandinavia. Presentation at the Seminar “The Scandinavian direction in transcontinental connectivity: the role of Latvia” by the New Silk Road Programme of the Latvian Institute of International Affairs, 20 June 2019, Riga.

2019: China's geopolitics of technical standardization – a challenge for Europe? Presentation at the High-level meeting on technical standardization, organized by the Romanian Presidency of the European Council and the Romanian institute of technical standardization (ASRO), 7 June 2019, Bucharest.

2019: 5G, Europe and the tech rivalry between the US and China, Policy Lunch at the German Permanent Representation of Germany to the EU, 6 June 2019, Brussels.

2019: State and future of Europe-China Relations. Electoral Recess Training of the European Parliamentary Research Service 2019. Workshop on EU-China Relations. 21 May 2019, European Parliament, Brussels.

2019 (with Daniel Voelsen): 5G, Europe and the tech rivalry between the US and China, SWP Expert Exchange, 16 May 2019, Brussels.

2019: The geopolitics of standards – flow control. Presentation at Ericsson, 7 May 2019, Stockholm.

2019 (with Maja Björk): China’s rise in 5G standardization – a (security) challenge for Europe? European workshop on technical standardization at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 26 April 2019, Stockholm.

2019: The geo-politics of technical standardization. European workshop on technical standardization at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 26 April 2019, Stockholm.

2019 (with Björn Fägersten): China’s Standard Power. Swedish Roundtable on technical standardization at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 18 February 2019, Stockholm.

2019: China’s Belt and Road Initiative: Towards a New International Order? UI Seminar, 9 May 2019, Stockholm.

2019: Neither norm-breaker nor norm-maker: China’s successes in shaping international legal norms. ISA Annual Convention, 29 March 2019, Toronto/Canada.

2019: China, the mysterious country – notes on the domestic-foreign nexus of Chinese policy-making. Presentation at “Folk och Försvar”, 5 March 2019, Stockholm.

2019: How is China’s Rise Changing the Liberal International Order? Lecture at the University of Exeter. 6 February 2019, Exeter.

2019: Europe-China Relations. The Role of Political Values. UI Seminar. 5 February 2019, Stockholm.

2019: Political values in Europe-China relations. Presentation at the European Parliament, 30 January 2019, Brussels.

2019: The role of political values in the policies of the European Union and its member states towards China. Presentation for COASI representatives of the European Council at the Royal “Egmont” Institute, 29 January 2019, Brussels.

2018: European foreign policy and the role of political values in China. Presentation at the European External Action Service (EEAS), 7 December 2018, Brussels.

2018: Assessing of EU projects promoting political value in China. Presentation with the European Commission (DG DEVCO), 6 December 2018, Brussels.

2018: Political values in Europe-China Relations. Presentation of the ETNC Report 2018 at the Royal “Egmont” Institute, 6 December 2018, Brussels.

2018: What is ahead of China’s financial system? Implications for Europe. Panel discussion at the European Institute for Asian Studies, 27 March 2018, Brussels.

2018: China’s assertiveness in the South China Sea. Discussant to a book presentation by Dr Richard Turcsanyi at the European Institute for Asian Studies, 1 March 2018, Brussels.

2016: Legitimate governance and state sovereignty in times of globalization. Europe and China in search of a “new deal”. Lecture at the China Foreign Affairs University, Peking.

2016: How Does China Deal with the Quest of Self-determination in Greater China? The case of Hong Kong. Presented at the International Studies Association Asia-Pacific conference, 25-27 June 2016, City University of Hong Kong.

2016: How does China impact the future international political order? Conceptual reflections of the “China model” in light of China’s fragmented polity. Presented at the International Studies Association Asia-Pacific conference, 25-27 June 2016, City University of Hong Kong.

2015/2016: How do Chinese view global governance? Chinese perspectives on the legitimacy deficit of global governance. Presented at the SWEPSA-conference, 14-16 October 2015, Stockholm as well as at the European Workshops in International Studies (EWIS-Workshops) of the European International Studies Association, 6-8 April 2016, Tübingen.

2015: “Do you hear the people sing” “Lift your umbrella”? Understanding Hong Kong’s pro-democratic umbrella movement through YouTube music videos. Presented at the Popular culture and World Politics Conference, 20-21 November 2015, University of Westminster, London. Lectures on similar topics have been held at the institute of media studies at the University of Stockholm, the institute of Political Science at Frankfurt University and the institute of China Studies at the University of Stockholm.

2015: Theorizing? IR in Contemporary China: The Role of Norms, Processes and Practices. Presented at the International Studies Association Annual Convention, 18-21 February 2015, New Orleans.

2015: Norms and Processes: Thinking about IR in Contemporary China. Presented at the International Studies Association Annual Convention, 18-21 February 2015, New Orleans.

2015: China and its WTO commitments: How interest groups shape China’s trade policies. Presented at the Global South Caucus conference of the International Studies Association, 8-10 January 2015, Singapore.

2015: Who makes Chinese foreign policy? Bringing the administration, think tanks and society back in. Presented at the Global South Caucus conference of the International Studies Association, 8-10 January 2015, Singapore.

2014: Zwischen Norm und Pragmatismus: Der Staat und die neue chinesische Weltordnung? (in German) [Between norm and pragmatism: The state and the new Chinese world order] Presented at the workshop "Der Staat in globaler Perspektive", 30-31 January 2014, University of Kassel.

2013: From Red Hacker Attack to Ai Weiwei’s “Dumbass”. Mapping Chinese cyber-activism and online debates and its impact on Chinese foreign relations. Presented at the “Pirating the Popular. Popular Culture and World Politics Conference”, 13-14 September 2013, Stockholm.

2011: (with Matthias Dembinski and Britta Weiffen): Rising States in a World of Regions. Regional Policies of the United States and China in Comparison. Presented at the ECPR General Conference, Reykjavik, 25-27 August 2011.

2011: Western Individual or Chinese Collective? Towards a Trans-Individual Understanding of Morality. Presented at the young researchers conference “Liberalism: Causing or Resolving the Crises of Global Governance?”, 3-6 February 2011, Goethe University of Frankfurt am Main.

## ***Other***

*2000-*

### *German history and responsibility*

Over more than a decade, I volunteer in a memorial project of a former satellite concentration camp close to Frankfurt Airport. I aim to continue supporting the project as best as pos-

sible from Stockholm. We research and commemorate the history of the concentration camp and – most importantly – the Jewish Hungarian women who were incarcerated in the camp in 1944. Over the years, we established a foundation which initiates human rights projects for young people from all over the world.

*2014-2017*

*Minorities, migration, integration and poverty*

In collaboration with other citizens of Frankfurt, I helped a Romanian Roma family who used to be homeless and illiterate to make a living, go to school, and integrate into the society. This gives me a daily and practical idea of inner-EU migration with all its benefits and challenges. It has provided me with a concrete understanding of discrimination and poverty in a rich central European society.

*2014-2016*

*Academic teaching*

I have taught BA and MA classes in German and English at Frankfurt University on issues of international relations, state theory, Chinese and Hong Kong affairs.

*2002-2008*

*Internships*

Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (editing assistance “Peace Report”) (2008), journal “Osteuropa” (editing assistance) (2007), House of Literature Frankfurt (organization of lectures) (2005), integrative kindergarten in Hamburg (2003), German public television “ZDF” (2002).

*2008-2017*

*Extra training*

Project management (2017), rhetorical training (2015/16), graphic design (2016), social scientific analysis of social media (2013), mediation & negotiation (2010), arguing against right-wing extremism (2008)

*Other qualifications*

Administrative organization of conferences and workshops at Frankfurt University including the annual conference of the German association for academic scholars working on international relations and political theory.

Initiation of an international young researchers conference in Frankfurt including funding, concept, call for papers, speakers and key notes, administrative organization etc.

Good with computers including experience with professional layout software.