# Implications of China's State-Driven Industrial Planning: International Crises, Techno-nationalism, and Grand Strategies

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# International Crises Shaping Domestic Institutions & Policies

#### An "outside-in approach"

- The exigencies of the international structure shape domestic institutions, interest coalitions, ideological propensities, policy preferences (Gourevitch 1978)
  - Foreign pressures and military conflict promote the formation of revolutionary states (Skocpol 1979)
  - War makes modern states, which, in turn, build up warmaking capacities (Tilly 1993)
  - Opportunities and crises of global commerce shape domestic interest preferences ranging from protectionism to free trade (Rogowski 1989; Keohane & Milner 1996)
- This project explores how external crises have shaped China and Taiwan's technonationalisms, state-driven S&T strategies, and, relations with the United States

#### Research Design

- Comparative methods
  - Case studies, content analysis, process-tracing
  - Compare across different eras of Leninist states in China & Taiwan:
    - *KMT China 1927-49*
    - KMT Taiwan 1949-88 (CKS and CCK)
    - CCP China 1949-present (Mao, Deng, Jiang, Hu, Xi)
- Thick descriptions and analyses seek to mitigate spurious and invalid factors

### **Key Arguments**

- External crises foster a whole-of-national campaign to boost indigenous S&T planning, development & self-sufficiency, bolstering defense industrialization and national security
- Yet, how S&T agencies and approaches are implemented, targeted aims and relations with the United States depend on the following intervening variables:
  - Plan-rational vs. plan-ideological developmental states (Johnson 1982)
  - Status-quo technonationalism vs. revisionist technonationalism
- Policy implications: International instability, varied elite ideologies and S&T responses may reinforce or undermine Sino-American relations

China's	Chiang Kai-shek's	Xi Jinping's
party-states	KMT in the 1930s	CCP today
International crises	War of resistance	Great-power
international crises		
	against Imperial Japan	competition and
	("existential threats")	economic
		weaponization
		("existential threats")
Developmental state types	Plan-rational	Plan-ideological
(including autonomy of	development in	development in
technocrats and	S&T/industrial policy;	S&T/industrial policy;
economic planners)	Relative autonomy	Party-state
	from the party-state	Interventionism
Technonationalist	Status-quo and	Revisionist and
perspectives	defensive	assertive

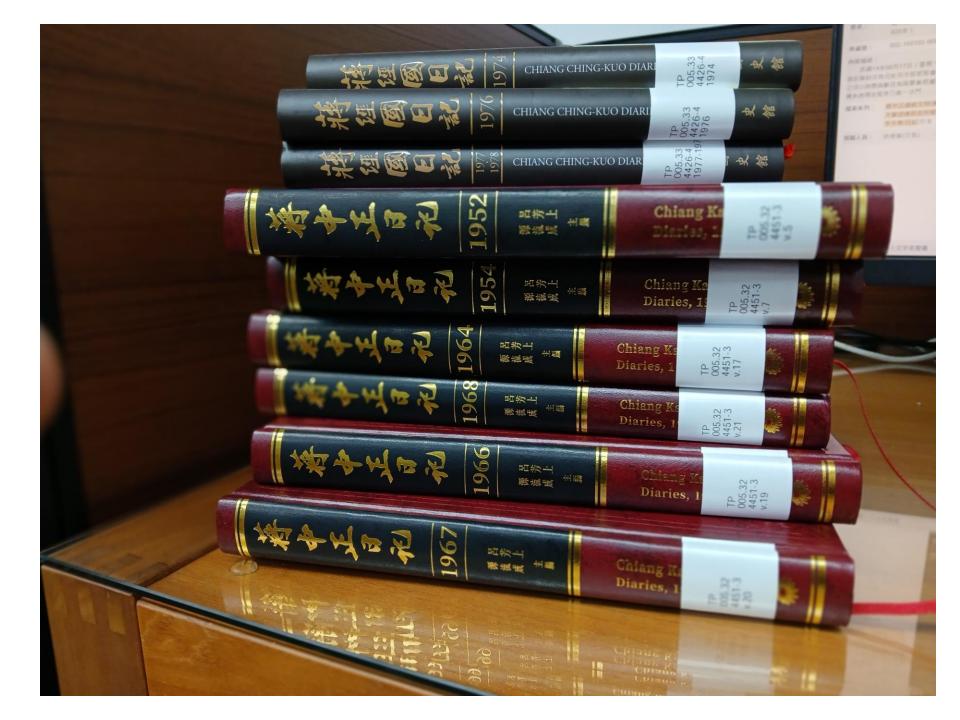
## The Diaries (*riji*) of Chiang Kai-shek (蔣中正日記) and Chiang Ching-kuo (蔣經國日記)

- Chiang Kai-shek (1887-75): Military, political leader & president of the Republic of China (ROC), who ruled mainland China (1927-49) and Taiwan (1950-75)
- Chiang Ching-kuo (1910-88): Military, political leader, & ROC president (1978-88)
  - CKS kept diaries from 1917-72; CCK from 1937-79
  - In 2004, their original diaries were deposited at Stanford's Hoover Institution for public viewing and research
  - In 2023, the Chiang family, Hoover, and Taiwan agreed to return the diaries back to the ROC Academia Historica (guoshiguan 國史館). Since 2024, opened up for public viewing and research in Taiwan
- Politics & economics, WWII, KMT-CCP civil war, the Cold War, Taiwan Strait, diplomatic ties with US/foreign powers









## 十二月十五日 星期一 氣候:晴

**警音發聯已經三周未痊,本晨檢查聲帶,似已復元,但講話仍有聯音也。終** 日修正軍會訓詞。

#### +二月十六日 星期二 氣候:晴 沉悶

题:一、俄共在聯大資格審查會十五日忽提我資格案,已遭否決,但其用 何在,乃以此示好於匪乎。二、匪社發表「俄共代表回俄須一星期,故暫 會」之宣傳,其北平會議尚有繼開之意乎。三、匪宣表其上周與美接觸對 式會談之說。四、美宣表其駐琉球鎚矛飛毛腿飛彈之撤走,其向匪示好乎 可修正軍會訓詞第二次稿完,頗費心神,但此為建軍必要之指示耳。 同樣

念趨向,必須有所慰藉寄託,若不是 充滿精神之樂,就會與世俗為友,就必以名利為重,這是 人之常情,一個沒有中心思想的人很容易被環境所化矣。

#### 3月2日 星期六

分別約見運璿、昌煥二兄,談商經濟與外交問題。處

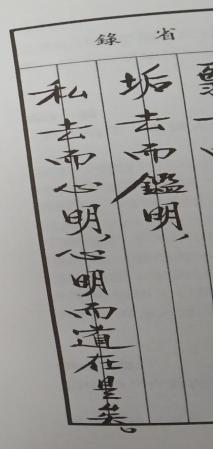
陰 七海

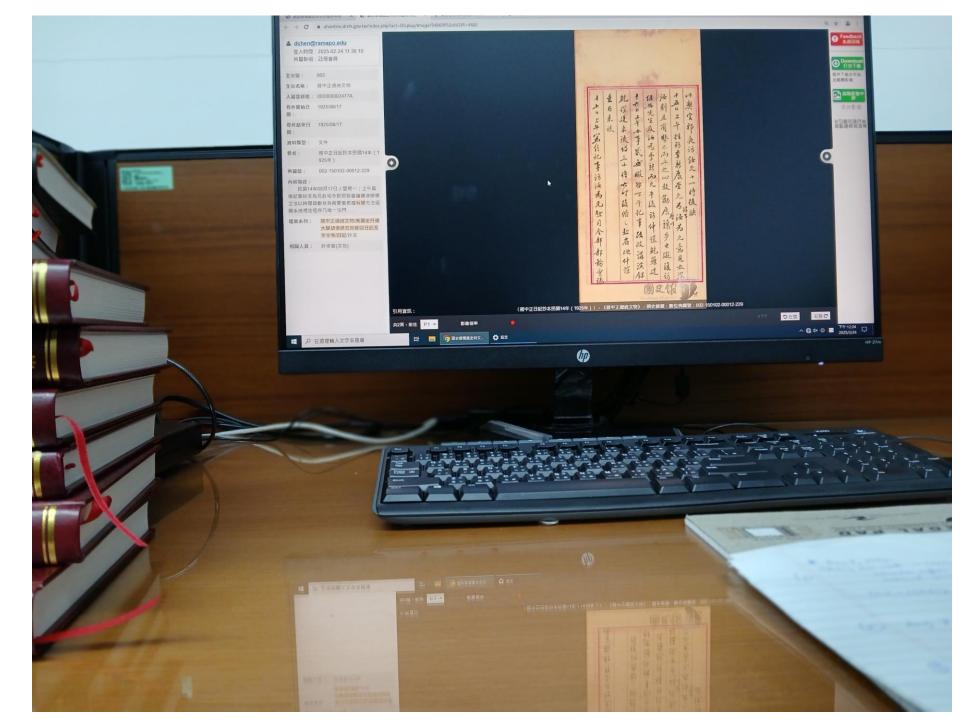
理一星期來之積案。

近來常感口渴,飲水甚多,想必糖尿病加重,由於工 作之忙碌,無暇檢查體格,只好等一等再看。一週來天氣 反常,下雪降霜,平地農作物大受其害,池中之魚大部已 被凍死,聞之至為傷痛,每天在祈求氣候轉暖,但是陰雲 不散,今日且又下雨,見了寒雨有如點點滴心頭,令我內 心寒。今後財經情況將如何?物價將如何?國際物價將 會發生什麼變化?皆為未知數,這些問題都在使我為之 擔心,一切亦只有盡我之心力耳。花許多時間在無聊的見 客閒談,這是多麼的痛苦,凡是政客都是會講話的,講話 成了政客的專長。

#### 上星期反省錄

盛極者,衰之兆也。聖人以心導耳目,小人以耳目導 心。翳去而目明,垢去而鑑明,私去而心明,心明而道在 是矣。





之善一多次人的鬼鬼的人 33. 要為馬 **火** 年 軍事傷年之際最宜失為 一言喪和的一言一事记载其 日記 民國一

胜 给 (純用朱) 也 月二 日 星期日 温度

月二十五日 星期多