nists, but not very much. Here, the Communists formed a peasant army, and trained it in guerrilla warfare.

In 1937, the Japanese again invaded China and quickly gained control of the eastern coastal areas. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese fled westward. Chiang and the other members of the government fled to Chongqing (Chungking), in southwest China near the Chang River, where a new capital was set up. Both the Nationalists and Communists refused to fight each other while the Japanese took over China. Chiang and the Communists agreed to join forces to fight the Japanese. Mao’s soldiers were successful in using guerrilla tactics against the Japanese.

During the eight years of war, Chiang’s Nationalists were severely battered. Not only was the country exhausted, but the morale of the people was low. Help from the United States allowed Chiang to survive the war, but not to solve the many economic and social problems.

**Civil War and the Success of the Communist Revolution**

When the Japanese surrendered in 1945, the Communists were not yet strong enough to take over all of China. They agreed to work together with the Nationalists to rebuild China.

The United States was very anxious to bring peace to China. In December 1945, President Truman sent General George Marshall to visit China and to try to set up a lasting peace. Unfortunately, Marshall was not successful. As a result, the United States decided to help the Nationalists. Between 1945 and 1948, the United States poured more than $2 billion worth of arms into China. This was in addition to the $1.5 billion loaned to the Chinese during the war.

Full scale civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists broke out in 1947. In 1949, the Communists won a smashing victory over the Nationalists and set up a Communist government to rule all of mainland China. They have been in power ever since. Chiang Kai-shek fled from China to the island of Formosa (Taiwan).

**Reasons for the Communist Victory**

Why did the Communists win? In 1945, Communist forces numbered only about 1 million, while the Nationalists had over 3 million. The money which the United States sent to China went to the Nationalists. How could they lose? There are many reasons for the Communist victory:

1. The Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek failed to use its power well. Many officials in his government were corrupt. They were more interested in becoming rich than in doing anything for the Chinese people. The Chinese people were poor and tired of war. All they wanted was a little land to farm and a chance to live in peace. Chiang did not pay any attention to what the people wanted. As a result, the people were unhappy and did not have confidence in the government of Chiang.

2. The Communists lived for many years under very difficult conditions. Many of the Communists had been killed by Chiang. For years they lived in caves in Yenan, where they were protected from attacks. During this time, they built up their strength and discipline so they would be ready for the final battles when they came. They became tough and fearless, and ready to die for what they believed in.

3. The Communists had many good generals. In 1948, the Communists won one battle after another. Nanjing (Nanking), Hangzhou (Hankow), Shanghai, Guangzhou
(Canton), and Chongqing (Chungking) fell into their hands. In many places thousands of Nationalist soldiers surrendered without firing a shot, or deserted to the Communists.

4. Another important reason that the Communists were successful was their policy toward the Chinese peasants. In October 1947, the Communists called on the Chinese people to get rid of the Chiang government and build a new China. At the same time, they carried out a land reform, which Chiang had promised for many years, but had never done. In the land reform, the Communists took land away from the rich landlords and gave it to the poor peasants. It was for this reason that the peasants supported the Communists.

5. In addition, the Communists received aid from the Soviet Union. At the end of the war in 1945, the Russians turned over large amounts of captured Japanese arms to the Communists. The Russians also helped the Communists take over Manchuria. With its industry and natural resources Manchuria became a base for the Communists.

In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek fled from China to the island of Formosa (Taiwan). With complete control of the mainland, the Communists took control of the government.

Mao Zedong and the People’s Republic of China (1949–1976)

When the Communists led by Mao Zedong, came to power in 1949, they officially named their country “The People’s Republic of China.” The years after 1949 were a time of great change in China. The Communist Party set out to create a new society and to modernize the country. They tried to remake society by remaking the people. By means of government-sponsored campaigns and movements, they involved the whole population in these tasks.

The Importance of One Man—Mao Zedong

During this period of great change, the Communist Party and the nation were influenced by one man—Mao Zedong. Mao wanted to transform Chinese society and destroy much of what had gone before. Mao’s early experiences had made a lasting impression on his personality. Much of what happened in China reflected the tastes and beliefs of this man.

Mao was born into a peasant family, and he never got over his peasant origins. His tastes remained simple all of his life. He never used his position of power to live a life of luxury or comfort. Mao had great concern for the common peasant and great faith that the will of the masses could conquer all. He shared the peasants’ ancient hatred of the landlord class and distrusted the educated elite. He also disliked city life. His ideal was the self-sufficient man of the soil—farmer, craftsman, militia soldier all in one.

Mao was more interested in achieving social equality than in achieving practical results. His great concern was that a new ruling class would rise in China—either a new class of rich peasants or a new class of educated professionals, or even a class of privileged party members. Mao’s method to prevent this was “continuing struggle” and “continuing revolution.” Periodically in vast campaigns affecting the whole country, people in important positions were removed from power and sent to the countryside to be in touch with the masses.
Quotations from Mao Zedong

Mao’s quotations have been read by millions of Chinese, in the so-called Little Red Book. The Little Red Book is also the handbook for revolutionaries and guerrilla movements throughout the world. Below is a selection of Mao’s ideas from the book:

On Power: “Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”

On Victory: “Just because we have won a victory, we must never relax our vigilance (watchfulness) against the mad plots for revenge by the imperialists and their running dogs.”

On Revolution: “A revolution is not a dinner party, or painting a picture; it cannot be leisurely, gentle, kind, courteous, and restrained. A revolution is an insurrection by which one class overthrows another.”

On Ignorance: “It is to the advantage of despots (rulers with unlimited power) to keep people ignorant; it is to our advantage to make them intelligent. We must lead all of them gradually from ignorance.”

On Youth: “The world is yours as well as ours. China’s future belongs to you. You young people, full of vigor and vitality, are in the bloom of life. Our hope is placed in you.”

On Women: “Enable every woman who can work to take her place on the labor front, under the principle of equal pay for equal work. Genuine equality between the sexes can only be realized in the process of changing society as a whole.”

On Guerrilla Warfare: “The enemy advances, we retreat
The enemy camps, we harass
The enemy tires, we attack
The enemy retreats, we pursue.”

Mao, like most Chinese peasants, had a deep distrust of foreigners. This greatly affected China’s relations with other countries.

Mao became a godlike figure in China. His posters and statues were everywhere. “Mao thought” became an important part of the curriculum in schools. This later came to be known as the “cult of personality”—treating Mao and his ideas as a religion.

Setting Up a New Government

The Communists established their new government at Beijing in September 1949. Mao Zedong, as chairman of the Communist Party and chief of state, became China’s top ruler. Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) was named prime minister and foreign minister. Zhou had been an early member of the Communist Party and Mao’s right-hand man since 1931. He had great diplomatic skill, which would serve him well as foreign minister. Zhou remained the second most important leader in China until his death in 1976. The two other top leaders were General Zhu De (Chu Teh), who helped bring Mao to power, and Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch’i).

At first, the Communists needed the broadest possible support. They also needed the skills and ability of the upper class and the intellectuals. Therefore, many prominent posi-
tions were given to non-Communists and many local officials were left in office. This, however, was only temporary.

Power in the People's Republic is divided between the Communist Party (CCP), the government and the army, but real power is in the hands of the top leadership of the party. These top leaders form a small group known as the Politburo. Several of these people belong to an even smaller group, the Standing Committee. It is in the Standing Committee and the Politburo that all important decisions are made. The government agencies simply carry out the decisions made by the party.

Economic Recovery

One of the first tasks the Communists had to deal with was the terrible destruction resulting from years of war. The transportation and communication systems were badly destroyed. Production in agriculture and industry was down. Inflation was high. It was necessary to restore the economy and raise production to pre-war levels. The Communists were able to accomplish most of this in the first three years. By the middle of 1950, inflation was brought under control. By 1952, railway tracks had been rebuilt and even expanded and highways reopened. Agricultural production improved, and there was an increase in the production of steel.

During this period the state took control of most of the economy—banking, most heavy industry, railways, and foreign trade. Private enterprise still continued, but it was brought increasingly under state control.

The Social Revolution

The Communists soon turned their attention to remaking Chinese society. Their goals were to destroy the old ruling classes—the landlords, capitalists, and the educated elite; to change the values of the Chinese people and turn them into loyal Communists, and to pave the way for a socialist economy. Various means were employed to achieve these goals.

This law proclaimed under the slogan “Land to the Tillers” set the maximum amount of land that it was legal to own. Land was taken away from the rich landlords and distributed to the peasants. It soon became evident that the Communists were determined to destroy the landlords as a class. A period of “class struggle” began in 1951 during which peasants denounced the landlords. The landlords lost their property and in many cases their lives. When it was over the landlord-gentry had been wiped out—either in person or in status. The new people in authority in the villages were those committed to the Communist regime.

This law, which is discussed in greater detail on page 287, provided for the emancipation of Chinese women. At the same time it was a death blow to the old family system. The ancient Chinese virtue of filial piety (respect and obedience for parents) was done away with. A person’s primary loyalty was to the state, not the family.

This campaign, started in 1951, was aimed at all “war criminals, traitors, bureaucratic capitalists, and counter-revolutionaries.” The campaign called for patriotic spying on relatives and neighbors and public denunciations. Since “traitor” or “counter-revolutionary” was never defined, anyone who stood in the way of the regime could be denounced. Mass public trials were held to whip up hatred against the “enemies” and to promote loyalty to the

Mao Zedong and the People’s Republic of China (1949–1976) 315
The Five Anti-Movement

This campaign lasted from 1951 to 1952 and was directed against "tax evasion, bribery, cheating on government contracts, theft of economic intelligence, and stealing of national property." In reality it was directed against the businesspeople of the cities who were described as exploiters and enemies of the working class. Thousands of businesspeople were imprisoned, executed, or sent to labor camps. Many committed suicide. Their property was confiscated, and they were forced to pay huge fines. The business soon became government controlled. Private enterprise was eliminated by the Five Anti-Movement.

Thought Reform

In 1951, the movement for "thought reform" or "thought control" began on a large scale. It started in the schools and universities. The purpose was to impose a general acceptance of Communist doctrine (ideas). It began with "reforming the teacher's mind" and was soon extended to the students. Independent thinking was out. The program involved learning the revolutionary theories of Marx, Lenin, and Mao. It also involved regular meetings where people had to admit their own feelings to the group. There was criticism, self-criticism, and confessions. People were made to feel guilt and shame. Finally there were promises to accept the truth of Mao's teachings. This intense emotional experience lasted for months. The result was submission to authority and identifying with the party.

Control of the Arts

In 1949, Mao stated, "In the present world, all culture or literature belongs to one class, to one party, and follows one fixed political line. Art for art's sake... does not exist in reality." This meant that artists and writers would not be free to express themselves as they liked. Their art and writings were to serve the interests of the revolution and the Communist Party.

Mass Organizations

To carry out their goals, the Communists believed they had to reach every individual. A vast network of mass organizations was set up. In the villages, the peasants joined peasant organizations. In the cities, there were organizations for factory workers, teachers, students, employees, women, and children. Among the most important groups were the New Democratic Youth League and the Young Pioneers. These two groups were the training ground for future party members.

The mass organizations were controlled by the Communist Party. Orders were transmitted from the top of the local level. The local groups, called "cells," met constantly to discuss topics assigned by the party. The meetings were used to check on the attitudes and "thoughts of the masses." An important function of the mass organizations was to apply a great deal of public pressure on each individual so that he or she would think and act as the party directed.

The individual in China, therefore, lived in a world that was completely controlled. The news he or she read in the newspaper was carefully selected. In school, he or she was indoctrinated in Maoist thought. In the mass organizations people were watched and their thinking was controlled. Part of the control was the threat and use of force. There were militia units in each district. Street committees engaged in mutual surveillance and reported individuals to the local police stations. Serious cases were passed on to "people's courts," where the accused, without the benefit of a lawyer, had to confess their "crimes" and denounce others. The laws were unwritten and changeable and protected the interests of the state, not the individual.
The Economic Revolution—Efforts to Create a Socialist Economy

By 1953, the Communists had removed all resistance to the regime and had broken up the old social order. Vast numbers of people in the villages who had formerly enjoyed wealth, authority, and respect had been killed. The business and industrial groups in the cities were ruined. Freedom of thought of the intellectuals had been destroyed. The dominant group in the new society was the Communist Party. Its members were tightly disciplined by the party leaders. By 1953, the Communists were ready to move ahead toward a socialist economy in agriculture and industry.

Industry

The Five-Year Plan

The aim of China’s first Five-Year Plan (1953–1957) was to industrialize China as rapidly as possible using the Soviet Union as a model. Some of the goals were to quadruple the production of steel and to double the output of power and cement. The government invested most of its capital in heavy industry. Increasing agricultural production was less important.

Soviet aid. Thousands of Chinese party members had been trained in the Soviet Union since 1921. They hoped to copy what the Russians had done in industry and agriculture. In the 1950s, thousands of Chinese went to the Soviet Union to learn about the economy. Large numbers of Soviet technicians and advisers came to China. A Sino-Soviet Agreement of 1953 provided for Soviet assistance in the establishment of over 100 industrial projects—mainly in the fields of electric power, mining, chemicals, and metal. China received essential help in the form of technology loans and equipment.

Agriculture. The money to pay for China’s industrialization had to come from its agricultural products. The Agrarian Reform Law of 1950 and the campaign against the landlords had given the peasants their own land. Most peasants now farmed small plots of land using primitive methods and tools. This did not produce enough food for China’s enormous population of nearly 600 million people. It did not provide the government with enough crops to sell to pay for the new industries and the imports of machinery.

The Communist leaders believed that the best way to get more crops from the peasants was to organize them into collective farms (very large farms run by the government). The Five-Year Plan prepared the way for the collectivization of agriculture. It was to be done in stages. During the first stage, peasants were organized into mutual-aid teams. These teams shared their tools, animals, and fertilizer and helped each other by joint planting and harvesting. But the land still remained in individual hands. In the next stage, producers’ cooperatives were set up where the small plots of 30 or 40 families were combined into a large cooperative farm. The members shared the equipment and farm animals. Each family owned a share of the cooperative and divided the crops. By 1956, 90 percent of the peasants were reported to have joined the cooperatives.

The cooperative system allowed for greater planning of farm production. Workers could be assigned to plant the crops that were most needed. Modern methods began to be used. By 1955, more food was being produced then ever before.

Between 1955 and 1957, many cooperatives were joined together to form collective farms. The peasants were asked to give up the shares they owned in the cooperatives and to become wage laborers on the collective farms. Soon there were one or two collective
farms to a village. They were run by members of the Communist Party who made sure that the state received the required share of crops. Many peasants were unhappy with the situation because they did not like giving up ownership of their land.

By 1956, party leaders believed that they had been successful in basically changing Chinese society. They decided that it was time to allow greater freedom of expression. In May 1956, a campaign was begun using a slogan from China's ancient history: “Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend.” People were encouraged to express their opinions, even to criticize party workers. Mao believed the criticism would be healthy and that it would result in unity.

However, the result was a storm of criticism against the aims of communism and the basic policies of the state. Mao and the top leaders were shocked. In the spring of 1957, the movement was harshly suppressed. Many of the protesters were punished. So were party workers for failing to keep in touch with the people. Party workers and intellectuals were sent to work in the countryside, to be close to the masses.

The First Five-Year Plan had achieved excellent results. There were new roads, dikes, dams, factories, and cities. Industrial production had increased rapidly. However, the setting up of collective farms had not increased crop production. Between 1952 and 1957, the population in the cities grew by about 30 percent, but the government's grain collections hardly grew. In 1958, a second Five-Year Plan was adopted. It was to be a "Great Leap Forward" in industrial and agricultural production.

The plan set very high goals for increases in production. A basic idea was to use China's abundant manpower to develop the countryside. Millions of people in the villages were mobilized for irrigation, flood control, and land reclamation projects. To encourage the spread of industry throughout the country, small iron furnaces were set up in backyards. Mao believed that spirit and willpower were enough to get economic results.

The first results seemed to show a great leap forward: through sheer muscle power the face of China was changed. There were thousands of new reservoirs, hydroelectric power stations, and hundreds of miles of railways, bridges, new canals, and new highways.

But the plan had set unrealistic goals and there was not enough careful planning. The all-out effort at instant growth led to massive errors and wasting of labor. The new factories could not get all the raw materials they needed. The transportation system could not handle all the traffic. It became clear that the ambitious goals would not be met.

An important part of the Great Leap Forward was the setting up of communes. In each area a number of collective farms were joined together to form a commune. The communes were huge. Some were the size of towns, containing as many as 25,000 people. The people were divided into production brigades and production teams. Each brigade had a specific job to do. It was believed that because of the large size of the commune it would be possible to use labor and resources more efficiently. In this way agricultural production would increase without a huge investment in modern equipment.

Control in each commune was in the hands of Communist Party members who took on the functions of a local government. They assigned members to teams and brigades; paid out wages; ran the schools, health clinics, and day-care centers; collected the taxes; and provided for security.

Many peasants disliked the communes. They disliked being moved about and assigned to jobs against their will. They were exhausted by the long hours of hard work and poor diets. A wage system of paying each person according to need instead of according to work
lowered productivity. Soon there were serious food shortages. By 1959, Mao admitted that the Great Leap Forward was a failure.

The agricultural crisis worsened in the early 1960s as China suffered from drought and plagues of insects. Poor harvests led to widespread malnutrition. There were food riots, and great numbers of people died because of famine.

At the same time, the Soviet Union withdrew its aid and its technicians. Transportation broke down, and industry practically came to a standstill. Production (GNP) declined by about one-third in 1960. The people were exhausted. It was acknowledged that Mao and his followers had made errors on a gigantic scale. Mao removed himself from the day-to-day administration of affairs. He turned over his position as chief of state to Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch’i), although he still kept his post as chairman of the party.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched by Mao in 1966. For the next three years, China was turned upside down. Everything was shaken up—the economy, the education system, the government, and the party. Many important people were publicly humiliated, including the future leader of China, Deng Xiaoping. Thousands lost their lives during this time of chaos and violence. Things did not begin to return to normal until 1969. However, many historians now date the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976 because they include in this period the radical activities of the “Gang of Four.”

Causes

The Great Leap Forward had brought China close to disaster. For the first time, there was great opposition to Mao, especially within the Party. There was also opposition from the intellectuals—writers, artists, professional people, and university professors and administrators. From 1962 on, essays appeared in newspapers and journals satirizing (making fun of) Mao’s incompetence.

Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch’i) took over the day-to-day running of China. He and Deng Xiaoping set about restoring the economy. They established production goals for agriculture and industry that were realistic. They gave a great deal of authority to technicians and experts. There were also bonuses and incentives for peasants and factory workers to make them work harder. By 1965, the Chinese economy had recovered.

Mao was very concerned with what was happening. A great debate began within the leadership of the Communist Party over what path to follow. It was a debate over “red versus expert.” On one side were Liu and his followers who stressed the importance of economic progress, the need for specialized skills and a technical education, and the need for a class of professionally educated people. On the other side were Mao and his supporters who believed revolutionary spirit and dedication to communism were more important than a technical education. Mao was very suspicious of “experts.” He saw in them the making of a new ruling class. In fact, Mao was very concerned that the Party members themselves had become an upper class. In the Party, the government, and the army there were many who had privileges, private property, and an advanced education that the ordinary people did not have. To Mao communism meant equality—equality between town and country, between workers and peasants, and between mental and manual labor. Consequently, in 1966 Mao decided that it was time to renew the class struggle and he launched the Cultural Revolution.
Mao had several goals in starting the Cultural Revolution. Some of these were to:

1. Regain his leadership
2. Rekindle the revolutionary spirit of the nation, especially among the young people
3. Remove from power all those who opposed him
4. Bring about a change in leadership throughout China by removing government and Party officials, university professors and administrators, and factory managers

Mao had to look outside the Party for support. He turned to Defense Minister Lin Biao (Lin Piao) and the army. He called on the young people to organize themselves into Red Guards. Between August and November 1966, approximately 11 million Red Guards came to Beijing to meet with Mao and participate in mass demonstrations. Then they dispersed all over the country, where they violently attacked people and things that represented the “four olds”—old ideology, thought, habits, and customs. The Red Guards grew in numbers and power. Each Red Guard carried a copy of The Quotations of Mao Zedong, known as The Little Red Book. Mao’s ideas were the guide for all action, and the actions of the Red Guards became more and more violent.

Every part of Chinese society was affected. The top leadership of the Party was shaken up. Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch’i) and Deng Xiaoping issued confessions admitting their past errors and pledged their loyalty to Mao. But Mao rejected them as insincere. Liu was thrown out of the Party and died in disgrace in 1969. Deng was sent to work in the countryside. Red Guards paraded officials wearing dunce caps through the streets and looted the homes of officials who seemed to lack revolutionary spirit.

Also singled out for attack were the outstanding writers, scholars, and scientists. They were publicly humiliated and sent to the countryside to do manual labor while many of their works were destroyed. The Red Guards also destroyed many precious art works of the past. The entire educational system was affected. University officials and professors were criticized and even denounced. Students went to mass meetings and organized instead of going to class. Then the universities and schools were closed.

The Cultural Revolution spread from city to city. The newspapers urged city residents to seize control of their local governments. The radicals took over factories, banks, newspapers, and police stations. Mao called on the people to set up “revolutionary committees” to take the place of the local party and governments. Chaos was widespread. Clashes between armed groups occurred in many places. The army had to be called on to restore order and it took over many of the functions of the government. In some cases local army commanders ignored the authority of the central government in Beijing. Finally at the end of 1968 Mao called for a halt to the disruptions. He encouraged young people to go to the countryside to help with the farming. In 1969, about 20 million young people went to work on farms. This weakened the power of the Red Guards. In 1969, life in China began to return to normal.

The Cultural Revolution was a personal triumph for Mao. He was honored in songs, banners, statues, and portraits. The old moderates in the party, like Liu Shaoqi, were gone. Lin Biao, Mao’s loyal supporter, became the number-two man and was named Mao’s successor. Jiang Qing, Mao’s wife, also emerged as an important political leader. The Cultural Revolution hurt China’s economy. The damage to agriculture, industry, education, and science set back China’s development by 10 to 20 years. Millions of lives and careers were ruined and thousands died.
The Last Years of Mao’s Rule

The bitterness created by the Cultural Revolution lasted many years and resulted in a continuing power struggle. Under circumstances that still remain unclear, Lin Biao and Mao had a falling out. It seems that in 1971, Lin planned to have Mao assassinated. When the plot was discovered he tried to escape to the Soviet Union, but he and a number of senior military officials were killed in a plane crash. Again there was preoccupation with the questions of who would succeed Mao and what path China would follow. Two factions arose—the moderates led by Zhou Enlai and the radicals led by Jiang Qing, Mao’s wife. Zhou said that China should concentrate on economic development, with the goal of making China an industrialized nation by the year 2000. He set forth the guidelines for this
development which became known at "The Four Modernizations." Zhou sponsored the
return to power of Deng Xiaoping. In 1975, when he was very ill, Zhou turned over the
day-to-day administration to Deng, Jiang Qing and her three allies, who became known as
"The Gang of Four," believed that the Cultural Revolution had been a positive experience
and they fought to keep its revolutionary ideas alive. When Zhou Enlai died in January
1976, the Gang of Four convinced Mao to remove Deng from office. Deng was disgraced
for a second time. By this time Mao was very ill and the Gang of Four was preparing to take
over power. Mao died in September 1976 at the age of 82.

China and the World: Foreign Relations Under Mao Zedong

China and Taiwan: the Problem of "Two Chinas"

A hundred miles off the coast of Southeast China lies the island of Taiwan, also called
Formosa, a name given to it by Portuguese sailors in the 16th century. Taiwan became part
of the Chinese Empire in the early years of the Manchu Dynasty. Following the war with
Japan in 1895, Taiwan was given to Japan but was returned to China 50 years later.

After the Communists took control of China in 1949, the defeated Nationalists, under
the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, fled to Taiwan. There they set up a government that
they called the Republic of China. Approximately 2 million Chinese left mainland China
and came to Taiwan. Both the Nationalist Government of Taiwan and the People's Repub-
lic of China claimed that it was the only legitimate government of China.

The Chinese people have a strong feeling of nationalism that calls for the unity of all
Chinese people under one government. Therefore, a principal aim of Chinese foreign pol-
icy was, and is, the recovery of Taiwan. The communist leaders in Beijing have always
claimed that Taiwan is an integral part of China. As soon as they were firmly in power, Mao
and the People's Liberation Army prepared for an invasion of Taiwan. At the same time,
the Nationalist government prepared for a counterattack to recover the mainland.

These plans changed as a result of the Korean War. President Truman sent the U.S. Sev-
enth Fleet to patrol the Taiwan Straits, which separate Taiwan from the mainland. This
action prevented the Communists from making any attempt to recover Taiwan. It was dur-
ing the Korean War that the United States began to build up the military power of Taiwan.
After the war, the United States recognized the Nationalist government as the legitimate
government of China and pressured its allies to do the same. In 1954, the United States
signed a mutual defense pact with Taiwan, promising to protect it against attack. These
moves convinced Mao that the United States would resist any invasion of Taiwan. The
United States continued to provide generous military and economic aid, which helped
Chiang Kai-shek build up the island's economy. By the mid-1960's, Taiwan's industrializa-
tion was so successful that U.S. economic assistance was discontinued.

The existence of "two Chinas" presented a problem to the United Nations. Who was to
represent China in the United Nations? Until 1971, the Nationalist government of Taiwan
was a member of the United Nations and the People's Republic of China was barred. This
was mainly the result of United States's pressure and influence. Year after year, the Soviet