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THE MONGOLIAN ALLIED LEAGUE AUTONOMOUS GOVERNMENT OCTOBER 1937-AUGUST 1939

The Emergence of Japanese Puppet Regimes in Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Second Sino-Japanese War, which broke out in 1937, eventually led to the demise of the Mongolian military government. As the war expanded and as Tojo Hideki pushed his troops westward into Mongolian territory, new political alternatives opened up for the Mongols. On August 27, Tojo's forces, advancing from Dooloonnor and Zhangbei, attacked Chinese-occupied Kalgan from the north; Itagaki's men approached from the south, following the successful Japanese occupation of Beiping and Nankou, thus placing Prince De in a difficult position. Clearly, he wanted to use the Japanese to drive Fu Zuoyi from Suiyuan, but he was reluctant to fuel an expansion of the war between Japan and China. Yet above all, he still hoped to build a new Mongol nation. He initially hoped to pit Japan's considerable power against the persistent Chinese threats to Mongolian autonomy, while at the same time using his ties with the Chinese government to offset the Japanese threat. Soon, however, it became clear that there could be no balance of power between the warring parties, no hope of setting each force up as a check and balance to the other. Inner Mongolia had no choice but to side with the powerful Japanese.

Prince De originally had great hopes for the Japanese connection, but after years of personal experience, he realized that the results of the alliance with Japan differed substantially from his initial hopes. As the promised Japanese support for Mongolian national reconstruction lay fallow, interference from the Japanese Special Service Office flourished. Mongolia's long hoped for self-rule soon revealed itself as alien rule, chilling Prince De's once hospitable feelings towards Japan. Prince De, though suspicious of Japanese motives, was pressured into an alliance with Japan by circumstances beyond his control. Mongol morale was boosted, however, by plans to counterattack the much-hated Fu Zuoyi. The Japanese could tell that Prince De resented their presence, and this further heightened the conflict between them.

Following the westward expansion of the Japanese forces, the Mongol and Chinese troops under Prince De and Li Shouxin rapidly organized. Li's target was Pingdiquan (Jining), whereas Prince De's troops were headed for Beile-yin sume. By September 30, 1937, Beile-yin sume, the former center of the autonomous movement, had been liberated. The Japanese took Datong on September 13, and then on October 14, together with the troops of Li and Prince De, occupied Hohhot, the focal point of the anti-Mongolian movement.

While Tojo's forces headed for Kalgan and Datong, the Japanese advisors assigned to the Chahar League, under the leadership of Anzai Kinji, organized a military-

political administration for the occupied areas. The league head, Jodbajab, surrendered much of his power to the insistent Anzai, who envisioned gaining total freedom to rule the occupied areas according to his wishes. Nevertheless, the Mongol troops under Prince De advanced to Baotou and Hohhot, and Prince De quickly appointed a trustworthy Chinese administrator without first notifying Anzai. This enraged the Japanese advisors, negatively affecting Prince De's relationship with them.

The similar appointment of a magistrate for Wuchuan *xian* is another example of Prince De's stubborn independence. Wuchuan, an important spot between Beile-yin sume and Hohhot, was formerly occupied by Fu Zuoyi and used as his base for attacking Beile-yin sume. Naturally, Mongolian control of Wuchuan was an important psychological boost. Soon after reoccupation, Prince De appointed a long-time associate, Xu Ronghuo, to be the new magistrate. Xu's appointment infuriated the Japanese, who felt that their power was being eroded by the upstart Mongolian leader. Prince De's headstrong independence complicated his relations with the Japanese, causing long-term difficulty for the Mongolian independence movement.

Following Japan's impressive array of victories in East Asia, there was much debate about what to do with Mongolia. Some favored independence, others integration. Even within the Guandong Army, which had previously supported Mongolian national construction, conflicting opinions arose. It seemed that those opposed to Mongolian independence had increased in number and prestige since before the war. Soon after the occupation of Kalgan, the Guandong Army dispatched Kanai Shoji to be the new supreme advisor for the occupied territories. Kanai brought Chen Yuming, Chen Yousheng and other high officials from Manchukuo to be his entourage. Kanai was firmly against Mongolian independence, and his posting to Kalgan created a great rift between the Mongols and the Japanese. For the Mongols, Kanai's arrival threw a great roadblock in the Mongols' path to political autonomy.

Kanai, born in Nakano *ken*, was a medical doctor and the former governor of Jiandao province in the Manchukuo puppet regime. Later, he was appointed by Tojo to supervise Mongolian political development. It is impossible to know Kanai's true feelings about Prince De and his drive for Mongolian autonomy, but judging from his actions and deeds, Kanai was a great enemy of Prince De. He thwarted plans for Mongolian independence at every step. Though he was not the official policy maker for the Japanese forces in Mongolia, his policy recommendations were usually followed. Kanai Shoji's arrival created a veritable chasm between Mongol and Japanese leaders, where once there had merely been a rift.

Following the retreat of the Chinese Army under Liu Ruming, Kalgan fell immediately into the hands of the Japanese, who selected Yu Pingqing, the president of the city's chamber of commerce, and Du Yunyu, a clerk in the former Chahar Provincial Government, to form a committee for peace maintenance and to solve some of the administrative problems at hand. Yu, born in Hebei Province, was a textile merchant and a man totally devoid of political ambition. Du, from Shandong province, had studied in Japan, where he married a Japanese. Exploiting his Japanophile background, Du attempted to turn the situation to his advantage. He suggested formation of the Committee for Peace Maintenance, and picked the lackluster Yu for an administrative position.

Of course the Japanese were glad to have some local assistance; Kanai did what he could to enlarge these sorts of local activities. On September 4, the committee was reorganized into the Autonomous Government of Southern Chahar (*Chanan zizhi zhengfu*). The main administrative body of the new government was a committee, with Yu Pingqing at its head, and Du Yunyu and others as committee members. Takagi Ichinari

was the chief political advisor to the new regime. In reality, though, supreme power lay with Kanai Shoji. Chen Yuming and Chen Yousheng occupied important administrative positions in the new government.

Similar steps were taken in northern Shanxi, where a committee for peace maintenance was organized under the leadership of Xia Gong and Ma Yongkui. Xia was an old-fashioned, prosperous scholar who had passed the national examination in Northern Shanxi at the end of the Manchus' Qing Dynasty; he lacked political ambition, as did Ma, a shopkeeper. Both entered public life under Japanese compulsion. As had happened in Southern Chahar, the committee soon evolved into the Autonomous Government of Northern Shanxi (*Jinbei zizhi zhengfu*), under the effective control of Kanai Shoji. Xia Gong headed the administrative committee, with Ma Yongkui, Tian Rubi, and others as committee members, and Maejima Noboru as chief advisor. Tian was a reputable gentleman from Hunyuan *xian* of Shanxi Province who, like the others, had been forced into public life by the Japanese. His father, Tian Yinghuang, had been elected a senator to the Beijing government in 1913. Maejima, the Japanese advisor, was Kanai Shoji's old friend.

Kanai Shoji was a shrewd and prudent politician who, by putting trusted friends in as chief advisors to the regimes of Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi, effectively controlled both territories. These arrangements would prove useful in his future confrontations with Prince De. Kanai spent this period in Kalgan, where he devoted most of his time to plotting the formation of a Mongolian puppet regime (*Mokyo Seiken* or *Meng-jiang-zhengquan*). He sought to use economic and other organizations to manipulate Prince De.

The Mongolian Army marched westward and had little problem in occupying Hohhot. Yan Xishan, trying to follow orders to protect Shanxi, had almost totally evacuated Hohhot. However, the Mongol forces held out there, waiting to unite with a Japanese force that had become bogged down along the Beiping-Suiyuan Railway. Hohhot fell under joint Mongol-Japanese occupation on October 14. Soon after, the Japanese asked He Bingwen, head of a local trade union, to form a committee for peace maintenance. Although He was a traditional merchant, he had many political skills and steered a successful course between the two occupying armies and their various administrations. Because of the presence of a Mongol occupation army, the Hohhot Committee for Peace Maintenance did not have the same function as corresponding committees in Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi. Soon after order was established, the committee dissolved.

The Conflict Between the Mongol Leadership and the Japanese Militarists Over Mongolian Nationhood

Faced with this difficult situation, Prince De decided to shuffle his cabinet soon after his arrival in Dooloonor. Because of the need to maintain open contact with the Japanese, Togtakhu, generally perceived as a skilled diplomat, was given control of the Secretariat. Chogbagatur had an intimate knowledge of Chinese administration and was given control of the Interior Bureau. Oljeitu was appointed head of the Transportation and Communications Bureau and charged with pacifying occupied areas.

Wu Heling, Jirgalang, and Tegshibuyan arranged for a Japanese airplane to take Prince De to Hohhot on October 18, 1937 for important meetings with Japanese officials there. The Japanese intelligence officer, Major Inamori Toshisuke, was also on the airplane as the official host for the visiting prince. Altanochir, because he was in Xinjing

(Changchun) as Mongolia's chief representative to Manchukuo, could not attend Prince De's meetings with the Japanese. This enabled the ambitious Togtakhu to manipulate the meetings to his own advantage. Taking the role as interpreter and mediator between the two sides, Togtakhu created an environment for the talks that was favorable to his position. He cleverly drew both the prince and the Japanese officials close to himself, playing one off against the other to his own benefit. He was able to carry out this role throughout the duration of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government, from 1937 until 1939.

The successful reoccupation of both Beile-yin sume and Hohhot boosted the prince's sagging morale and sense of confidence, and led him to believe that these victories might be the precursors to the establishment of a truly independent Mongol state. Indeed, Wu Guting, the chief of staff of the Mongolian Army, and members of the committee for peace maintenance had done a fine job of restoring order in Hohhot. By the time of the prince's visit, the Chinese forces under Wang Jingguo that had previously threatened the Mongolian Political Council at Beile-yin sume had been hastily withdrawn from Baotou. Soon after, a Japanese-Mongol force occupied this important site at the end of the Beiping-Suiyuan Railway, joining it to the transportation network of the Yellow River, and giving Beile-yin sume great political, economic, and strategic importance. This occupation also opened up the way for Japanese forces to eventually march into the Yekejuu League.

Prince De's renewed courage and heightened morale soon spread to the staff that had accompanied him to Hohhot. With the better outlook, Wu Heling, Li Shouxin, and other senior Mongolian officials decided to convene another Mongolian Congress to determine Mongolia's future.

The highest ranking Japanese officials at Hohhot—Lieutenant Colonel Kuwabara Araichiro, head of the Special Service Office, and Muratani Hikojiro, chief advisor to the Mongolian Military Government—were not opposed to the convocation of a new Mongolian Congress. They attempted to explain the Mongolian position to their superiors, but were unable to win support. They soon realized that it would be best not to bring up the topic of Mongol nationalism.

Prince De then decided to meet with Major General Sakai Takashi, commander of Japanese forces in the area, to ask him to convey the opinions of the Mongol nation to the commanders of the Guandong Army in an attempt to solicit their support. Sakai realized that Mongolian independence was a very vital and important issue that could not be decided by the Guandong army; it could only be decided by the Imperial Government of Japan. Prince De related Tanaka Ryukichi's former promises, but Sakai told the prince that Tanaka was an unruly adventurer whose word could not be trusted. Greatly distressed, Prince De left without mentioning his negotiations with Itagaki Seishiro and other prominent Japanese officials.

Preparations for the Mongolian Congress and the Response of the Beiping Mongols

Although Sakai rejected Prince De's proposals, Wu Heling, Prince De, and the other Mongol leaders refused to abandon their plans for Mongolian nationalism. They wanted to harness the unified spirit of the Mongolian nobles and people and push for a new congress. Invitations were issued for a second Mongolian Congress, to be convened in Hohhot on October 27, 1937.

The Mongols in Beiping had traditionally been active in Mongolian politics. Some were motivated by personal reasons, others by nationalism. Many Mongols in Beiping became dispirited, however, when the Japanese arrived, and some emigrés from the western parts of Inner Mongolia fled Beiping for Hohhot. Fearing Japanese reprisals, they joined Rong Xiang, *amban* of the Tumed Banner, and retreated south of the Yellow River, there linking up with the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council, and in time joining forces with the Yekejuu Banners. Those Mongols who escaped from eastern Inner Mongolia felt particularly threatened by the Japanese. The nobles who remained in the city and refused to acknowledge the puppet Puyi's enthronement in Manchuria were nonetheless allowed to remain in peace. Mongols who were deeply involved in politics, especially those who had contact with Nanjing, felt threatened by the Japanese presence in the city. Jagunnasutu, head of the Beiping Office of the Chahar Mongolian Political Committee, capitalized on the new situation in the city, set himself up as the official representative of the Mongolian Military Government in Beiping and became an important liaison figure with the Japanese forces in that city.

At this point, I graduated from Beiping University, long known as a center for anti-Japanese protest. I had previously been elected president of the Beiping Mongolian Students Association. Though it would have been prudent to flee, I was persuaded by Jagunnasutu to remain in the city, and soon became an officer in the Beiping Mongolian Association. Most of the Mongols in the city had great confidence in the abilities of that organization and the Beiping Committee for Peace Maintenance to protect their interests. Accordingly, the committee grew ever more active.

Following the Mongolian occupation of Hohhot and the news of the convocation of a new Mongolian Congress, Jagunnasutu gathered together the Mongols in Beiping to discuss the organization of a delegation from the Beiping Mongolian Association to attend the Congress. Several delegates were elected: Ao Yunzhang, Wubao, Mandaltu, Jagunnasutu, Sangbu, Mongkebagatur (head of the Nanjing office of the Janggiya Lama), Mergen, Li Haishan, and myself. I was appointed to draft a proposal for the future government of an autonomous Mongolia. The hopes of the Beiping Mongols were high at this point because they could not foresee the roadblocks that were to be placed in their way by the Japanese military authorities. The chief goal of the Beiping delegates was to construct a new and free Mongolia. Some of the delegates were anxious to escape Beiping as well, where they had run into trouble with the Japanese officials. Ao Yunzhang, Mandaltu, and especially Li Haishan, because of his previous role as leader of an anti-Japanese guerrilla force, wanted to flee the ancient capital.

Because of the difficult circumstances of wartime travel, the Beiping delegates needed three days to travel to Hohhot. Upon arrival, they found that order had been established in the city, which had been thoroughly decorated with banners and flags for the congress. After paying a ceremonial visit to Prince De, the delegates registered for the congress. I heard the latest political news from my friends Wu Heling and Wu Guting; and like them, I was aghast at the slow progress of the Mongolian autonomy movement. The Beiping delegates were also surprised to learn of the rising role of the manipulative mediator Togtakhu, with the exception of Jagunnasutu, who had become friendly with Togtakhu during the preceding weeks and had built up a private secret alliance with him.

The Second Mongolian Congress

The Mongolian Congress began, as scheduled, on October 27, 1937. It was characterized by the conveners as the continuation in task and in spirit of the previous congress held at Ujumuchin. This meeting was held in the city hall at Hohhot, with 300 guests and attendees.¹

Among the delegates, the *ambans* of the four Right Flank Banners of the Chahar League, including Damringsurung, the *amban* of the Pure Yellow Banner and a long-time ally of Fu, had refused to follow Fu Zuoyi during his retreat. Another former ally of Fu's, Prince Pandeigungchab, vice-head of the Ulanchab League, left Fu's service as an anti-Prince De agitator and attended the congress. Soon after his arrival, though, he was "visited" by members of the Japanese Special Service Office, who threatened him if he abandoned his former activities. When Prince De arrived in the city, however, Pandeigungchab sought Prince De's protection, and the Japanese soon left him alone. He was greatly agitated by these strong-arm tactics, however, and soon after developed heart problems and died.

Prince Yondonwangchug, discouraged by the dissolution of the Mongolian Council at Beile-yin sume and feeling the effects of his advanced years, all but dropped out of politics, refusing to attend the sessions and remaining at his residence without even

¹ I recognized several non-Beiping delegates who were present:

1. Representatives from the Mongolian Military Government, including Prince De, Wu Heling, Buyandalai, Altanochir, Togtakhu, Jirgalang, Khorjurjab, Tegshibuyan, Bayantai, Saijirakhu, Engkeamur, Jalgamji, Jirgalang (Ji Zhixiang), Chogbagatur, Oljeitu, Mergenbator, Khasochir, and other senior officials.

2. Representatives from the Mongolian army headquarters, including Li Shouxin, Wu Guting, Liu Xingan, Arbijiku, Jorigtu, Cui Qinglan, Ji Shuxun, Sainbayar, Ihengge, Buyanoljei, Tobgereltu, Sangduureng, Jachingjab, Nomundalai, Buyandelger, Liu Jiguang, Yin Paoshan, Wang Zhenhua, Ting Qichang, Li Xiuchun, Namur (Liu Jianhua), Golminse, and other senior officials.

3. Delegates from the various leagues, banners and *xians*:

a. Shilingol League: Rinchinwangdud, league head and *jasag* of the Sunid Left Banner; Sungjingwangchug, vice head of the league and *jasag* of Khauchid Left Banner; Tusangga, *tusalagchi* of Ujumuchin Right Banner; Dobdan, *tusalagchi* of Ujumuchin Left Banner; Shonodondub, *jasag* of Abaga Right Banner; Budabala, *jasag* of Abaga Left Banner; Balgunsurung, *jasag* of Abkhanar Left Banner; Dugursurung, *jasag* of Sunid Right Banner and son of Prince De; and others.

b. Chahar League: Jodbajab, league head and *amban* of Minggan Banner; Temurbolod, league vice head and *amban* of Shangdu Banner; Serengnamjil, *amban* of Taipus Left Banner; Norbuzana, *amban* of Taipus Right Banner; Mugdenbuu, *amban* of Bordered Yellow Banner; Yindege, *amban* of Pure Blue Banner; Damrinsurung, *amban* of Pure Yellow Banner; Esegjirgal, *amban* of Pure Red Banner; Balgunjab, *amban* of Bordered Red Banner; and others.

c. Ulanchab League: Babudorji, league head; Pandeigungchab, league vice head and *jasag* of Dorben-Keud Banner; Dewagenden, *tusalagchi* of the same banner; Shirabdorji, *tusalagchi* of Darkhan Banner and personal representative of Prince Yondonwangchug; Chimedrinchinkhorlowa, *jasag* of Muuminggan Banner; Erkedorji, *tusalagchi* of Urad Front Banner; Rinchinsenge, *jasag* of Urad Central Banner; Juutaibau, *jakirugchi* of Urad Rear Banner; and others.

d. Tumed Banner: Mergenbagatur (Kang Ren), Sengge, He Yunzhang and Changsen.

e. Yekejuu League: Ochirkhuyagtu, *jasag* of Ordos Right Rear Banner and personal representative of his father; Shagdurbaj, league head; and other representatives of the Ordos Banners.

4. Also in attendance were the lamas and officials of both Shireetu-juu and Udan-juu (Badgar); He Bingwen, president of the Hohhot Committee for Peace Maintenance; Xu Ronghuo, magistrate of Wuchuan *xian*, and Bao Chongxing, magistrate of Guyang *xian*.

receiving visitors. The prince sent his nephew, Shirabdorji, to attend in his stead.

The Urad Front Banner, after the unfortunate Prince Shi Incident, had split into two factions. After Fu Zuoyi's defeat, the Gegeen and Erkedorji clique allied against Shirabdorji (Prince Shi) and took control of the banner—hence Erkedorji's representation of the banner at the congress. After the death of Erkesechenjambal, *jasag* of the Urad Rear Banner, his son, Gungasereng and widow, Ba Yunying, joined the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council and allied themselves with Fu Zuoyi. Leadership of the banner fell on Juutaibao, who represented the banner at the congress. Prince De appointed Mergenbator to be *amban* of the Tumed Banner, following the defection of the former *amban*, Rong Xiang, to Fu's side. Sengge had been an official of that banner for years. He Yunzhang, a well-connected Japanese-educated gentlemen from the Tumed Banner, was appointed by Fu Zuoyi to run the Hohhot woolen textile mill. He was later killed by the Japanese for his extensive contacts with Chinese intelligence officials.

The Yekejuu Banners were in an anomalous situation: Baotou, even though occupied, was not added to the league; Fu Zuoyi's defeat temporarily stripped him of his control over the seven banners, and it was initially unclear what their fate would be. In an effort to bring about greater pan-Mongol unity, Prince De sought Japanese permission to send the prince's personal airplane to the Ordos Right Rear Banner to invite Prince Shagdurbaj to attend the conference. Uncertain of the outcome, the aged Shagdurbaj sent his eldest son and *jasag* of the banner, Ochirkhuyagtu, to attend in his stead. Although Ochirkhuyagtu's attendance in and of itself did not satisfy Prince De, it at least symbolized unification of the Mongol leadership for the common goal of national reconstruction. Delegates from both the Shireetu-juu and Udan-juu monasteries, both of which had a recognized special status because of their lamas and lands, also attended the congress.

The coming together of all the delegates at Hohhot was an affront to the Japanese, who had also assembled there. Since declarations of immediate independence went unheeded by the Japanese, Prince De, Jirgalang, and other leaders advocated the continuation of the Mongolian Military Government in an effort to make some breakthrough. The old military government's *raison d'être* had been the use of military force to recover Mongolian territory—a preliminary step toward the eventual building of a free Mongol nation. Because all talk of a truly independent Mongol state had been merely tentative under the Mongolian Military Government, Prince De and the others felt that the Japanese would favorably view adherence to the former government's title. The Japanese, however, wanted the new regime to take a new name, symbolically breaking with the past. After a long deadlock in negotiations, the Mongols yielded, and drawing on the unanimous support rendered to the congress by the leagues and banners, settled on the name "Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government."

Despite all their dealings with the Japanese, the Mongolian leadership still settled for autonomy, even as they had in 1933 at Beile-yin sume. This lack of progress distressed Prince De and his faithful associates. The devious Togtakhu, however, won great support from the Japanese in his role as mediator between the two negotiating parties, and soon became known as the most reliably pro-Japanese agent in the region. The Mongols saw him as a worthless traitor who, by purposely misrepresenting Mongol wishes, effectively undermined his nation's bid for independence.

After the arrival of the Shilingol League delegates, Prince De had them relay a message to the ranking Japanese official in Hohhot, Muratani Hikojiro: "The authorities of the Guandong Army have clearly promised that they would support Mongolian independence. But now it appears that they oppose Mongolian national construction. This we cannot understand. We hope that you will report these discrepancies to the Guandong

Army; if not, then it would be better for all of us to go home." Such protests put Muratani in a very uncomfortable position. Previously, he had asked the Mongols to trust Japan, to believe that Japan was interested in helping the Mongols. Having said this, Muratani had no choice but to convey the Mongol message to the military authorities. Hereafter, his sympathy for the Mongol cause was a major stumbling block in his career.

As soon as the staff of the Mongolian Military Government entered Hohhot, they had immediately begun making preparations for the congress. Prince De, as general director of the military government, issued orders to convene the Second Mongolian Congress, and ordered establishment of a preparatory committee to draft suitable proposals. Though as a matter of protocol the committee studied later proposals from various delegates, the committee drafted all the important proposals later discussed by the congress. The congress followed parliamentary procedure, though any truly significant proposal needed prior Japanese approval. When the congress learned that Tojo Hideki, chief of staff for the Guandong Army, would be attending, they delayed making any important decisions until his arrival.

During this preparatory period, the head of the Japanese Special Service office, Kuwabara Araichiro, announced that he detected some communistic elements among the delegates from the Beiping Mongolian Association and that a prompt investigation was in order. Later, Wu Guting told me that the Japanese Special Service Office had read my proposal and had suspected it of being communistic. After further consultations with Ao Yunzhang, Mandaltu and Jagunnasutu, I burned that proposal, at Wu's recommendation. My proposal had been based on the common assumption that the congress had been called to discuss Mongolian independence; accordingly, I drew up a proposal for an independent state, relegating power and sovereignty to the people. Likewise, I had called for free elections, responsible parliamentary government, and a planned economy. It was for these reasons that Kuwabara suspected my proposals of being communistic. I called for a unicameral parliament, built along the lines of the House of Commons, with a cabinet responsible to parliament. Such ideas were branded communistic by the reactionary Japanese. Of course their criticisms were ridiculous, and this was just another example of Japanese oppression of a subjugated people. Luckily for me, the preoccupied Japanese authorities soon dropped the issue.

At 11:00 a.m. on October 27, 1937, the Second Mongolian Congress officially began. Prince De, as general director of the Mongolian Military Government, delivered the opening speech:

After the last congress at Ujumuchin, the staff of the Mongolian Military Government took upon itself the responsibility of laying the foundations for a new regime. For over one year now, they have done their very best in this task. In these difficult days, we have put forth great effort and sacrificed much. Today, both leaders and people work together with equal effort; with the kind assistance of a friendly nation, our officers and staff have wholeheartedly and consistently struggled for the recovery of Mongolia's original territory north of the Great Wall, and have prepared for the establishment of a new regime. For this purpose we have gathered together here this day to focus the wishes of both leaders and the nation as a whole, to establish common principles for the foundation of a new nation. We should start this endeavor as a people forever united, with the interests of a peaceful East Asia taken into account.

We are meeting here at the previously appointed day. The officials of all the districts, the representatives of the military, the delegates of the Mongolian and Chinese people all attend this great conference today with high morale. I, as General Director, must make my happiness and gratitude manifest at this point. I especially welcome our guests from

friendly nations who have clearly shown their desire to assist us. I, as General Director, express my great appreciation and thanks at this time, especially to all of you who have attended this congress, which has been founded on the twin principles of anti-communism and international cooperation. We are here to discuss the establishment of a new political regime, to start a brilliant new era for the Mongol people, to lay new foundations for the benefit of our people forevermore. This is my solemn hope at this time.

Following this opening speech, Prince De himself proposed eight other men to join him as the nine chairmen of the Presidium. Seven of these were Prince Yondonwangchug, chairman of the military government; Prince Shagdarjab, vice-chairman of the military government and head of the Yekejuu League; Li Shouxin, vice-commander in chief of the Mongolian army; Babudorji, Ulanhab League head; Prince Rinchinwangdud, head of the Shilingol League; Wu Heling, head counselor of the military government; and Jirgalang, head of the Financial Bureau. Prince De's nominations were unanimously accepted by the delegates.

Though it had previously been decided that the opening session would begin at 9:00 a.m., the meeting started two hours late, because of the late arrival of Tojo. Prince De and his associates went to the airport to welcome the important Japanese official, and the congress waited until they returned. Tojo was a powerful man, and Prince De and his staff felt it necessary to discuss important political matters directly with him, rather than with lower-ranking officials who could not decide anything significant on their own authority. Also, it was necessary to work out some preliminary agreements with Tojo before the opening session of the congress. Tojo's decision to attend the congress greatly enhanced its prestige and authority. Many Mongols felt that his presence was proof of tacit Japanese support for the basic principles of Mongolian nationhood. He himself had insisted on appearing at the conference in a bid to win Mongolian goodwill and support for the Japanese Empire. Representatives of the various Japanese puppet regimes also attended and expressed their goodwill: Yuchun was Manchukuo's official observer; Yu Pinqing represented the Southern Chahar Autonomous Government, and Tian Ruping represented the Northern Shanxi Autonomous Government.

Tojo's speech was the highlight of the congress:

It is my great pleasure and honor to attend this preparatory conference for the establishment of an autonomous Mongolian government, and to meet here this day with such an august body of gentlemen. Last winter, during the Suiyuan War, Fu Zuoyi greatly stirred up the military forces in Suiyuan, and took upon himself the "honorable" title of "anti-Japanese hero." The Nanjing government's efforts at centralization grew ever more concerted. Now, with the outbreak of this wretched war, Inner Mongolian troops have attacked Chinese forces all across the front; they have taken cities and fortresses with great speed and adeptness. [They have] marched forward and occupied Baotou and cut it off from the forces of international communism! The great heroic enterprise of Mongolian self-rule has now reached fruition!

We are now meeting in the ancient capital of the early Yuan Empire, the old city of Guihua [i.e. modern Hohhot], once the most glorious city in the world [this is historically an incorrect statement—author's note]. We are now looking forward to a more glorious reputation for the Mongol people, for a more profound happiness than they have ever had before. I feel a great surge of ecstasy when I think of these things, more so than I have ever felt before. Though Rome itself was not built in a day, we can, on this day, record that the truly glorious enterprise of Mongolian national construction has reached fruition. This is due to the year-long efforts of you unbending gentlemen, overlooking all difficulties and persecutions. Nevertheless, there are still many problems before you; you must unite to-

gether, putting aside small differences that divide you. Please, delegates, march unitedly and courageously toward the goal of fortifying the new autonomous government; exert your entire energies toward this goal. These are my heartfelt sentiments, gentlemen, and I give you my congratulations.

After the guests had delivered their opening remarks, the opening session ended. When the congress reconvened in the afternoon, it passed the following six items proposed by the Presidium:

1. To establish a Secretariat according to the Seventh Article of the Ordinance of the Organization of the Second Mongolian Congress, with Togtakhu at its head.
2. To express appreciation and thanks for the cooperation of the local Suiyuan Committee for Peace Maintenance.
3. To express thanks to the Japanese Guandong Army, for recovering Inner Mongolia's western territory.
4. To express thanks to the government staff and personnel because on April 24, 1936, the First Mongolian Congress was held in Ujumuchin and led to the establishment of the Mongolian Military Government. We owe our present accomplishments to their devoted, year-long efforts.
5. To praise the mentorious efforts of Li Shouxin, vice-commander in chief of the Mongolian army, and all the generals and other officers who have fought in this western campaign. They paid with much personal sacrifice to recover all our original territories.
6. To build a special shrine in honor of the casualties of the recent western campaign and to give relief to their families.

The next day, October 28, the congress passed a proposal made by the presidium outlining the organization of the new Mongolian Allied Leagues Autonomous Government. After passing the proposal, congress elected officers for the new government. The presidium's proposals, presented by Li Shouxin, received unanimous delegate approval. Yondonwangchug, former chairman of the military government, was installed as chairman of the new government, with Prince De as vice-chairman. Next, a congressional declaration was passed (see below), and the wording of the Secretariat's telegram of thanks was approved. In addition, the delegates decided to cast a medal in remembrance of the new congress and present it to all in attendance. After the closing ceremonies, a huge banquet was held, and then the delegates retired to the Hohhot opera house for some entertainment.

Important Documents Passed by the Congress

- I. The Declaration of the Mongolian Congress, October 18, 732nd year of Chinggis Khan [1937].

Mongolia has its territory, people, social organizations, as well as the glorious history of the Yuan Dynasty. Although during the Ming period we retreated to the area north of the desert, we have always possessed a balanced position against [the Chinese]. At the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, many Mongolian tribes gave their military assistance to the new rulers; and accordingly, we Mongols were granted a fraternal position in the new empire and were entitled to feudalistic institutions. However, we never lost our original territory, people, and sovereignty. After the establishment of the Republic of China as a commonwealth of five peoples, we Mongols, because of our trusting and innocent nature and believing that we would be treated equally, supported the Republic wholeheartedly. For over twenty years, however, [the Chinese Government] has looked upon Mongolia as a veritable colony; they have divided up our lands and territories, establishing new provinces and

xians. It has not mattered which party or government has been in power—each has encroached on our sovereignty. Because of this, the Mongols have grown ever poorer. The traditional rights of the leagues and banners have severely declined. It has been impossible to maintain our self-existence; how then can we speak of equality?

The masses are angered. They have foreseen the many disasters to befall us, and have stood up to demand a greater measure of self-rule. Following much hardship, we achieved a measure of autonomy at Beile-yin sume. Though [we] formally achieved these freedoms, the feelings of hate and envy have continued against us. They openly granted us use of the word “autonomy,” but then set about to destroy our [actual] autonomy.

The tyranny of the warlords and challenges from border officials have continued and expanded with each passing day. Military pressure and economic isolation have pushed us to the brink of national suicide. Though we Mongols sincerely supported [the Chinese Republic] for twenty or more years, all we have gotten in return is maltreatment and discrimination. If this situation continues, how then can Mongolia survive? After the [1911] revolution in China, the nation was divided up by warlords and civil war spread. People continued to suffer, and enterprise declined. Recently, because of diplomatic failure, the nation has been led in the wrong direction; war has broken out with neighboring countries, and the land has once again been subdivided. The nation simply cannot protect itself. How then can it deliver Mongolia? Recalling the actions of our ancestors, we cannot neglect our people and wait for national extermination by passing up this opportunity. Therefore, in April of last year, the Mongolian Congress was convened in Ujumuchin; it was decided to establish the Mongolian Military Government and to train the Mongolian Army, to protect the nation from the external threat of communism and to maintain peace and unification at home. An important foundation has been laid.

This fall, war broke out between Japan and China following the incident at Lukouqiao [Marco Polo Bridge]. Border officials took advantage of the situation to take military action against us. We, the Mongols, in order to carry out a proper defense, had no choice but to strengthen our army and prepare for war. Fortunately, because of the fine endeavors of our soldiers and with the assistance of a friendly [Japanese] army, we have been able to reconquer all the old Mongolian territory north of the Great Wall. Heaven has bestowed upon us this opportunity for national revival; therefore, we [Mongols] should courageously stand up and march forward for our national salvation. For this cause, delegates from all the leagues and banners, cities and *xians* have convened here today in this city of Suiyuan in order to discuss all important matters before us.

On October 28, the Second Congress, in the spirit of Chinggis Khan and in order to cooperate with various peoples and nationalities, passed a resolution to establish the Mongolian Allied Leagues Autonomous Government, taking originally Mongol lands as its territory. Pledged to anti-communism, the resolution outlined six important founding principles: livelihood, unification, education, development, nourishment, and defense. In order to strengthen friendliness and cooperation with neighbors and maintain the great hope of peace in East Asia, [we] elected Yondonwangchug and Demchugdongrob as chairman and vice chairman of the new government. The Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government will be established at Hohhot. All our people, officials, and soldiers should unite together in support of this new government. We also hope for assistance from sympathetic nations, for the benefit and peace of all peoples everywhere. This will not only benefit the Mongols, but all people everywhere. This [declaration] should be judged by both heaven and man, and it shall stand forever and ever.

II. The Principles of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government:

(1) The Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government should establish the posts of chairman and vice chairman. The chairman and vice chairman should be selected by the Mongolian Congress from among those prestigious and meritorious leaders who have played a prominent role in the Mongolian national survival movement.

(2) The Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government should take Mongolia's

original territory as its own territory. At the present time, however, this will temporarily include [only] Ulanhab League, Shilingol League, Chahar League, Bayantala League, Yekejuu League, and the cities of Baotou and Hohhot as the districts under its jurisdiction.

(3) The Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government takes defense against communism, and unification and cooperation of peoples and nationalities, as its basic founding principles. The six principles of livelihood, unification, education, development, nourishment, and defense are the goals of the administration.

(4) The Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government continues to use the flag formerly used by the Military Government.

(5) The Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government continues to use the chronology of Chinggis Khan, with months and days delineated with the solar calendar.

(6) The headquarters of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government shall be established in Hohhot.

(7) The powers assigned to both the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government and the various local governments should be regulated by law according to the principle of balance.

(8) The Mongolian Allied Leagues Autonomous Government's organizational law should be established separately.

III. The Preliminary Organizational Law of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government:

(1) The Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government should be organized with the following two departments, each governed by the chairman: Political Affairs Department and General Military Headquarters.

(2) The chairman, selected by the Mongolian Congress, should serve for a five-year term. The organization and power and function of the Mongolian Congress should be separately decided by the law.

(3) The chairman takes all responsibility for the administration of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government.

(4) The vice chairman of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government is to support and aid the chairman; should the chairman be unable to supervise the government, then this responsibility falls to the vice chairman. The vice chairman must be approved by the Mongolian Congress, but the vice chairman is appointed and discharged by the chairman.

(5) The Political Affairs Department manages governmental administration. A department head should be established for the Political Affairs Department.

(6) The General Military Headquarters governs matters concerning the military. A commander in chief should be established over the General Military Headquarters.

(7) When the chairman issues orders affecting the General Military Headquarters, the commander in chief must cosign these orders; the head of the Political Affairs Department must cosign all others.

(8) The Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government establishes the position of top advisor to the General Military Headquarters and Political Affairs Department. Each top advisor supports and aids the chairman in political and military matters, and each should reach mutual agreement with the chairman separately.

(9) The Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government establishes counselors to make inquiries of the chairman on important issues.

(10) The organization of the ministries of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government and of the local government offices should be regulated by law.

(11) This organizational law becomes effective on the day it was issued.

As is evident, the declaration was an attempt to understand and explain the political environment that surrounded the delegates as they met to form a new future for Mongolia. Its pro-Japanese slant was simply a matter of expediency rather than brotherly

devotion. The organizational outline of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government contains some very significant details, such as Article 1 (see above). With the death of Prince Sodnamrabdan, Prince Yondonwangchug became the most prestigious member of Mongol society. Prince Shagdurjab was also prestigious, but was of more limited experience; unlike Yondonwangchug, his experience was limited to the Yekejuu League. In addition, he had not attended the congress in person. Prince Yondonwangchug, on the other hand, had been a long time faithful supporter of Prince De. Though he was interested in Mongolian politics, he was without political ambition. As chairman, he would neither make an effort to become active in the daily running of government, nor would he interfere with Prince De's activities.

The young Prince De needed to show respect to his elders, especially the honorable Prince Yondonwangchug; Prince De's position as vice-chairman nonetheless allowed him free rein to do as he saw fit. By observing this important protocol, Prince De made it clear that this new government was following Mongolian tradition, and the governmental outlines of the former Beile-yin sume Political Council and the Jabsar Military Government. Recently, some people have speculated that this was originally Tojo Hideki's idea. This, however, seems to be a propagandist distortion. Aside from the aged Yondonwangchug, Prince De was the only prestigious and meritorious leader to have played a prominent role in the Mongolian autonomy movement. It seems the wording of this article was intended to place Prince De in a position of power.

Article 2 states that the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government was to "take Mongolia's original territory as its own territory." Prince De and his followers were aiming for the ideal of an independent Mongol state. The term *original territory* was a flexible one, and could include anything under it from the region then under their control, to all of Inner and Outer Mongolia, parts of Xinjiang and Kokonor (Qinghai), Buryatia, and other previously Mongol territories absorbed into the Soviet Union. Nor did the term original territories exclude previously Mongol territories in Manchukuo; therefore, the Japanese were initially reluctant to agree to this article. But since the wording was sufficiently vague and the proposal to take all these lands as Mongolian territory was clearly preposterous, the Japanese, under persistent Mongol pressure, gave in on this point.

Article 2 later states that initially the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government would concern itself merely with areas under the control of the Ulanbatai, Shilingol, Chahar, Bayantala and Yekejuu Leagues, and the cities of Hohhot and Baotou. This shows that despite the high-sounding proposals, the Mongol leadership had an astute understanding of the political realities of their situation.

The Bayantala League was a new league created by Prince De at the outset of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government period. The League subsequently disappeared following the end of the Second World War and collapse of the Mongolian government. Establishment of the new league came about after long discussion among Prince De, Wu Heling, the leaders of the Tumed Banner, the four Chahar Right Flank Banners, and the various Japanese advisors. Half of the land used by this new league originally came from Tumed.² By the time of the establishment of the new Mongolian

² Before the Manchu occupation of this area, the Tumed had been a powerful and prestigious tribe. After the Manchu occupation, the tribe was accused of disloyalty to the court; its feudal institutions and self-rule were abolished, and it was placed under the control of a Manchu *amban*, who was himself dominated by the Manchus. Later, following the Manchu-Jungar War, the Manchus estab-

regime, Tumed had been all but obliterated by *xians*.

The other half of Bayantala's territory was the land of the four Right Flank Banners of Chahar. In 1928, when the Nanjing government created the new provinces of Chahar and Suiyuan, these lands were placed under the administration of Suiyuan. When the new Mongol regime was in the process of being organized, the Right Flank Chahar Banners wanted to be reorganized into the new Chahar League. At the same time, Tumed was struggling for its existence, for the restoration of its rights of administration, and for the abolition of the *xians* in its midst. In reality, though, it was very difficult to put so many Chinese settlers under the jurisdiction of the Mongol Banners. Besides, if Tumed's lands were put under the control of Ulanhab, then the total number of Chinese living there would surpass the Mongol population in that league, destroying the traditional Mongol nature of Ulanhab.

In addition to these contradictory factors, there were the problems of heavy taxation and opium production in the region. The Japanese advisors proposed that the Chinese *xians* already established should not be dismantled; the example of the Chahar League should be followed instead. The *xians* and banners should be separated and placed under the general supervision of the league office. It was for this reason that a new league was established. North of Tumed and south of Ulanhab, there were two great monasteries, the Shireetu-juu and Udan-juu, both of them with lands and *shabinar*, or lay disciples, under their control. Because of the strong Chinese elements in the soon-to-be created Bayantala League, these monasteries sought incorporation in the more traditionally Mongol Ulanhab League. The name *Bayantala* means "a bountiful plain." During Yuan times, the administrative center of this district was Fengzhou, the "bountiful" prefecture.

In Article 3 of the outline, the principles of anti-communism and the unification and cooperation of nationalities were espoused. Anti-communism was an important principle for the Japanese advisors, though it also represented the interests of the Mongol leadership, who were horrified by conditions in the Mongolian People's Republic. The credo "unification and cooperation of nationalities" was borrowed from the Manchukuo regime, for whom it was an official slogan. The real goal of the Japanese was to be at the center of things and have the other nationalities in the area—the Chinese, Koreans, Manchus, and Mongols—bound together with them in a single cooperative unit. During their expansion into northwest China, the Japanese saw the importance of winning over the region's Moslems. Accordingly, they pressured the Mongols, as a subservient regime, to adopt the Manchukuo slogan of "unification and cooperation of nationalities." Initially, this had not been an important point for the Mongols, though they realized the importance of placating the Manchus, Moslems, and Han Chinese living under their jurisdiction, as well as the insistent Japanese advisors. In the end, the Mongols adopted the slogan, simply because there was no real reason to oppose it.

lished a new city on the eastern end of the old city of Hohhot, calling it Suiyuan. For greater security, a general was stationed there, and put in charge of the Tumed.

From the middle of the Manchu period on, because of the increased number of Chinese settlers in the area, the Manchu court established several administrative units in the area. These gradually evolved into *xians* placed under the control of the governor of Shanxi Province. At the end of the Manchu era, the number of Chinese settlers in the area greatly increased at the bidding of the governor of Shanxi, Cen Chunxuan, and the general at Suiyuan, Yigu. The influence of these Chinese settlers, especially in the fields of business and politics, greatly expanded as well. Fu Zuoyi's power base was built on this foundation.

The six guiding principles of livelihood, unification, education, development, nourishment, and defense were the proposals of Wu Heling. Wu later told me where he had found these proposals. Livelihood, unification, education, and nourishment (*sheng, ju, jiao, yang*) were, according to Chinese philosophy, the basic responsibilities of any good government, common among responsible governments in ancient and modern times. The Mongols, because of their weak national spirit, needed these basic principles reemphasized, lest the morale of the people diminish and die. At this point, outsiders were encroaching on the Mongol people, who were ill-prepared to defend themselves. Obviously, self-defense was necessary to preserve the fledgling society. Hence, development and defense were added to the traditional four goals of livelihood, unification, education, and nourishment.

Article 4 prescribes the continued use of the old Mongolian flag used by the Mongolian Military Government. This was done to build a sense of continuity between the old and new regimes. Details on the appearance of the flag have been covered in the previous chapter's section on the Mongolian Military Government.

Article 5 prescribes the continued use of the chronology of Chinggis Khan. New chronologies, according to Chinese tradition, express independence from the old dynasty or regime. By using Chinggis Khan's chronology, the Mongol leadership recalled the glorious days of the Mongol Empire.

Article 6 states that the new government was to be headquartered in Hohhot. This had been an important city in earlier times under other names and locating there had great political significance for the regime. Referring to it by its Mongolian name as Koke-Khota instead of by its newer Chinese appellations—Guihua, Suiyuan, or Hohhot (the latter being the official transliteration of Koke-Khota and the name employed in this work)—was an important symbolic move for the fledgling Mongol state.

Below are some important points to consider in the examination of the Preliminary Organizational Law of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government:

1) Articles 1, 5, and 6 indicate that in this newly established regime, political and military interests are divided and evenly weighted, with a system of checks and balances between the administration and military. Because of this division of powers, the civil administration could not effectively dominate the military. This plan was the proposal of the Japanese military authorities, who hoped to have Prince De lead the civil administration, and Li Shouxin lead the military. Earlier, during the Military Government period, Prince De had been both general director and commander in chief, though in reality, power was divided between the prince and Li. The separation of powers emphasized in this new regime had the goal of taking away some of Prince De's military power and giving it to the more obedient, subservient Li Shouxin.

2) Article 8 states that "the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government establishes the position of top advisor to the General Military Headquarters and Political Affairs Department. Each top advisor should support and aid the chairman in political and military matters, and should reach mutual agreement with the chairman separately." Compare this with the corresponding article in the Preliminary Law of the Mongolian Military Government, which reads, "An advisory office shall be established, with one head advisor and eight to sixteen special advisors. These advisors shall be carefully selected by the general director and appointed by the chairman. Assistants and interpreters shall be appointed by the general director. The administrative regulations of the advisory office shall be decided by separate law." This article clearly points out that the advisors were guest officials appointed by the senior Mongol political authority.

Article 8, however, does not make clear the origins of the new top advisors.

Though it appears that the advisors need the approval of the chairman, it was in reality the other way around; the role of guest and host had been reversed. In other words, following Japan's great military victory, the power of the Mongol leaders diminished in relation to that of the Japanese "guest" advisors. A discrepancy existed between these provisions, which I found in the collected laws and ordinances published in 1939 by the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government, and documents published by Zenrinkyokai, *Chosa-geppo*, #68, Tokyo, 1938. The first documents indicate that Article 8 of the preliminary organizational law of the Mongolian Allied Leagues Autonomous Government does not stipulate the need for the chairman's separate approval for senior advisors.

3) The wording of Article 9, "The Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government establishing counselors to answer the inquiries of the chairman on important issues" indicates, on the surface at least, that counselors were the true advisors to the chairman. Significantly, this article was placed after the article providing for special (Japanese) advisors, indicating the primacy of the advisors over the counselors. This article was included for convenience in the arrangement and organization of personnel. Some outstanding and potentially valuable individuals, because of various circumstances, were effectively barred from power; the role of counselor was a nonfunctioning but honorable position that would keep them occupied but isolated. Wu Heling was made a counselor in order to placate him and allow greater Japanese supremacy.

Founding of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government

After a month of work following the Mongolian Congress, the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government was founded, on December 1, 1937, in the newly renamed Koke-Khota (Hohhot). Headquarters were set up in the old Suiyuan Provincial Government compound, the former headquarters of Fu Zuoyi. On the same day, several important personnel orders were issued in the name of the chairman and vice-chairman: Prince De was appointed head of the Department of Administration, Li Shouxin as commander in chief, and Togtakhu as Minister of General Affairs of the Department of Administration. Jirgalang was installed as Minister of Finance, and Shonodondub as Minister of Peace Preservation. On December 2, the new government appointed Temurbagatur (a Mongol from Zhenjiang, Jiangsu province, and the nephew of Yuchun, the Manchukuo delegate at Hohhot) as the head of the General Affairs Bureau of the General Affairs Department. The following four men were also appointed to the General Affairs Department: Mandaltu as the head of the Bureau of International Affairs, Jagunnasutu as head of the Foreign Affairs Bureau, Makhshiri as head of the Legal Codification Bureau, and Engkeamur as head of the Construction Bureau. Bayar was appointed as head of the Taxation Bureau of the Ministry of Finance, Sangdugureng as head of the Police Affairs Bureau of the Peace Preservation Ministry, and Jorigtu (Guan Yinnan) as head of the Judiciary Bureau of the Peace Preservation Ministry. On the same day, league heads were appointed: Rinchinwangdud as head of the Shilingol League, Jodbajab as head of the Chahar League, Buyandalai as head of the Bayantala League, and Shagdarjab as head of the Yekejuu League. He Pinwen was made mayor of Hohhot, and Liu Jiguang mayor of Baotou.

As prescribed in Article 9 of the preliminary organizational law, counselors were appointed. Wu Heling took the position of Chief Counselor; Khorjurjab, Buyanoljei and Yin Baoshan also accepted counselor posts.

The problems of personnel appointments were among the more serious issues Prince De had to face. The General Affairs Department was the functional head of the new government, and Togtakhu was placed in control of it, following persistent Japanese pressure based on their mistrust of Prince De. Togtakhu, in a move to build up his power base, pushed out Wu Heling, putting him in the weak position of counselor. The Japanese, ever mistrustful of Wu, actively sought his political demise. Khorjurjab was given the post of counselor because of his loyalty and long service to Prince De; and Yin Baoshan was maneuvered into a new position as well, thus effectively cutting them all off from the powerful military divisions nominally under their control.

Among those who came from Beiping, Jagunnasutu soon allied himself with Togtakhu and was accordingly appointed to the position of head of the Foreign Affairs Bureau. On the basis of Wu Heling's recommendation, Mandaltu and Sangbu also obtained positions in the new government. Mandaltu was really too qualified to accept a post in the Internal Affairs Bureau under Togtakhu, but frightened by the possibility of falling into Japanese hands back in Beiping, he accepted the post; it offered protection, if nothing else. Sangbu had been one of the highest ranking Chinese officers in Urga (Ulaanbaatar) during Xu Shuzheng's 1919-1921 occupation of Outer Mongolia. The reluctant Ao Yunzhang, faithful to Prince De, refused any important appointment in the new regime and returned to hiding in Beiping. The ambitious Wubao craved an important position in the new government, but because of his incompetence, was offered only an insignificant junior position. He had once been a *jasag*; having a keen sense of protocol, he recognized the appointment as an insult and returned to Beiping in a fury.³ Mongkebagatur, evading the surveillance of the Japanese, made contact with the followers of the Janggiya *Khutugtu* in the northwest, and joined up with anti-Japanese forces south of the Yellow River. On the basis both of Wu Heling's recommendations and my father's long-time friendship with Prince De, I was appointed as an administrative assistant to Mandaltu in the Interior Affairs Bureau. Because of this, I was in a good position to observe the top leaders, and I clearly recall conditions surrounding the founding of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government.

Feelings of both joy and pessimism pervaded the foundation of the new Allied League Government. A new sense of hope had been instilled among the movement's leadership by the defeat of Fu Zuoyi and the unification of all of western Inner Mongolia under one regime. Nagging worries about Japanese intentions plagued the new leaders, however, and the new regime was in reality impotent because the Japanese effectively controlled the Mongolian military. The Mongol leadership was concerned about the pervasive feeling that the Japanese were conducting an anti-Mongol conspiracy, not a situation conducive to optimism. At this time, I could not meet with Prince De, though I heard from Wu Heling, Wu Guting, and Mandaltu of the leader's concerns.

On December 14, the new government established the chairman's secretariat with three divisions: the General Affairs Division to handle official government documents, hold the government's official seal, and regulate accounts and other general affairs; the Social Relations Division to supervise community affairs, ritualistic and religious matters, and normal social relations; and the Security Division to handle the government's bodyguards, horses, and wagons. Prince De appointed Sairjikhü as office chief. Among the secretaries, two of the perhaps more important ones were Ruiyong and Kogjintei. Both were from the Dahur area in eastern Inner Mongolia. Kogjintei, introduced

³ When Prince De and a group of his associates retreated to Beiping after World War II, Wubao used his position there to betray the prince.

previously, does not need be discussed further here. Ruiyong, a graduate of the political science department at Tokyo's Waseda University, played an important role as Prince De's part-time translator, partially supplanting the manipulative and opportunistic Togtakhu.

The office of advisor did not appear in the Organizational Law of the Secretariat. Despite this, the Japanese military authorities recommended Muratani Hikojiro to be the chief advisor to the Secretariat, and Prince De had a difficult time rejecting their offer. Muratani, a soft-liner on Mongolian affairs, had previously been passed over as Chief Advisor to the Allied League Government in favor of the much more doctrinaire Kanai Shoji. Nonetheless, the military authorities were anxious to use the good contacts Muratani had established with the Mongol leaders. Both Muratani and Prince De were uncomfortable when the Japanese authorities recommended Kanai as the top advisor; Muratani, interested primarily in developing sound and just relations with the Mongol people, was loathe to accept the position of informer. He intervened as little as possible in the Secretariat, leaving affairs in Mongol hands. He acted as a mediator between Prince De and the Japanese military authorities, supporting the prince in all things as an impartial, concerned advisor. By so doing, he won the respect and admiration of the Mongol leaders and was popular throughout his stay in Mongolia. He was the only advisor among many who truly advanced the much-heralded cause of "Mongol-Japanese friendship."

Prince De's appointment of league heads prudently preserved the status quo. Shagdarjab's appointment as head of the Yekejuu League was an attempt to win the support of the many Mongols living under Chinese domination. The appointment of Buyandalai as head of the Bayantala League was somewhat more complicated. Though Buyandalai could not effectively administer the newly formed league, he was a longtime supporter and relative of Prince De. Buyandalai had initially coveted the position of Minister of General Affairs, but this position went to Togtakhu, at the insistence of the Japanese. As a reward for his dedicated support of the independence movement, though, Buyandalai was appointed head of the newly created and wealthy league of Bayantala. He was, however, an outsider, with roots neither in the Tumed Banner nor in the four Right Flank Banners of Chahar; thus his appointment caused much discord. In an effort to calm the tempest, Prince De appointed a much respected Tumed man, Mergenbagatur, a graduate in political science of Beijing University, to be the league vice-head. The head of the league's Industrial Bureau was another Tumed man, the Japanese-educated He Yunzhang, formerly director of Fu Zuoyi's textile enterprise in the area. Chogbagatur, a graduate of the Kuomintang Political Academy in Nanjing, was given charge of the Civilian Affairs Bureau, with the responsibility to assist the neophyte Buyandalai.

Control of the Mongolian Army's Seventh Division fell to Damrinsurung, the most prestigious *amban* in the four Right Flank Banners of Chahar, a man whose political knowledge was exceeded only by his military prestige. Fu Xiande, a graduate of the Nanjing Military Academy, was appointed *amban* in his stead. In addition, Prince De attempted to place qualified Mongols in control of the various Chinese *xians* in the area.

The municipal government of Hohhot was based on the now-defunct Suiyuan Committee for Peace Maintenance, with He Bingwen appointed as mayor. A loyal follower of Li Shouxin, Liu Jiguang, who was the commander of the First Division of the Mongolian Army, was under heavy Japanese suspicion and surveillance and was pushed out of office. Li Shouxin then recommended that Prince De appoint Liu as mayor of Baotou. Namur (Liu Jianhua) became the new chief of police at Hohhot, and concurrently and secretly held the position of regional agent for the Military Statistics Bureau of Chiang Kai-shek's Military Affairs Committee in that area.

Following the appointment of Li Shouxin as commander in chief of the Mongolian Army, Wu Guting became the chief of staff, with Liu Xinghan as the vice chief of staff. Six bureaus fell under their leadership. Li staffed the various bureaus with many of his old Chinese followers, except for Wu Guting, Arbijkhu, Sainbiligtu, and one or two others.

After Liu Jiguang and Yin Baoshan were released from their military responsibilities, control of the First and Second Divisions passed to Ding Qichang and Chen Sheng, respectively, with Wang Zhenhua commanding the Third Division and Buyandelger remaining in control of the Fourth Division. Ihengge resigned as head of the Fifth Division and returned home to eastern Inner Mongolia; control of the division fell to Han Fenglou, a brother of the Kokebagatur who had been kidnapped and killed by Chinese agents in Beijing several years before. Tobgereltu, a Kharachin man who had previously served in the Ude-Pangjiang Defense Forces, commanded the Sixth Division after Buyan-oljei was appointed counselor to Prince De.

The Seventh Division had been disbanded following its defeat at the hands of Fu Zuoyi. The position of commander of the division remained open, however, until the division was reorganized with Japanese approval under the control of Damrinsurung. Long-time Prince De supporter Sainbayar was forced out of control of the Eighth Division, which was in turn placed under the command of Jachingjab. Sangdugureng remained as commander of the Ninth Division. More Mongols than Chinese populated the senior ranks of the Mongolian Army. With so high a percentage of Mongol leaders, Prince De could be more powerful in this governmental endeavor than his sinicized commander in chief, Li Shouxin. This improved Wu Guting's position as well.

Kanai Shoji and the Japanese Advisors

With the occupation of Hohhot, rumors began to circulate that Kanai Shoji had been appointed top advisor to the Allied League Government. Despite this, however, Kanai failed to actually receive this post, sparking more political rumors. To counter the gossip, the authorities appointed Muratani Hikojiro as chief advisor to the Secretariat; in addition, they delivered their "suggestions" on other candidates for other senior advisory posts. As suggested, Nakajima Manzo was put in as advisor to the General Affairs Ministry, Kushibe Masateru as advisor to the Ministry of Finance, and Omada Hisayoshi as advisor to the Ministry of Peace Preservation. Kanai soon turned up in Kalgan, and under the pretext of being too busy there, he appointed Uyama Heishi as his deputy advisor in Hohhot. Before long, though, Uyama was officially made top advisor to the Allied League Government—this being the fruit of Kanai's devious plot to elevate himself at the expense of the senior Mongol leadership.

Kanai planned to combine the current Mongol regime with the two puppet regimes in Northern Shanxi and Southern Chahar to form a new regime named the Joint Committee of Mongolian Territory. Kanai hoped to offset the increasingly autonomous Mongols with the other two puppet regimes. Kanai was placing himself above Takaki Ichinari and Maejima Noboru, the senior advisors to the Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi regimes. By himself taking the position of senior advisor to the Allied League Government, Kanai would have put it above the Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi regimes; by instead putting an assistant in as senior advisor to the Allied League Mongols, he would be putting the Allied League Government on a par with the two puppet regimes, and effectively would control all three himself. Kanai's goal was to bring Prince

De down to the same level as Yu Pinqing, the former Kalgan shopkeeper, and Xia Gong, the tired old Confucian scholar, as ruler of a puppet regime on the same level as Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi. Though the Mongols knew full well what Kanai was up to, they could not stop his formation of the Joint Committee of Mongolian Territory.

Uyama Heishi maintained a healthy distance between himself and the Mongols. However, he also felt himself out of step with Kanai's policies. Despite all his efforts, he could not influence Prince De to accept Japanese orders from Kalgan; he was equally unsuccessful at helping the Japanese understand Prince De's opinions on points of mutual concern. Finding himself in this difficult position, Uyama resigned his post and left Mongolia during the winter of 1938-39. Following his departure, the Japanese appointed Itsuna Ei as the new senior advisor to the Allied League Government.

Kushibe Masateru, one of the Japanese advisors who left a good impression on the Mongols, cooperated with Jirgalang, the minister of finance, to organize the economic institutions of the young regime. In 1939, with the dissolution of the Allied League Government, Kushibe resigned his post in disappointment, and left Mongolia for Shanghai. Nakajima Manzo, because of his powerful role as advisor to the General Affairs Department, supported the devious Togtakhu, helping him to become better entrenched. The lackluster Omada Hisayoshi failed to leave any special impression on the Mongol people; nevertheless, his duties as advisor to the Ministry of Peace Preservation placed him in effective control of the Allied League police forces, through which he took steps to create a secret police force. Though he was merely doing the job he had been sent to do, these actions provoked both Mongols and Chinese living in his jurisdiction.

Kanai's Plot to Create the Joint Committee of Mongolian Territories

While Prince De and his associates were focusing their attention on domestic problems, Kanai was winning support from the Japanese military authorities to go ahead with his proposed organization of the Joint Committee, headquartered in Kalgan. When he realized that Prince De was furious about the plan, Kanai calmly welcomed the prince as a delegate to the Joint Committee then being planned. Following the prince's angry refusal, Kanai appointed Jodbajab, the Chahar League head, to be the official representative of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government to the new Joint Committee of Mongolian Territories. Kanai then notified Prince De of his underling's appointment in order to force the prince to comment. On November 22, 1937, the agreement for the establishment of the Joint Committee of Mongolian Territories was ratified, with Jodbajab signing as the official delegate from the Allied League Government. Yu Pinqing was the representative from the Southern Chahar Autonomous Government, and Xia Gong was the delegate from the Northern Shanxi Autonomous Government. The agreement is as follows:

Article I. This Joint Committee, officially to be titled the "Joint Committee of Mongolian Territory" [*Mengjiang lianhe weiyuanhui*], sets about to organize the industry, commerce, finances, and other important affairs of the territory under its jurisdiction. All other political regimes within this territory should surrender a measure of their power to this committee, to allow it to exercise its authority.

Article II. The Joint Committee establishes committees for general affairs, industry, finance, communications, and other important issues. These committees should be staffed by officials dispatched from all local regimes.

Article III. The General Affairs Committee shall represent the Joint Committee in the administration of affairs.

Article IV. The Joint Committee establishes the posts of [Japanese] top advisor, advisors, and consultants.

Article V. The decisions of the Joint Committee must be agreed to by its members, as well as the top advisors and other related advisors. The Committee's decisions are then considered ratified.

Article VI. The Joint Committee is to issue ordinances concerning its administration and control. All regimes are then required to observe these ordinances.

Article VII. The Joint Committee's finances are to be provided separately by the three political regimes.

Article VIII. The Joint Committee, at the request of the three regimes, shall administer their common properties.

Article IX. This committee shall not be permitted to disband save with the permission of all three regimes.

Article X. This agreement shall be written in Japanese, Chinese, and Mongolian. Should there be any disagreement between the three texts, then the Japanese text shall be considered official.

signed this 22 November,
26th Year of the Republic of China
732nd Year of Chinggis Khan at Kalgan.

After signing this agreement, Kanai nominated officers for the new committee. Kanai, of course, was put in as top advisor and chairman of the General Affairs Committee. Jodbajab, Yu Pinqing, Xia Gong, Togtakhu, Altanochir, Du Yunyu, and Ma Yongkui were appointed to the General Affairs Committee. The Industrial Committee consisted of Togtakhu, Yu Pinqing, and Ma Yongkui. Togtakhu, Altanochir and Du Yunyu headed up the Transportation and Communications Committee. The Monetary Committee consisted of Du Yunyu and Ma Yongkui, under the direction of Muratani Hikojiro.

As can easily be seen, Kanai Shoji held the balance of power in the new Joint Committee. All other committee members and consultants were office holders in name and title only; real power lay in Kanai's hands. The three Mongols holding positions on the Joint Committee—Altanochir, Togtakhu and Jodbajab—served at the bidding of Kanai, without need for the approval of Prince De. Though he did not really approve of them, Prince De was forced to accept the *fait accompli* of their appointment. Sadly, though, by letting these Mongol leaders drift into the Japanese camp, Prince De was in effect encouraging others to defect too. Kanai did all he could to elevate Jodbajab, and seemed to be systematically turning him into a new, subservient yes-man to take over in the new Mongolian puppet regime from Prince De. It had become obvious to Kanai that Prince De would persist in his stubborn opposition to the Joint Committee and that a more compliant Mongol "leader" would be needed.

Following the formation of the Joint Committee, a new name for Mongolia entered the East Asian lexicon—*Mengjiang*. The Japanese called the region *Mokyo*. The Joint Committee was thus called the *Mengchiang* or *Mokyo* regime, to the consternation and detriment of the now-weakened Allied League Government. Politically, the Mengjiang Committee took the place of the Allied Leagues Government in dealing with foreign interests. Domestically, too, it effectively controlled the situation in finance, transportation, and communication. The committee did whatever it could to aid Japan in its rapid expansion and quest for raw materials. Soon the committee opened the Mengjiang Bank, the Mengjiang Railway Bureau, the Longyan Iron Mine (in Xuanhua), the Datong Coal Mine, the *Mengjiang Daily News*, and the Mongolian Wool and Hide Export Coop-

erative, all centered in Kalgan. Politically and economically, Kalgan became the regional center, overshadowing Hohhot, which soon came to be regarded as the unofficial headquarters of a second-rate political regime. Clearly, a political battle was heating up between Kanai and the prince, a confrontation that Prince De sadly seemed fated to lose.

Soon after the establishment of the Joint Committee, the Mengjiang Bank was formally chartered, with assets totaling twelve million Mengjiang *yuan*, the *yuan* being almost equal in face value to the Japanese *yen*. Most of these assets came from two smaller banks in Chahar and Suiyuan which had been taken over by the Mengjiang Bank. Some assets had also been transferred from the Shanxi Provincial Bank. This bank soon became intimately associated with Japanese political power in Mongolia.

In an effort to win the goodwill of the Mongols, the Japanese authorities discussed with Prince De the possibility of giving Sainbayar the position of General Director of the Mengchiang Bank, with the assistance of Yamada Moichi. The prince agreed, but unfortunately, Sainbayar, unfamiliar with the complexities of modern finance, was completely dominated by Yamada and soon became nothing more than a figurehead. Because only a handful of Mongols had studied modern finance, the Mongols had little recourse to forestall this blatant Japanese domination of their economy.

After having been relieved of his military responsibilities, Sainbayar used his poor eyesight as a pretext to avoid becoming openly involved in politics. However, this does not mean that he eschewed politics; he remained one of Prince De's more influential personal advisors, though he had no official title. Remaining in Beiping, he contacted officials of the Soviet consulate there to discuss the possibility of using Soviet and Outer Mongolian assistance to counter the Japanese presence in Inner Mongolia. It is difficult to determine whether Prince De approved of these actions or not, though some degree of complicity seems likely. Sainbayar soon fell under Japanese suspicion, though the Japanese were unable to prove any wrongdoing on his part. Before he passed away in 1938, he discussed with Prince De the possibility of using the prince's plane to defect to the Mongolian Peoples Republic. However, realizing that this would surely have a negative effect on the Mongolian cause, Prince De was able to discourage Sainbayar from making this adventurous move. It thus appears that Prince De at least knew of Sainbayar's Soviet contacts.

Headquarters of the Japanese Army in Mongolia

Soon after the establishment of the Joint Committee, the Japanese Army established its new headquarters in Mongolia, and its commander in chief and staff began to manipulate the Mengjiang regime. After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the Japanese western campaign was carried out by both the Guandong and North China Armies. The North China Army originally had no contact with the Mongolian independence movement; but the opposite was true of the Guandong Army, which had long championed the notion of Mongolian autonomy. The Guandong Army became the new Japanese Army in Mongolia and was placed under the authority of the North China Army. Cut off from the more sympathetic Guandong Army, Prince De and the Mongolian autonomy movement fell onto hard times in the face of the ascendancy of the North China Army.

The Japanese Army in Mongolia was formally organized on January 1, 1938. Important personnel included Lieutenant General Hasunuma Shigeru as commander in chief, Major General Ishimoto Torazo as chief of staff, Lt. Colonel Okabe Eichi as staff director for warfare, Lieutenant Colonel Ohashi Kumao as staff director for intelligence,

and Lieutenant Colonel Nakamura Gijuro as staff director for political affairs. All had been formerly attached to the Guandong Army.

On January 4, the new Japanese Army in Mongolia issued a proclamation in the name of the Emperor of Japan, directed to the peoples and territories under its domain. It reads as follows:

Article I: Order and peace should be maintained by the commander in chief of the army stationed in Mongolia, in the areas of Inner Mongolia, Southern Chahar, and Northern Shanxi.

Article II: The combat zone for the army stationed in Mongolia and the Guandong Army shall be composed of Manchukuo, Inner Mongolia, and Chahar province. The North China Army is to take control of areas south of the Great Wall, including the two provinces of Suiyuan and Shanxi.

The Japanese Army in Mongolia had previously (on December 24, 1937) issued a communiqué entitled "Important Outline for Chinese Incidents" regarding political policy in the region just before the establishment of its headquarters. The document pointed out that "at a suitable time, Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi should be unified with the North China political regime, the preliminary government of the [new] Republic of China."⁴ Of course this policy was initiated by the North China Army and, in a bid for compromise, was agreed to by the Guandong Army. The principle behind the communiqué was the separate existence of the three so-called Mengjiang regimes, agreed to in principle by Prince De. This basic policy was anathema, however, to the powerful Kanai Shoji, who had gone to great lengths to arrange for the Joint Committee's unification of the three regimes. At the same time, however, in a bid to support the newly organized pro-Japanese North China regime, Kanai announced that his Joint Committee was still a part of China, and had not been established with the goal of Mongolian independence in mind.

Naturally, these negotiations were strictly confidential. Had Prince De and the other Mongol leaders been aware of them, perhaps they could have persuaded the provisional Chinese government in Beijing to press for the dissolution of the Mengjiang regime and the incorporation of Northern Shanxi and Southern Chahar into their government. This would have left a separate (and hence more likely to be independent) Mongolia. At the very least, such a move would have increased Prince De's power base. However, the Japanese officials had decided to keep the Mongol leaders uninformed. Wang Kemin, head of the North China regime, did not know Prince De's feelings on this subject, and so complied with the Japanese demands. Nonetheless, Wang Kemin, reluctant to incorporate Northern Shanxi and Southern Chahar into his new regime, remained sympathetic to the idea of Mongolian autonomy.

The Japanese remained antagonistic to the development of real autonomy for Mongolia, and they sought to use Inner Mongolia's desire for independence to further their own ends. With Kanai's incorporation ploy temporarily set aside, the Japanese requested Chinese recognition of Mongolian sovereignty, ironically based on the principles of Mongolian self-determination. On January 2, 1938, a solution was presented to China and Japan by Dr. Todmann, the German Ambassador to China who had volunteered his services as a mediator at the outset of the war. Article V of the solution states that "an

⁴ See Morimazu Shisao, "Mokyo Hachinen no Mamori—Chumogun no Rekishi," *Omoite no Naimoko* (Tokyo, 1975), p. 32.

independent government should be established in Inner Mongolia." The Chinese refused to respect such blatant Japanese manipulation. Undoubtedly, the terms of this peace treaty were decided upon by the Japanese, prior to the formation of the headquarters of the Japanese Army in Mongolia.

The Death of Prince Yondonwangchug and Prince De's Appointment to the Chairmanship

Prince Yondonwangchug's health declined, and disadvantaged by his advanced age and Buddhist lack of interest in worldly affairs, as well as his distrust and abhorrence of the Japanese, he played a relatively passive role in Mongolian politics. He had even avoided the important preliminary meetings at Jabsar and Hohhot, and though elected to the chairmanship, he always left the daily matters of administration to the younger and more active Prince De. He was, nonetheless, a very popular individual, and his support lent great prestige and acceptance to both Prince De and the government of the Allied Leagues in Hohhot, especially among the leagues and banners outside Shilingol and Chahar.

On March 20, 1938, Prince Yondonwangchug died at his home. Shirabdorji, the late Prince's nephew, left Prince Yon's official residence to give a personal report of his death to Prince De and to present him with a copy of Prince Yon's will as dictated to his daughter. The following is a translation of the will from the Chinese.

From my youth, I have always taken the recovery of the Mongol people and nation as my personal goal. Even as an old and tired man, I have persisted in this calling, never releasing myself from these endeavors. Unfortunately, I am now gripped with a deadly disease, and there is no hope for my recovery. I sincerely hope that all the civilian and military officials under our vice-chairman, the leaders of all the leagues, banners, cities, and *xians*, together with the nation as a whole, cooperate with a spirit of love. Working together with other peoples and nations, march forward for the reconstruction of our people. Be diligent in the great task of national construction.⁵

It is impossible to obtain a copy of the prince's will in Mongolian, and even the origin of the Chinese translation is obscure. His exhortation to "cooperate with a spirit of love [and] work together with other peoples and nations" was a meaningful and symbolic phrase. Perhaps Prince Yondonwangchug had felt that the failure of the Mongolian Political Council at Beile-yin sume was a result of the plotting of Yan Xishan and Fu Zuoyi. Nevertheless, it was internal disunity that ultimately had destroyed the council. The struggle continued after the Japanese occupation. This malicious plotting, backed by foreign elements, disappointed Prince Yon greatly. He included warnings against this in his final will, in an effort to increase love and cooperation. His plea to cooperate with other peoples and nations was probably a reference to the East Asian situation of the time. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that he did not specifically refer to Japan or any other bordering nation.

After news of Prince Yondonwangchug's death reached Hohhot, Prince De left for the official funeral. Upon his arrival, he delivered one simple phrase of condolence—"Where, then, shall I go?" In light of the long-term cooperation between the two princes,

⁵ *Menggu lianmeng zizhi zhengfu faling huibian* (Collection of Laws and Orders of the Mongolian Allied Leagues Autonomous Government).

these words represent Prince De's heartfelt mourning for his departed friend and ally. According to Mongolian tradition, the mourning continued for one hundred days; Prince De thus refused to accept the post of chairman until July 1 of that year, when the Third Mongolian Congress convened and elected him chairman.

Wu Heling's Japanese Exile

Another problem that greatly agitated Prince De was the position of Wu Heling. Wu had been placed in important and trusted positions following his return from Nanjing, and had played an important role in drafting many of the important plans for Mongolian autonomy. Nevertheless, he was continually under Japanese suspicion, and frequently attacked by Altanochir and Togtakhu. He roused Kanai Shoji's anger by guiding Prince De into leading the Mongolian resistance to Kanai's plans. As evidence of his slipping political fortunes, Wu's name was not included in the official proceedings of the Second Mongolian Congress at Hohhot. With the organization of the Allied League Government, Wu was given an "honorable" though powerless position as head of the Committee of Counselors. Secretly, he still influenced Prince De on important matters, a fact that greatly agitated the Japanese.

In an effort to dispose of the troublesome Wu, Kanai asked the military to persuade him to go to Japan as a private citizen, there to devote himself to the study of Japan and the Japanese mind, so that when he eventually returned to Mongolia, he would be able to help build Mongol-Japanese relations. This was the superficial reason for Wu's involuntary Japanese exile. In reality, Kanai needed to dispose of him so he could build and develop the new Mengjiang regime unhindered. Realizing the difficulties he faced, Prince De encouraged Wu to accept the invitation and go to Japan. He instructed Wu to undertake a secret mission there to try to weaken the new Mengjiang Committee in Japan and to unofficially represent the Allied League Government in Tokyo.

The Allied League Government promised Wu a secretary if he went to Japan; a Japanese advisor/assistant, Yamamoto Nobunaga, would also accompany him. Wu, realizing that he had no choice, left Hohhot for Beiping on his way to Japan. While in Beiping, during the spring of 1938, Wu contacted several young Mongolian intellectuals in a futile attempt to find a secretary to accompany him. Finally, he asked me to accompany him, and because I was related by marriage, I could not refuse. Leaving Beiping in April, we sailed to Japan via Tanku. I spent one and one-half years with him in Japan. Since there was much free time to talk, I was able to learn many political secrets from Wu. Together, we began graduate school at Tokyo's Waseda University. Still, these were not happy times for me; I found the elderly Wu's way of thought, principles, and lifestyle uncomfortably different from my own. Accordingly, in the fall of 1939, I resigned my post of secretary and left Wu's company. From that point onward, we two were unable to cooperate freely, even on matters of mutual interest, like the Mongolian independence movement.

Despite my departure, Wu Heling stayed in Tokyo until the spring of 1941. During this time, he was permitted two visits to Mongolia. During the first half of his stay in Japan, when I accompanied him, things were arranged by Oshima Yutaka, a member of the governing board of Zenrin Kyokai. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also appointed Nakane Naosuke to help coordinate matters. Formerly, Nakane had been stationed in Ulan-khada (Chifeng) as a consul, and thus was acquainted with Mongolian affairs.

While in Japan as Wu's secretary, I had the opportunity to meet many prominent

Japanese people, including some members of the government, such as Tojo Hideki, Araki Sadao (former minister of the army), Hirota Koki (later to be prime minister), Toyama Mitsuru (leader of the *Kokuryukai*), Kasame Yoshiaki (a leading right-wing philosopher), Hayashi Senjuro (former viceroy of Korea and former prime minister), Matsui Iwane (former commander in chief of Japanese military forces in China), and Lieutenant General Yanakawa Heisuke (head of the Board for the Development of Asia). I followed Wu in his travels to the eastern and northern regions of Japan, including places like Hokkaido and Sakhalin.

During his stay in Japan, Wu always emphasized the need for Mongolian independence to every Japanese leader that he met. He also established contact with other Mongol leaders and students in Japan. At that time, over one hundred Mongols were living in Japan, most of them from territories included in Manchukuo; the rest were dispatched by the Allied League Government. The eldest of the Mongols in Tokyo was Oljei (Shi Yunqing), a professor of Mongolian at the Tokyo Academy of Foreign Languages (the present Tokyo University for Foreign Studies) from Kharachin. Though uninterested in politics, he made great efforts to help his fellow countrymen in Japan. Oyundalai, a counselor at the Manchukuo Embassy in Tokyo, was assigned to supervise the Mongol students from Manchukuo. Ashkan, a young Mongol officer in the Manchukuo Army who was studying at the Japanese Army War College, greatly influenced his fellow Mongols. Prince Yondansangbu, *jasag* of the Tumed Left Banner, was also a student at Waseda University.

Prince De's Election to the Chairmanship and the Reorganization of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government

The Third Mongolian Congress was held at the Hohhot city hall at the beginning of July 1938. On July 1, Prince De was unanimously elected to the chairmanship of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government. With Prince De's support, Li Shouxin was elected as vice chairman. Both were immediately inaugurated, and an official inaugural declaration was then issued by Prince De, as follows:

I, [Demchugdongrob], the vice chairman, am both honored and glorified by the congress in their support of my election to the chairmanship of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government. I consider myself both less prestigious and less capable [than my late predecessor], and am afraid that I may be unable to accomplish this heavy assignment. Nevertheless, I will follow the fearless example of our great ancestor, Chinggis Khan, and the [exemplary] will of our predecessor, Prince Yondonwangchug. Remaining true to this mission that you, the congress, have given me—and adhering to the basic principles of anti-communism, unification, and cooperation of nationalities, as well as the six guiding principles of livelihood, unification, education, development, nourishment, and defense—I will not shirk from these difficulties; neither will I complain in this task. I shall rather rush toward these goals. [I] sincerely hope that all the honorable guests from friendly countries will, in the spirit of mutual assistance and peaceful coexistence, faithfully deliver their instruction and help us. Also, I look forward to the entire nation striving together in this great enterprise of national construction and the realization of peace in East Asia. Seas may dry and stone erode, but my determination will never change or weaken. This should be realized and accepted by both heaven and earth, and by gods and men.

This statement emphasizes how fully Prince De realized the many obstacles in the way of Mongolian nationhood. His emphasis on the great enterprise of national con-

struction bespeaks his unbending will. He spoke sternly on the subject because there was simply nothing else left for him to do.

After his inauguration as Chairman, Prince De announced that in order to deal with some personnel problems that had hindered the new regime, he would personally lead the Political Affairs Department, and that Vice-Chairman Li Shouxin would be Commander-in-Chief of the Mongolian Army. Prince De then examined the function and organization of the government, spending one month reflecting on the changes needed. He placed the Political Affairs Department under the direction of the Chairman, then added four ministries to the General Affairs Board: Civilian Administration, Finance, Animal Husbandry, and Peace Preservation. Should the head of the Political Affairs Department be unable to function, then control of the department was to shift to the head of the General Affairs Board. Should the head of the General Affairs Board be unable to function, then the chairman was to appoint one of his ministers to rule in his stead. Five bureaus were attached to the General Affairs Board: Personnel, Accounting, General Affairs, Planning, and Foreign Affairs. Three bureaus were added to the Civilian Administration Ministry: Internal Affairs, Education, and Construction. Two bureaus were added to the Ministry of Finance: Financial Affairs and Taxation. The bureaus of Husbandry and Grazing Management were added to the Ministry of Animal Husbandry. Likewise, the bureaus of Police Administration and Jurisdiction were established in the Ministry of Peace Preservation.

This reorganization limited the function of the General Affairs Board to purely internal matters of the Political Affairs Department, with the nominal exception of the Foreign Affairs Bureau. The three internal affairs bureaus were moved from the General Affairs Board to the newly created Ministry of Civilian Administration. The Ministry of Animal Husbandry was established to enrich the various leagues and banners and to improve the pastoral zones. It also attempted to safeguard against Chinese extortion in the animal economy and to raise the standard of living of the herding population. The Japanese supported the formation of this ministry because it would increase their control over the domesticated animals of Mongolia and the local supplies of hides, horses, and wool for military use. The Accounting Bureau of the former Ministry of Finance was placed under the control of the General Affairs Board. The overall function of the Peace Preservation Ministry remained unchanged. Togtakhu remained head of the General Affairs Bureau, and Tegshibuyan (formerly head of the Ministry of Peace Preservation) was appointed Minister of Civilian Administration. Jirgalang remained as Minister of Finance. Khorjurjab took control of the Ministry of Animal Husbandry, whereas Shonnudongrob, *jasag* of Right Abaga Banner of the Shilingol League, became Minister of Peace Preservation.

Beside these boards and ministries, some other organizations were also placed under the Political Affairs Department. Some had been established early in the era of the Military Government; some were established only after Prince De's inauguration as Chairman. Minister of Finance Jirgalang also served as director of the Bureau of Taxation, in charge of enforcing the prohibition against the opium trade and regulating the administration of salt taxes and customs fees. Prince De himself headed the Planning Committee of the Political Affairs Department; Li Shouxin chaired the Committee of Land Administration. The leaders of the General Wireless Bureau and Bureau of Domesticated Animal Veterinarians were also appointed. Altanochir, because of his ties to the Joint Committee, did not receive a new appointment; and Enkeburin, sent as the Mongolian representative to Manchukuo, was stationed in the Manchukuo capital of Xinjing (Changchun).

Changes were made in the league offices as well. League heads were to follow the direction of the head of the Political Affairs Department in enforcing law and order in their various leagues. League offices were to house the league head, league vice head, and bureau chiefs. League heads were to direct and supervise both *jasags* and *ambans*, as well as magistrates in the *xians*. Also, league heads were empowered to overrule orders of the magistrates, *ambans*, and *jasags* in time of crisis. League heads also had the right to request dispatch of peacekeeping troops from either the local military commander or, in less serious cases, the Political Affairs Department. The vice head was to help his superior in the routine administration of the league, and was to assume the head's position if necessary. Each league office consisted of a secretariat and three bureaus: Civilian Administration, Animal Husbandry, and Peace Preservation. Some leagues, under the direct supervision of the Political Affairs Department, were prohibited from having Civilian Affairs Bureaus. Their affairs were directly managed by the league secretariats.

Political power in Mongolia emanated from the various leagues and banners, and the chief goal of the Mongolian independence movement was to protect the basic rights of the leagues and banners. In 1931, the Nanjing government, after consultation with some Mongol leaders, had promulgated the Organizational Law of Mongolian Leagues, Tribes, and Banners. Deemed inappropriate by Prince De and the majority of the conservative Mongol elements, this law never took effect. The Mongolian Political Council at Beile-yin sume, on the other hand, sought to protect the power and rights of the leagues and banners. After the Prince Shi Incident, the Mongolians were locked on a collision course with Fu Zuoyi. Later, when Chahar was upgraded from a tribe to a league, its Chinese *xians* were placed under the direct control of the league office. However, throughout the Military Government era, no organizational laws were issued, nor were any new governmental institutions organized.

The Mongols were reluctant to create new organizations that could be used against them by the manipulative Japanese. After the formation of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government, the organizational laws of the two cities of Baotou and Hohhot were promulgated within a month, whereas the organizational laws of the leagues and banners were issued a full ten months later. This delay occurred because the newly established Bayantala and Chahar Leagues needed organizational laws, whereas the older, more established leagues such as Shilingol and Ulanhab were better able to govern themselves during the interim. Yekejuu was also more self-sufficient, mainly because most of its territory was outside of the regime's boundaries. It was the three completely Mongolian leagues—Yekejuu, Ulanhab and Shilingol—that were without Civilian Administration Bureaus. This was done in order to preserve the cultural integrity of these largely traditional leagues. Peacekeeping forces under the various league bureaus of peace preservation were managed under the traditional military *jasag* system carried over from the Manchu period, as well as the officer-commandant system established by the Nanjing regime.

Problems with the Japanese Advisors

As mentioned, Japanese advisors were unavoidable for both the Political Affairs Department and the various league offices. While Prince De was able to avoid including in the articles of government specification of which advisor should serve where, he was unable to avoid the provisions that called for advisors. There was really no way for Prince De, or any other Mongol leader, to do without advisors altogether. In an effort to regulate

the roles of the advisor, the government issued an Organizational Law of the Department of Advisors in the early days of the regime. The following are its terms:

Article I: In the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government, the role of top advisor shall be created for the purpose of assisting the government.

Article II: The department of advisors shall consist of the advisors to the government, the league advisors, city and *xian* advisors, as well as assistants and directors [for police administration and peacekeeping].

Article III: The staff and personnel of the Department of Advisors shall be decided upon by the top advisor.

Article IV: Personnel above the position of director shall be nominated by commander in chief Hasunoma [of the Japanese Army in Mongolia], then appointed by the chairman of the Allied League Government.

Article V: The top advisor shall control the department of advisors and is in charge of personnel arrangements.

Article VI: Advisors to both the Allied League Government and the various leagues shall, in their specialized fields, have the responsibility to manage and supervise affairs.

Article VII: The chief advisor in each league shall direct all advisors [attached to the league] and is responsible for assisting and guiding league administration.

Article VIII: The advisors to the cities and *xians* shall be under the direction of the senior advisors and shall assist the magistrates in the administration of their municipalities.

Article IX: The assistants are under the direction of the advisors and shall assist them in their duties.

Article X: The department of advisors may, in times of necessity, establish assistant staff.

Article XI: Any assistant staff shall be decided upon by the top advisor.

Article XII: Further regulations for the department of advisors shall be decided upon separately.

Article XIII: This organizational law shall be considered effective from the day when it was issued.

This organizational law is in accord with Article VII of the Outline of the Organization of the Mongolian Military Government, which states that "an advisory office shall be established, with one head advisor and eight to sixteen special advisors. These advisors shall be carefully selected by the general director and appointed by the chairman. Assistants and interpreters shall be appointed by the general director. The administrative regulations of the advisory office shall be decided by separate law."

Obviously, the power of the Japanese advisors had greatly increased compared to what it had been during the Mongolian Military Government era. During the Military Government period, these advisors were chosen by the general director (Prince De), at least nominally, and were appointed by the chairman; they were still formally considered foreign guest employees, working in Mongolia on an ad hoc basis. Under the new regulations, however, even the lowest advisor was recommended by the commander in chief of the Japanese Army in Mongolia and appointed by the chairman. They were no longer considered ad hoc foreign guest employees. Logically, the articles should have been considered null and void with the departure of Hasunoma. Hence it is easy to see the growing arrogance and pride of the Japanese advisors.

Article II mentions the various categories of advisors, though not the advisors to the banners. This was a result of stern resistance by Prince De and the other Mongol leaders. Superficially, they argued against the inclusion of the banner advisors because the ongoing reorganization of the banners was not yet complete, and there was no need to appoint advisors. The Mongol leaders conceded to the Japanese demands regarding the

attaching of advisors to the *xians* but would not compromise on the issue of advisors for the banners. The issue of league and banner advisors will be discussed later.

Article II made it appear that the advisors were to be outside of the superstructure of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government. After all, advisors by definition are outside the structure of government. Logically, their duties were confined to helping or assisting the existing government; they were not to take a direct role in administrative matters. Prince De was adamant that Japanese not be appointed as officials of the new government, but merely as advisors outside the government superstructure. Japanese assistants and directors therefore remained under the control of the Department of Advisors and were not considered staff of the Allied League Government. This regulation was maintained throughout the duration of the Allied League Government. In the Organizational Law, the duty of the advisors was limited to providing guidance, with the exception of the advisors attached to the cities and *xians*, who also had administrative responsibilities. Although the real difference between providing guidance and direction is slight, it nonetheless was a small victory for the Mongols to limit the legal role of the advisors to providing guidance.

Soon afterward, the Japanese rearranged their advisory personnel in Mongolia. Uyama Heishi and Nakajima Manzo remained as chief advisor and advisor to the General Affairs Board respectively. A new advisor, Araikawa Kanetasuku, was appointed to the Civilian Affairs Ministry, and Itsuna Ei, a retired Major General of the Japanese Army, was appointed advisor to the Ministry of Animal Husbandry. This high-level appointment indicated the importance the Japanese placed on the Mongolian livestock industry. Kushiibe Masateru remained in his role as advisor to the Ministry of Finance; Omada Hisayoshi remained advisor to the Ministry of Peace Preservation.

The Mongol leaders were reluctant to reorganize the various league organizations, though this was very much needed because it would give the Japanese new opportunities to increase their control over the league governments. The danger of expanding Japanese influence was especially serious in the Bayantala and Chahar Leagues, where there were many Chinese *xians*, each with an influential Japanese advisor. Prince De and his Mongolian advisors had permitted the Chinese to deal with the Japanese separately, without the participation of the Mongols. Because relations between Mongols and Chinese in the region had been strained for years, Prince De was eager to reduce the likelihood of further conflict. Unfortunately, the Mongols could not reject the introduction of Japanese advisors. For many Mongols, this situation brought to mind the ironical conditions of the Mongols' Yuan Dynasty, in which the Mongols used Khitans, Uighurs, and other Central Asians in their administration of China.

Japanese advisors had already been active in Chahar from the time the league was organized in 1935. The chief advisor to the Chahar League was Anzai Kinji, who has been mentioned several times before. While serving as advisor to Chahar, Anzai was assigned to head the Occupational Administration of the Japanese Army in North China. After appointing magistrates for the conquered *xians*, he fell out with Prince De and, disenchanted, resigned. Kangyu Kosaburo then became advisor to the Chahar League and served in that capacity until the end of World War II.

The chief advisor of the Bayantala League was Sawai Tetsuba, a member of the Kokuryukai and a disciple of both the well-known right-wing philosopher Kasame Yoshiaki, and the godfather of the Kokuryukai, Toyama Mitsuru. Despite his ties to the Japanese equivalent to the Mafia, Sawai was a moderate man of integrity who sought to deal justly with the Mongols and Chinese in the league. He kept his post as advisor to the Bayantala League until the winter of 1941.

Bordering on Outer Mongolia, Shilingol, Prince De's home league, was considered strategically important, and thus drew attention from both the Guandong Army and the Japanese army in Mongolia. In a move to strengthen the Special Service Office at Pandita-Gegeen-Keid (Beizimiao, present-day Shilinhot), the Japanese appointed retired army colonel Nakamura Asakichi to head the office and serve as chief advisor to the league. Nakamura was a political moderate who sought to interfere as little as possible in league administration, avoiding conflict with the league head, Rinchinwangdud, and vice-head, Sungjingwangchug.

Two of the earliest Japanese agents to arrive in Mongolia were Nakajima Manzo and Yamamoto Nobunaga. Nakajima was a skilled but over zealous politician who, because he was able to win support from the military, was appointed to the prestigious post of advisor to the General Affairs Board. Yamamoto, who was chief advisor to the Ulan-chab League, was a zealous, hot-tempered advocate of Mongolian independence, a self-styled romanticist and *Moko ronin* (Mongolian *ronin*). He insisted on gathering around him only Japanese who held similar views. Because Yamamoto and his associates spoke some Mongolian, they tended to view themselves as being more integrated than they really were. This caused some conflict with local Mongol leaders.

The Yekejuu League was in unusual circumstances. During Japan's westward advance, it occupied some of the territory of the Ordos Left Banner along the Yellow River, commonly known as Jungar, and some of the territory of the Ordos Right Rear Banner, commonly called Dalad. After the advance halted, and during the Second Mongolian Congress, Prince De had sent his airplane to bring the league head, Shagdurbaj, to Hohhot; the old league head sent his son, Ochirkhuyagtu, and other delegates, in his stead. The Japanese had stopped their advances with the return of Ochirkhuyagtu and the other delegates, allowing Fu Zuoyi to establish a stronghold at Shanba, a well-known breadbasket at the bend of the Yellow River.

The unsettled situation at Yekejuu had been eased by the reestablishment of the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council at Ejen-khoroo, the shrine of Chinggis Khan. West of Baotou, the Japanese forces soon bordered on the Ordos Right Rear Banner, commonly known as Khanggin, the homeland of Prince Altanochir, vice-head of the Yekejuu League. Altanochir then sent a message to Prince De asking for troops to help him break away from Fu Zuoyi's control and join the Mongol autonomy movement. Prince De responded favorably, overlooking Altanochir's previous disloyalty to the Mongol cause and former friendship with Fu Zuoyi. In the spring of 1938, they dispatched a cavalry brigade under Chief Tumenbayar, which entered the Khanggin Banner and brought Altanochir to Baotou, where Prince De conferred on him the posts of vice-head of the Yekejuu League and charge d'affaires under the league head. Soon after, because Prince Shagdurbaj was failing in his responsibilities, Altanochir was appointed League Head. At this point, Kurosawa Ryukichi, an expert in land administration, was appointed Advisor to the Yekejuu League.

Japanese Military Arrangements in Mongolia and Kanai Shoji's Political Maneuvers

While Prince De was in conflict with Kanai Shoji over the latter's Joint Committee of Mongolian Territory, the Japanese military made an important decision that affected their army in Mongolia: they placed it under the direct control of the Japanese North China Army. On July 6, 1938, the commander in chief of the North China Army

sent a proclamation to the commander in chief of Japanese forces in Mongolia, outlining instructions regarding political affairs in Mongolia. The following are its main points.

- 1) The Director for Political Affairs in Mongolia should recognize, in a general sense, the autonomy of that region and should preserve its special characteristics.
- 2) The present administrative organizations and administrative districts of Mongolia should be maintained and safeguarded as closely as possible.
- 3) Fiscal matters in the Mongolian territory should be handled by the Mengjiang Bank. In the future, when the fiscal structure of China undergoes a major overhaul, the special characteristics of Mongolia's financial system shall be fully considered [before any changes are made].
- 4) Mongolia's economic development in areas such as transportation and communication shall be carried out in association with North China. Nevertheless, the unique condition of Mongolia shall first be considered.
- 5) Future political instructions on important matters from the commander in chief of the North China Army should have authorization from the Ministry of the Army. On matters concerning Manchukuo, negotiations should be held with the commander in chief of the Guandong Army.⁶

The Japanese clearly were much more interested in dealing with their puppet Mengjiang regime than with the Allied League Government. For convenience in administration, they wanted to maintain a nominally independent Mongolia, except in the realm of economics, where, despite their stated goals of respecting Mongolia's "special characteristics," they were committed to joining Mongolia with North China for larger scale economic development. For this reason, Kaya Okinori, one of the prominent men of Japan's economy, was appointed head of the North China Development Company (*Kahoku Kaihatsu Kabushiki Kaisha*), with a particular interest in developing the territories of the Mengjiang regime. Clearly, the goal of the Japanese was to use economic manipulation to ensure the success of Kanai's Joint Committee and the failure of Prince De's autonomous regime.

In a bid to both influence local politics and to gather intelligence, the Japanese had, since their arrival in 1933, created Special Service offices (*Tokumu Kikan*) throughout Inner Mongolia. These offices were placed under the direct control of the Japanese Army in Mongolia during the reorganization of its general headquarters. The following is a list of the various Special Service offices in Mongolia:

1. The Ujumuchin Special Service Office, originally founded by the Guandong Army in 1933, was established near the official residence of Prince So in the Ujumuchin Right Banner. Later, the Guandong Army established another office at Nunai-yin-sume in the Left Banner.

2. The Abaga Special Service Office was established by the Guandong Army at Pandita-Geegen-Keid. Long established as a center of espionage, this office was headed by retired Colonel Nakamura Asakichi throughout the duration of the Allied League Government. Though it remained under the nominal control of the Japanese Army in Mongolia, the Guandong Army actually supervised this office, which in turn supervised the two offices in Ujumuchin. In other words, among the ten banners of Shilingol, seven of them, with the exception of the Abaga Right Banner and the Sunid Right and Left Banners, were under the control of the Guandong Army.

⁶ Morimatsu Toshio, "Mokyo hachinen no mamori Chumogun no rekishi," *Omoite no Naimoko*, (Tokyo, 1975), pp. 36-7.

3. The Sunid Right Banner Special Service Office was created in 1935; later it was put under the control of the Jabsar office.

4. The Doloonnor Special Service Office, created in 1934, was disbanded when the Allied League Government was organized.

5. The Jabsar Special Service Office, established in 1935, later became the center of Japanese intelligence operations in the Chahar and western Shilingol areas. It was headed by Lieutenant Colonel Shimonaga Kenji, author of the first volume of a major Mongol-Japanese dictionary.

6. The Kalgan Special Service Office was headed initially by Major General Matsui Kyutaro and later by Lieutenant General Sakai Takashi.

7. The Special Service Office at Hohhot, along with the Kalgan office, played an influential role in Mongolian politics. It was first headed by Colonel Kuwabara Araichiro, then by Colonel Takaba Sonzo, and finally by Colonel Yokoyama Jun.

8. The Baotou Special Service Office was headed sequentially by Captain Noda Masao, Lieutenant Colonel Kanagawa Kosuka, and Captain Takehara Kiyoshi.

Several other smaller Special Service offices were located throughout the Mongolian countryside, but each was placed under the administration of one of the larger offices. One larger office was located in the city of Datong, but because of its location, it played a negligible role in Mongolian politics. Its head was Lt. Colonel Haneyama Yoshiro, who had earlier been stationed at Hohhot during the Fu Zuoyi period.

By saturating Mongolia with special service offices, the Japanese were able to increase their control of the region. Thus Lieutenant Colonel Ohashi Kumao, senior staff member for politics and intelligence and coordinator of the offices, was a very powerful individual. Both Ohashi and Kanai viewed the Mongolian autonomy movement with equal antipathy. Kanai used his friendly relations with Ohashi to boost his own power base and strengthen his Joint Committee for Mongolian Territory. On August 1, 1938, Kanai reorganized the committee, creating several new ministries. He made the following changes.

1. The General Affairs Ministry, with Jodbajab as minister, Noda Kiotake as advisor, and Hisamitsu Masao as senior official.

2. The Ministry of Finance, with Ma Yongkui as minister, Terazaki Eyu (advisor to the Mengjiang Bank) and Kuma Takeshi as advisors, and a Japanese as senior official.

3. The Ministry of Enterprise, with Altanochir as minister, Takatsu Hikoji and Morita Kiyoshi as advisors, and Takematsu Kiyoshi as senior official.

4. The Ministry of Transportation and Communication, with Du Yunyu as minister, Ito Tasuku, Terasaka Ryoichi as advisors, and Sugitani Shunoseke as the senior official.

5. The Ministry of Civilian Administration, with Du Yunyu as minister, Noda Kiyotake as advisor, and Chen Yousheng as the senior official.

6. The Ministry of Peace Preservation, with Togtakhu as minister, Ito Tasuku as advisor, and a Japanese as senior official.

Clearly, the officials of the Joint Committee were dominated by Kanai Shoji and the other Japanese officials. Each of the so-called ministers was little more than a figurehead. Chen Yousheng, for example, had been brought to Mongolia by Kanai from his post in the Manchukuo regime. He was the only respected local official with any authority on Kanai's committee; no Mongols were given any positions of real importance. Even the pro-Mongol Moratani Hikojiro was ousted in the shuffle. Inevitably, the committee was headed on a collision course with Prince De and his Mongol associates.

Wu Heling's Activities in Tokyo

While Wu Heling and I, exiled in Japan, constantly received a stream of distressing political news from Mongolia, Wu actively collected any information in Tokyo that might prove useful to the Mongolian cause. Wu hoped that the political situation in Mongolia would remain stable so that his already risky job in Tokyo would not be jeopardized. Wu urged Prince De to follow a moderate course, but the latter, eager to achieve Mongolian autonomy, was not in the mood for restraint. In August 1938, he sent a large official delegation from the Allied League Government to Tokyo. Khorjurjab, Minister of Animal Husbandry, headed the delegation.⁷

The group's activities had been planned in advance by a Zenrin Kyokai official, Oshima Yutaka, who booked the group into the Daiichi Hotel in Tokyo. Before their departure, Prince De had asked Khorjurjab, Tegshibuyan, and Chogbagatur to relate to Wu Heling the mounting conflict with Kanai Shoji's Joint Committee. Prince De wanted Wu to take the offensive in Japan, pleading the Allied League Government's case before officials in Tokyo. Wu was under surveillance from the Japanese military authorities, and he reported this to Prince De via Khorjurjab. However, the task needed doing, and Wu, despite the dangers, agreed to undertake it. While traveling together to Nikko, Wu and Khorjurjab spoke secretly and decided to use an upcoming official banquet hosted by Deputy Minister of the Army, Tojo Hideki, to formally and openly plead the case for Mongolian independence.

Tojo's banquet was held at Gunjinkaikan, the Japanese Army Officers' Club; most of the important officials from the Japanese army were present. Khorjurjab's delegation was accompanied by Oshima Yutaka; Wu Heling and I had also been invited. Before leaving for the banquet, Oshima told the guests that this was an unofficial, informal banquet; no formal speeches would be given.

The dinner was a jovial affair, with much drinking; Tojo had a particularly good time. Khorjurjab, who had had a bit too much to drink, stood up and toasted Tojo, asking me to interpret for him. He said, "Our greatest hope in coming here to Tokyo was to see you, General Tojo, so that we could relate to you the heartfelt feelings of the Mongol nation. Sadly, though, we have had no chance to do this yet. Now, having drunk several glasses of wine, I must represent our group and speak a few words to Your Excellency, General Tojo."

He continued by emphasizing the traditional independence of the Mongol nation, how the Mongols belonged to no one but themselves, and then outlined the reasons why his people were striving for national autonomy and self-rule. "At the beginning of our association with Japan, it was commonly hoped that we could achieve independence; this was promised to us by General Itagaki and other senior officials of the Guandong Army. The Mongolian Army, though small and weak, fought alongside the Japanese Im-

⁷ The delegation also consisted of Tegshibuyan, Minister of Civilian Affairs; Prince Altanochir, Head of the Yekejuu League; as well as Duke Dobdan, Charge d'affaires to the *jasag* of the Ujumuchin Left Banner; Chimedrinchinkhorlowa, *jasag* of the Muuminggan Banner of the Ulanabai League; Norbujana, *amban* of Taipus Right Banner; Chogbagatur, Head of the General Affairs Bureau of the Bayantala League office; *Mergen Gegeen*, abbot of Mergen-juu of the Urad Front Banner, Ulanabai League; and Kabji Lama of Lama-yin-sume, Ujumuchin Left Banner, a well-known pro-Japanese advocate of modernization. The advisor to the group was Kushibe Masateru, advisor to the Ministry of Finance; Ruiyong, a Waseda University graduate and secretary to Prince De, served as the delegation's interpreter.

perial Armies following the Marco Polo Bridge incident. In reality our victories have earned us only the Joint Committee of Mongolian Territories, which runs counter to the interests of the Mongol people." Khorjurjab also reminded Tojo that he himself had attended the Second Mongolian Congress at Hohhot, and had there sworn his support for Mongolian nationalism. He added that he hoped Tojo had not reneged on his promise.

This sudden, unexpected speech left the company very tense and uncomfortable; Tojo looked particularly confused and surprised, as did Oshima Yutaka and Kushibe Masateru, both of whom later received a stern rebuke from the Ministry of the Army. Tojo looked emotionally troubled during the speech, though he did maintain his composure. Following Khorjurjab's remarks, Tojo simply said that Mongolia should trust in the unity of the Mongolian-Japanese alliance. "Japan will not disappoint Mongolia," he explained. He asked, however, that Mongolia show some consideration to the Japanese, who were acting under the burden of war, and to be patient for the time being. After the banquet, Khorjurjab told Kushibe Masateru that he "had drunk too much and could not control [his] emotions." Perhaps he had said something he ought not to have. Kushibe answered, "This was what the Mongols should have said." From this point onward Kushibe became an ally to the Mongol cause.

With Khorjurjab's bold move, the Mongol cause had been presented to one of Japan's most influential officials. A counter attack had been laid against the misleading reports of Kanai Shoji and Ohashi Kumao. Sadly, though, this impassioned speech could not stop the promulgation of new instructions for political affairs in Mongolia by the Japanese military authorities, which was already underway when the delegation arrived in Japan.

Soon after the delegation left Japan to return to Mongolia, an influential power broker, Matsui Seikun (who has already been referred to) came to visit Wu Heling at his residence in Tokyo. The two men had not seen each other since a meeting in Beijing in 1935. Matsui openly praised Khorjurjab's bold performance at the banquet. To succeed politically in Japan, Matsui said, there must be "someone who accelerates things. You are now unable to really bring your message to the hearts of the Japanese leadership; you can only create conflict and friction. So far, you have only achieved negative results, and will continue to do so until you deliver your message in the right way and to the right ears. If things continue as they now are, your circumstances will go from bad to worse. You know of my personal friendship with Itagaki, and of the political influence I have. Tell me of your troubles. Did I not tell you that I want to help you?" Wu then proceeded to tell Matsui the sordid tale of Kanai's manipulations, and of the clash between the Joint Committee and the Allied League Government; Matsui pledged to relate this to Itagaki Seishiro and other influential Japanese officials.

Matsui and Wu remained in regular contact, Matsui relating inside news of official attitudes towards Prince De and the Mongolian autonomy movement. Matsui also showed his trustworthiness by winning over several key officials to the Mongolian cause. When it became obvious that Matsui required financial assistance for his activities, Wu supplied the necessary money. Their valuable, mutually beneficial relationship continued.

Despite Wu's efforts, Japanese support for Kanai Shoji continued unchanged. The power of the Joint Committee grew with every passing day. Kanai grew sufficiently bold as to send out direct orders to the three supposedly co-equal regimes of Southern Chahar, Northern Shanxi, and the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government. While Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi yielded to Kanai's demands, the Allied League Government remained firm in opposing him, regarding his orders as an intolerable insult. They began to hate the Joint Committee's use of the words *Mengjiang* in Chi-

nese or *Mokyo* in Japanese for the Mongolian territory.⁸

Prince De's Visit to Japan

At this point, Ohashi Kumao, senior advisor for politics in Mengjiang, initiated a plan to bring the heads of Japan's three Mongolian client regimes to visit Japan. This was an attempt to convince Prince De of the greatness and power of the Japanese Empire and to show him that the Joint Committee was a durable institution backed by great resolve and might. Prince De viewed his visit, along with the two Japanese puppets from Northern Shanxi and Southern Chahar, Xia Gong and Yu Pinqing, as little more than an effort to "present the captives to the imperial court." Nonetheless, he went, fueled by a small hope that if he were able to go to Japan himself, he might be able to plead his case before at least a few sympathetic officials. Since Generals Tojo and Itagaki had already pledged their support for the Mongolian cause, perhaps he could find others sympathetic to the prince's quandary.

Prince De decided to go to Japan by himself, to avoid any connection with the two subservient puppets from Northern Shanxi and Southern Chahar. But Kanai and Ohashi refused to allow the prince to visit alone and put pressure on the commander in chief of the Japanese Army in Mongolia to convince the prince that he must travel in the company of the two pro-Japanese puppets. Any refusal would jeopardize his position with the Japanese, he was told, and brand him as an anti-Japanese agitator. Disgusted with Kanai's blatant manipulation, the prince fled Hohhot for his own Sunid Banner. Taking advantage of his absence, Togtakhu and a few other treacherous Mongols sought to betray the prince, in order to boost their own positions. Under heavy pressure from the Japanese, Prince De agreed to go to Japan, leaving in early October 1938.

While Prince De was in his brief exile at Sunid, he had been beset with serious anxiety and depression. It was at this point that Sainbayar discussed with Prince De the possibility of escaping together to the Mongolian Peoples Republic. The prince rejected this proposal, realizing that he was essential to the Mongolian autonomy movement and that his defection would have no real positive effect.

Prince De was accompanied on the Japanese visit by a large entourage. One of the most influential members of the delegation was Jirgalang, who, being fluent in Japan-

⁸ According to Prince De, Mengjiang was first used by Zhang Zuolin, Manchuria's leading warlord, shortly before he was to attempt the invasion of Mongolia. He called himself *Mengjiang Jinglüeshi*, the Occupier and Administrator of Mongolian Territory. From that point on, use of the word *Mengjiang* was considered an insult by the Mongols. The literal translation of Mengjiang into Mongolian is *Monggol Kijigar*, or "Mongolian borderlands," a phrase sometimes used by outsiders to ridicule and insult the Mongol nation. The Mongols staunchly refused to accept the continued use of this word. However, I have personally conducted some research on the traditional use of the word *Mengjiang*, and found it was used even by Prince De himself in a November 1936 communique to Fu Zuoyi: "Since the provinces and *xians* were established in Mengjiang [the Mongolian territory], the political power of the leagues and banners has been damaged." This indicates that the term *Mengjiang* was once considered more acceptable but that its use had become a source of conflict between Kanai and Prince De. Wu Heling also used the term on occasion. Kanai defended his use of the Japanese translation of Mengjiang, *Mokyo*, on the grounds that it simply meant Mongolia and the territories bordering it, such as Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi, and that it was used without negative connotations. Despite these explanations, Kanai's continued use of *Mokyo* or *Mengjiang* was a constant source of conflict in already strained relations.

ese, was able to serve as the prince's interpreter instead of the manipulative Togtakhu. Li Shouxin also accompanied the prince, as did the Japanese advisors, Muratani Hikojiro and Nakajima Manzo. Kanai Shoji's obedient puppets, Xia Gong and Yu Pinqing also came along, as did Kanai himself, to be the guide for the delegation. Kanai brought some of his staff along as well, including Ito Tasuku, Kimura Yujiro, Chen Yuming, his interpreter, Chen Yousheng, and his ally Colonel Ohashi Kumao.

Tensions between Prince De and the Japanese militarists peaked shortly before the entourage was to depart for Japan. In order to see Commander in Chief Li Shouxin before his departure for Japan, Chief of Staff Wu Guting came to Beiping by train. During the trip he was by coincidence seated with Ohashi Kumao, chief political advisor of the Japanese forces. They frankly discussed the political ramifications of the prince's forthcoming visit to Japan; Ohashi said that if the prince did not give up his intransigence, it would be better to "eliminate him, and get somebody else to take his place." No doubt, Ohashi was purposely rude and forward in an effort to threaten the Mongolian side. Wu later, on different occasions, related this conversation to both Prince De and me; the former, on being told of these Japanese threats to eliminate him, was not frightened, but rather more determined to carry forth his plans.

The Japanese government attached great importance to Prince De's visit, viewing it as a major event. The chiefs of the two puppet regimes of Northern Shanxi and Southern Chahar were not taken seriously; the main attention focused on Prince De and his Mongol entourage. The Japanese Foreign Ministry, wanting badly to establish friendly relations with Mongolia, appointed Nakane Naosuke, a former consul at Ulan-Khada, to coordinate the visit. The Ministry of the Army appointed Major Miyamoto to accompany the entourage as well. The plans for the visit were excellently laid, and full diplomatic protocol was observed. However, Kanai and Ohashi helped with the preparations and ensured that the prince was given no free time with which to establish political contacts.

On November 21, Wu Heling and I left Tokyo for Shimonoseki, where we greeted the prince on his arrival from Pusan. At the Hotel Sanyo, where the entourage was staying, Wu Heling and I met privately with Prince De and exchanged a few words. The prince appeared to be very unhappy and dejected. When addressing a large number of journalists, he always used the term *Mongolia* in lieu of *Mokyo* or *Mengjiang*, and this was faithfully translated by his interpreter, Jirgalang. After the press conference, Kanai met with the journalists and told them to translate *Mongolia* as *Mokyo*; this infuriated Prince De.

Prince De and his entourage arrived in the capital on their second afternoon in the country and were welcomed by many important dignitaries and journalists. The next day, his arrival made headlines in all the papers. In the ensuing meetings, I met the infamous Kanai Shoji for the first time, and found him as belligerent and manipulative as had been rumored. His assistant, Ito Tasuku, was equally repugnant; it was widely believed that many of Kanai's ideas had originated with Ito. The moderate Muratani Hikojiro found himself uncomfortably sandwiched between Kanai and Prince De, and was embarrassed by this difficult role of middleman. Chen Yuming, in a pathetic attempt to win Kanai's support, declared himself an enemy of the Mongol nation; Chen Yousheng played the buffoon.

Kanai had structured the prince's schedule in Tokyo so tightly that he literally had no opportunity to bring up issues of interest to Mongols. On October 26, in the name of the Minister of the Army, Itagaki Seishiro, a large banquet was given to honor the Mongolian entourage. Tojo Hideki, along with many other important guests, attended.

Halfway through the dinner, a special report came to Itagaki announcing that Hankou, a strategic stronghold of Chiang Kai-shek in Central China, had just fallen to the Japanese army. A wave of great joy swept the Japanese military authorities assembled, and the rest of the evening was spent celebrating and toasting the Emperor. Prince De, having no opportunity to discuss the subject of Mongolian autonomy with Itagaki, left the banquet dejected, as I personally observed.

After returning to his suite at the Imperial Hotel, Prince De talked with Wu Heling in an attempt to arrange a private meeting with either Itagaki or Tojo to discuss the issue of Mongolia's political difficulties. Deciding it would be most effective to work through Matsui Seikun, Wu phoned him that evening to arrange a secret meeting the next day. When Wu told Matsui of the Mongol disgust with Kanai's high-pressure tactics, Matsui promised to arrange a private meeting between Prince De and Itagaki. When informed of Kanai's heavyhanded approach, Itagaki quickly saw the need for private contact with the prince, and expressed a sense of dissatisfaction with their previous meeting. At this time, I became ill and was hospitalized and therefore was unable to personally witness further developments. The following account is thus based on Wu Heling's information, later relayed by him to me.

Shortly after Itagaki's banquet, Prime Minister Konoye Fumimaro held a similar reception. As dinner was being served, Prince De, who was seated next to the Prime Minister, explained to him why all Mongols hated the use of the terms *Mokyo* and *Meng-jiang*. Only at this point did the surprised Konoye realize there was a real difference between the term *Moko* (Mongolia) and *Mokyo*. Soon it was time for Konoye to deliver a welcoming speech and, using a prepared text, repeatedly used the word *Mokyo*, as it was originally included in the text. Prince De was both angered and insulted.

In preparation for his meeting with Itagaki, Prince De, working with Wu Heling, devised two plans for Mongolian independence, and had each translated into Japanese by Jirgalang. One called for the political separation of Mongolia from China, as well as from Northern Shanxi and Southern Chahar; and for Mongolia to be ruled by the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government, which was committed to the principle of developing full national sovereignty. The other plan called for the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government to control Mongolia along with Northern Shanxi and Southern Chahar, and by gradually increasing its political power, it should eventually develop full political autonomy.

Wu Heling and Jirgalang accompanied Prince De during this initial secret meeting with General Itagaki. Itagaki expressed sympathy for the Mongol cause, and when presented with the two plans stated that he would read both carefully before commenting on them and stating which one would have his support. At their second meeting, Itagaki told the Mongols that "the goal of Mongol nationhood is a long-range one; the situation is not yet ripe enough for there to be further developments. We must first wait for the reunification of Inner and Outer Mongolia, which will occur at some future point. Japan will help you then." Prince De, realizing that the goal of an independent Inner Mongolia was more distant than at any time since the movement began, felt dejected and disappointed. At least he had received the word directly from a top-ranking and courteous official of the Japanese Imperial Government, without the interference of the manipulative Kanai Shoji. Kanai soon caught word of the secret meetings, and when he learned that they had been arranged by Wu Heling, his hatred for Wu increased.

The official highlight of the trip was the visit to Emperor Hirohito at the Imperial Palace, a mark of extreme honor at the time. Yu Pinqing, Xia Gong, and Li Shouxin were allowed to accompany Prince De to the palace, but were denied an audience with

the Emperor; they were merely permitted to sign the official palace registry. Kanai Shoji accompanied the prince to see the Emperor, as did the interpreter, Jirgalang. Jirgalang later related to me what Kanai told him immediately before meeting the Emperor. "At the audience with the Emperor, there must be absolutely *no* talk of Mongolian independence or nationhood," Kanai had said. You must use *Mokyo*, not *Moko*, when speaking of Mongolia. Should you accurately translate what Prince De says to the Emperor, it will affect your life!" Prince De, however, understood that the Emperor was too lofty and high-ranking to intervene in political affairs; it would be both futile and foolhardy to discuss matters of Mongolian independence with him. Accordingly, their conversation was limited to polite greetings.

Xia Gong and Yu Pinqing were both offended by the exalted attention focused on Prince De and angry that their regimes were treated as impotent puppets. Not only were they denied an audience with the Emperor, but they were not presented with official medals commemorating their visit, as were Prince De and Li Shouxin. The officials of the Allied League Government were treated with all the respect afforded a visiting head of state, whereas Xia Gong and Yu Pinqing were treated very disrespectfully. The honor paid to Prince De was arguably the only success of his visit to Japan. He received extensive press coverage during his stay, so much so that his name became practically synonymous with Mongolia, and many Japanese people were won over to the side of the Mongolian autonomy movement. However, Kanai was an active anti-Mongolia, pro-Mengjiang propagandist and was able to destroy at least some of the good produced by the prince's visit.

Prince De's negotiations with Itagaki at least helped the latter realize the disagreement between Kanai and the Mongol people. Itagaki was finally able to understand that the Mongols hated Kanai and that it would be prudent in the future to pay greater heed to their wishes and less to those of Kanai. This small moral victory came about because of the intercession of Matsui Seikun. Prince De requested the honor of paying Matsui a visit, but Matsui rejected his offer because it would uncover and jeopardize the network of secret relations that had been built up at such a cost. Realizing that such a visit would not be prudent, the prince agreed, though he encouraged Wu Heling to maintain this useful contact so that the opinions of the Allied League Government would be understood in Tokyo.

The prince's visit was at first entirely consumed by state affairs. Aside from meeting with those involved in the Mongolia question, he visited Yokosuka, the Japanese Naval Headquarters, and several other military bases. With the political negotiations behind the entourage, things were generally more relaxed; the prince even took a brief holiday at Hakone. Being outside of the capital also gave Prince De time to continue private discussions with Wu Heling. Prince De still supported the plan which called for the separation of Mongolia from the two puppet regimes, but Wu Heling advocated the other plan, which called for the unification of Mongolia with Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi.

The rift that was slowly developing between the two leaders centered on a question of idealism: Prince De refused to budge on his principles, whereas the more pragmatic Wu was eager to work out a practical solution. Prince De, feeling strongly about the principles of self-determination and nationalism, was thus reluctant to accept any conglomeration with the Chinese. Since Prince De did not want his people under Chinese domination, he thought it only reasonable that the Chinese of Northern Shanxi and Southern Chahar should want self-rule themselves. Prince De proposed drawing an exact line between Chinese and Mongol territories, surrendering if needs be some traditional

Mongol territory that had been irreversibly encroached upon by Chinese settlers. Sinicized Mongols would be brought back to their native territory. In Prince De's eyes, there was simply no other way to resurrect the Mongol nation. Wu disagreed, viewing the ceding of ancestral lands to aliens as morally unacceptable. Wu scoffed at Prince De's strong ideas favoring Mongol separatism, viewing them as anachronistic.

After leaving Tokyo, Prince De and his entourage visited Kyoto, Osaka, and Nara before continuing to Kyushu. On Kyushu, he spent an evening at the hot springs at Beppu; from there he went to Hakada, where the Mongolian fleet had been destroyed by the kamikaze during the period of Khubilai Khan's invasion. Kanai Shoji had planned this trip, and by the time Prince De realized the significance of Hakada, it was too late to back down. When he arrived at the pagoda erected to honor the dead of both nations (which had disappeared when I visited the site in 1989), a group of reporters asked him about his impressions. "At the present," he told them, "it is important to emphasize peace and development in East Asia, and to recall the cooperation and friendship of Mongolia and Japan. We should not emphasize unfortunate events in the past. A typhoon destroyed the Mongol fleet, and though this was a great loss at the time, without it, there would have been still greater destruction on both sides. That would have caused me great embarrassment here this day." His answer was diplomatic, neither proud nor subservient in tone. The reporters were duly impressed, and thought him a master of tact and protocol.

On his way home, Prince De paid a pleasant visit to the Japanese viceroy of Korea, spending a day and a night at Keijo (Seoul), the capital. He also visited some industrial sites in the vicinity, evidence of the success of the Japanese occupation of the peninsula. Prince De left Korea very discouraged at seeing a people without self-rule, in a homeland overrun by aliens.

Mongol Conflict with Kanai Continues

Conflict with Kanai Shoji increased on Prince De's return to Mongolia, and the prince decided a showdown was necessary, no matter the potential cost. The current situation was simply unacceptable. Kanai invited Prince De to the anniversary celebration of the founding of the Joint Committee on November 22, 1938, and surprisingly, the prince attended. He refused, however, to speak one word, and this greatly annoyed all the other attendees. On December 1, Prince De called a secret meeting of representatives from the various leagues and banners to commemorate the establishment of the Allied League Government. He suggested that they submit to him official complaints against the continued use of the offensive term *Mengjiang*, and also formal protests against Kanai's Joint Committee. The prince planned to deliver these protests to the Japanese officials in an effort to officially register Mongol dissatisfaction. Each of the league and banner heads under the Allied League Government, with the exception of the pro-Japanese Jodbajab, duly submitted their official protests. When Jodbajab refused to agree, he was ostracized by his fellow representatives, and this drove him even further into the arms of Kanai. Prince De nonetheless remained opposed to the use of the term *Mengjiang*. Even Jodbajab was opposed to the use of the term. His opposition in official communiqués was recorded by Kanai's secretary.⁹

After having collected all the official protests, Prince De commissioned Tegshibuyan to draft a protest in the name of the Allied League Government against both the

⁹ Nomura Yasuzo, "Three Memories of the Past," *Kogensenri* (Tokyo, 1972), p. 191.

use of the word *Mengjiang* and against Kanai's Joint Committee. He presented all the documents to the commander in chief of the Japanese Army in Mongolia, Lt. General Hasunoma Shigeru, and he also sent a copy to Wu Heling in Tokyo, to be circulated in the Japanese capital. Prince De organized this unanimous protest secretly. When the protests arrived en masse, the Japanese officials would more likely be forced to take notice than if the protests had merely trickled in over the space of weeks or months. Suspicion of the prince increased, of course, but it subsided after the Japanese were able to study the documents.

Although Hasunoma and his military colleagues planned to give the protests the sort of official examination they deserved, unfortunately, they called in Kanai for consultation. Somehow, they came to the ludicrous opinion that Prince De was requesting that Kanai's Joint Committee be made the central governing body for Mongolia. Hasunoma and his colleagues decided to appoint Prince De as chairman of the General Affairs Committee of Kanai's Joint Committee, thinking that this would solve the problems mentioned in the many protests. Hasunoma, apparently after consultations with Itagaki, invited Prince De to Kalgan for official negotiations.

The curious Prince arrived and immediately ran into Colonel Ohashi Kumao, supporter of Kanai Shoji. Prince De tried to explain to him why the Mongols found use of the term *Mengjiang* so offensive. Ohashi brushed aside his complaints, telling him that the Japanese authorities would like him to accept appointment to the office of Chairman of the General Affairs Committee, an idea the prince immediately rejected. When Prince De was presented to Hasunoma, the latter took on a conciliatory tone, exchanging pleasantries and requesting that Prince De convey his best wishes to the leagues and banners. He insisted that there was nothing pernicious about the continued Japanese use of the term *Mokyo*, and asked the prince to help the Mongol people understand this. The conversation ended fruitlessly.

Leaving Kalgan, Prince De remained adamant against the use of *Mengjiang*, and he redoubled his efforts to strengthen the Allied League Government. However, the situation in East Asia was rapidly changing to the disadvantage of the Mongolian cause. Wang Jingwei, second in command of the KMT, abandoned the regime, heading first to Kunming and then to Hanoi. During the same period, Prime Minister Konoye Fumimaro proposed his so-called "Three Principles," which called for an East Asian cease fire and reconstruction of relations between Japan and China. In an effort to win over the self-exiled Wang to the Japanese side, Konoye pledged that the Japanese would respect China's territorial integrity. Prince De's longstanding requests for Mongol independence were to be deferred, and the Japanese continued to use the artificial terms *Mengjiang* and *Mokyo* (which were neither Chinese nor Japanese in origin), to describe the territory of Mongolia.

Prince De had anticipated a dramatic shift in the East Asian situation. After all, at Itagaki's banquet in Japan, he had heard of the fall of Hankou, soon after which he had remarked to Wu Heling, "I never had an idea that the Nationalist forces were so weak and susceptible. How could a strategic site like Hankou be overrun so quickly? A force so proficient and ruthless as the Japanese Empire will likely be at best indifferent to our pleas." Prince De refused, however, to be swayed by this discouraging appraisal and continued his anti-*Mengjiang* protests.

Stepping up the campaign, Prince De requested that Prince Rinchinwangdud, Head of the Shilingol League, and other Mongol leaders travel to Kalgan to present to Hasunoma and Tanaka Shinichi, his new chief of staff, the case against the Joint Committee and against the continued use of *Mengjiang*. The prince, fearing that if Jirgalang

acted as interpreter his personal security would be in question, requested Togtakhu to accompany them as interpreter. Prince Rinchinwangdud was a very narrow-minded and forceful personality who did his best to present the Mongol case thoroughly, even though Togtakhu greatly changed the meaning of his words. The Japanese misunderstood the protest because of Togtakhu's inaccurate translation. Togtakhu gained still more popularity with the Japanese after this incident.

In early February 1939, Tanaka Shinichi replaced Ishimoto Torazo as Chief of Staff of the Japanese Army in Mongolia. Wu Heling visited with him in Tokyo before his departure for Kalgan, and found him an unprejudiced, fair-minded person, biased neither for Kanai or Prince De. Tanaka grew increasingly sympathetic to the Mongol cause as Wu outlined the history of the Mongolian autonomy movement, briefly explaining the nature of the conflict between Prince De and Kanai's Joint Committee. Wu Heling did all he could to brief Tanaka on how the Mongol people felt about the current situation. Although the year and a half during which Tanaka was chief of staff was a bad one for Prince De's relationship with the Japanese, Tanaka remained a level headed, impartial individual, much appreciated by the Mongol people. He never accepted any proposals of Kanai or Ohashi unconditionally.

Wu Heling also communicated to Prince De the news, relayed by Matsui Seikun, that Minister of the Army Itagaki intended to accept the plan outlined by the prince during his visit to Japan calling for strengthening the position of the Mongolian regime on the basis of the Joint Committee. Wu had thought that when Hasunoma invited Prince De to Kalgan, it was related to rumors then circulating about Itagaki's support for that plan.

By the end of 1938, the Japanese government had established the cabinet-level Board for Asian Development (*Koayin*), with retired Lieutenant General Yanakawa Heisuke as its head. The board had responsibility for issues pertaining to the ongoing China crisis. The Mongolian problem was loosely lumped together with conditions in China. Relations with Mongolia thus passed out of the hands of the Foreign Ministry and into control of the Board. In March 1939, the Japanese army agreed to put its Special Service Office in Kalgan under the control of the Board, appointing Major General Sakai Takashi, formerly a head of the Special Service Office, as head of the new liason office.

Yanakawa had mentioned Sakai's appointment to Wu Heling in Tokyo before it was officially announced, and Wu decided that it would be best to talk directly with the new appointee. They spent a whole morning together, and Wu found Sakai a hard-headed individual. Japan's policy in the area was, he was told, to support Kanai's Joint Committee. He was also informed that if Prince De continued his stubbornness, Japan would do well to find a new man to replace him and break the deadlock. Sakai, of course, had said this because he knew that Wu would communicate it to Prince De immediately. Sakai's anti-Mongol position had been well known as early as 1937, when Mongol forces entering Hohhot found him a difficult and narrow personality. Although he despised Ohashi Kumao, Sakai was a great ally of Kanai Shoji, who held similar views on the Mongolia question.

In March 1939, Prince De sent his eldest son, Dugursurung, to Tokyo to continue his studies, accompanied by his father's secretary, Kogjintei, and a Japanese advisor, Yamanouchi. Prince De hoped that by going to Japan, his son would broaden his horizons; but Yamanouchi did everything in his power to isolate the young noble, drastically limiting his contact with teachers, students, and even fellow Mongols. Though it was technically possible for him to continue his studies there, Dugursurung's life in Japan became very uncomfortable, and he angrily left after only two months.

Jirgalang, in Tokyo for medical treatment, met with Wu Heling and related to him the unpleasant conflict between Prince De and the Japanese authorities, particularly with Kanai Shoji. Noting Wu's reaction, Jirgalang realized that he must communicate to Prince De the need for prudence and moderation with the Japanese. Wu sent me back to Mongolia to give a personal account of Wu's anti-Mengjiang activities in Tokyo and to urge the prince to curtail his political adventurism, for the sake of both his security and the security of the Mongol nation.

Sakai Takashi had already taken up his position as Head of the Kalgan Liaison Office of the Board for Asian Development by the time I returned to Hohhot. Mongols widely viewed Sakai's appointment as a boon for the power of the pro-Mengjiang forces. When I reported Wu's and Jirgalang's admonitions, Prince De sat silently, shaking his head dispassionately. He had been under persistent pressure from Kanai and Ohashi to accept the position of Chairman of the General Affairs Committee. After considering Wu's warnings, the prince flatly rejected the notion of being appointed to the chairmanship, but conceded he would accept the post if and only if duly elected to it by the leagues and banners of the Mongol nation. Prince De related this message to Togtakhu, who in turn relayed it to the Japanese authorities at Kalgan. The Japanese then employed Li Shouxin and Togtakhu to relay a curious message to the prince: Kanai would quietly resign the chairmanship of the General Affairs Committee, and it would be wise for Prince De to use this opportunity for change by accepting that chairmanship. Nevertheless, Prince De insisted on the formality of an election. Togtakhu and Li Shouxin returned to Kalgan with the prince's message, which they soon put aside to negotiate in its place a plot with Ohashi Kumao that would force Prince De into accepting the chairmanship.

On April 29, 1939, Hasunoma Shigeru, Commander in Chief of the Japanese Army in Mongolia, invited Prince De to his headquarters for a very important discussion. Prince De came, accompanied by his new secretary, Chogbadarakhu, a recent graduate of Chuo University in Tokyo. Colonel Ohashi Kumao welcomed the prince with the words "We welcome you upon your arrival at your inauguration ceremony." Upon Prince De's arrival in the main hall of the headquarters, Hasunoma, Kanai, Tanaka, and many other "dignitaries" there present all stood up ceremoniously. Before the prince had a chance to speak, Ohashi announced the commencement of the ceremony. Kanai announced his resignation from the chairmanship of the General Affairs Committee; Hasunoma then announced that Prince De had been appointed to fill his position as Chairman of the General Affairs Committee of the Joint Committee of Mongolian Territories, whereupon Ohashi announced the end of the ceremony, without allowing Prince De to utter even a single word. The prince viewed the whole sham ceremony as a degrading insult; burning with fury, he left for Hohhot.

At home, he drank several glasses of liquor and broke into tears, lamenting to Chogbadarakhu, "This is the result of my cooperation with Japan!" Just then, Togtakhu entered to console the prince. He was shocked by the frightful scolding he received from him. Lunging toward the traitorous Togtakhu, the prince chastened him for being a wicked and deceitful man, slapping him twice on the face. Togtakhu fell to his knees, begging forgiveness; Chogbadarakhu, embarrassed and unable to intervene, left the room. Just then, a messenger arrived. Taking advantage of the distraction, Togtakhu also fled. Word of the conflict spread among the officials of the Allied League Government, causing much amusement. Though the prince had vented his anger, he had not slowed Togtakhu's rise as an important pro-Japanese figurehead on Kanai's Joint Committee.

Appointment to the chairmanship of the General Affairs Committee was a great political blow to Prince De. Still, he refused to surrender. He ordered me to return to To-

kyo, to report news of recent events to Wu Heling and encourage him to keep up his anti-Kanai activities. Wu was also ordered to inform Itagaki Seishiro of recent developments in an attempt to influence him against the Joint Committee. I was also ordered to seek out Kanai Shoji on my way back to Tokyo.

Because Prince De had ordered it, I had no choice but to return to Kalgan to see the great enemy of the Mongolian people, Kanai Shoji. At the time, the Joint Committee was headquartered in the old Chahar Grand Hotel, built during the governorship of Song Zheyuan. Because I had met with Kanai's secretary, Kimura Yujiro, during Kanai's earlier visit to Tokyo, I went to Kimura first, and with his assistance was soon able to meet with Kanai Shoji in his office. Kanai, who was reading at his desk, never once lifted his head to look at his visitor. With a furious face, he asked me, "When did you come back from Tokyo? Why didn't you come to see me immediately upon arrival? Why are you here today?" I answered, "I am an officer of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government. Upon my return to Mongolia, I had to return to Hohhot to present my report to my superiors, as my duty to them requires. Now, I am here upon the request of Prince De, to see if Your Excellency has any messages to convey to Wu Heling in Tokyo."

Head still bowed, Kanai said, "Go to Tokyo and tell Wu that he should concern himself with studying the soul and character of Japan, not with unsavory political matters." Kanai's antagonism toward Wu was evident. This was the first time that I was able to speak with Kanai Shoji, and I received an extremely negative impression of him. Later, however, when I returned to Mongolia, I had countless opportunities to meet with Kanai, and each time was received very politely, though it was impossible for me to forget our initial meeting. Kanai skillfully wore many political masks, depending on the role he was playing.

After receiving my reports, Wu Heling contacted Matsui Seikun, asking him to relate the recent developments to Itagaki Seishiro, Minister of the Army. Itagaki sent a message of comfort to Prince De through Matsui, saying that Prince De should be in charge of the Joint Committee, and he disapproved of forcing people to do things against their will. Itagaki also argued for elections among the leagues and banners as opposed to appointment. Heartened, Prince De again sought to conduct negotiations with Japanese officials in Mongolia, but he got nowhere; Ohashi Kumao was leading a campaign to embarrass Prince De wherever possible. This greatly embarrassed the prince; discouraged, he determined to pull away even farther from the Japanese.

Though Prince De was chairman of what had once been the most important committee of the Joint Committee, power remained in the hands of Kanai Shoji, the Chief Advisor. Much to his chagrin, the prince found himself a mere figurehead, an involuntary puppet. This demoralized Prince De both psychologically and physically.

Although some individual Japanese officers showed varying degrees of sympathy for the Mongolian cause, official Japanese policy toward Mongolia was that Prince De should be an impotent figurehead within the Joint Committee superstructure. Also, the Japanese were committed to the unification of the three client regimes of Northern Shanxi, Southern Chahar, and Mongolia. Spearheaded by Kanai Shoji, Ohashi Kumao, and Sakai Takashi, the Japanese sought to dismantle the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government, something they finally achieved on September 1, 1939, the first day of war in Europe. As Kanai's Joint Committee filled the power vacuum, an even darker era began for the Mongol nation.

As his struggles with the Japanese heightened, Prince De continued to use the name *Monggol* in lieu of the offensive *Mokyo* or *Mengjiang*. Though on some issues he was willing to compromise, he held fast on this, as a point of principle. Finally, the Japa-

nese gave in, abandoning use of the words *Mokyo* and *Mengjiang* for the Allied Autonomous Government of Mongolian Territories, and using in their place the much more acceptable *Moko* (Mongolian) Allied Autonomous Government. In an effort to accelerate things, Matsui Seikun even requested that Ozaki Yukuo, senior member of the Diet, bring up the Mongolian Question in the legislature. Sadly, though, Ozaki's pointed criticisms of government policy did little good, because by then, the Diet was practically impotent, having been overshadowed by the military clique then ruling Tokyo.

The End of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government

The Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government, established by the Second Mongolian Congress on December 1, 1937, lasted a mere twenty-two months, during which time Prince De and the other Mongol leaders focused their attention on national security. There had been practically no time to reconstruct the leagues and banners and work extensively on domestic matters. Yet there had been some advancement domestically; and though pinioned by outside concerns, the Mongolian leadership had an acute understanding of what needed to be done domestically.

Prince De believed that the chief cause of Mongolia's decline was its poor educational system; indeed, ignorance held all other domestic reforms forever in check. In making these observations, Prince De followed in the footsteps of Prince Gungsangnorbu of Kharachin, who had started the modernization of Mongolia at the turn of the century. Early on in the Allied League Government period, the Mongol Academy was established near Hohhot, with Prince Khorjurjab, a man of great literary abilities, as headmaster. Sangbu, formerly an experienced teacher at the Mongolian-Tibetan Academy in Beijing, was appointed dean of this new institution, whose aim was to provide an ethical reeducation for individuals sent from the various leagues and banners. Prince De, a frequent guest lecturer, gave the school four words of advice that later became its official motto: "honor, prudence, loyalty, and sincerity."

In August 1938, Khorjurjab was assigned to head the Ministry of Animal Husbandry, and Altanochir assumed control of the Mongol Academy. Soon the school took upon itself the education of junior governmental officials. Besides giving a general ethical education, it offered special classes in banner administration, teacher training, telecommunications, and other special subjects. In time, in an effort to provide some basic education for the Mongol nobility—the young *jasags* and *ambans*—a special institution, the Mongol Banner Academy, was established. Tegshibuyan, Minister of Civilian Administration, was the school's headmaster, and Chogmandukhu its dean. Chogmandukhu, a graduate of the Beijing Mongolian-Tibetan Academy, and member of the Inner Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Party, had spent time studying in Ulaanbaatar before teaching at the Chungcheng School in his native Kharachin established by Prince Gungsangnorbu in 1903. After the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, he had fallen under Japanese suspicion for his communist sympathies and had fled to Hohhot. At the recommendation of Wu Guting, he was able to win appointment from Prince De as headmaster of the new academy. This is a good example of Prince De's keen sense of judgment: he awarded a prestigious post on the basis of ability, not political creed.

Cultural development was also a target of the Allied League Government. Prince De established the Institute of Mongolian Culture, with Yi Dechin as its head. Yi was a former member of the Mongolian Political Committee at Beile-yin sume and a teacher of

Mongolian language and literature at the Army University in Nanjing. The goal of this new institute was to promote Mongolia's native culture, along with introducing selective elements of foreign culture. It consisted of several departments: research, floor displays, art, athletics, publication, and textbook compilation. The Allied League Government placed its library, the Peoples' Education Institute and the Historical Institute, under the control of this newly created institute. A Japanese historian, Go Minoru, served as advisor. A friendly scholar with a deep interest in Mongolian history and literature, he stayed at the institute through 1945 without the slightest quarrel with local Mongols or Chinese. The institute gathered many important Mongolian documents, especially on the question of land tenure; sadly, many of its manuscripts were lost after the war.

In Chahar, a youth school had been established at Zhangbei during the period of the Military Government. After the establishment of the Allied League Government, a wide assortment of primary and middle schools was established: the Bayantala League Normal School was founded in Hohhot, the Baotou Youth School was established in Baotou, the Ulanhab League Youth School was set up at Beile-yin sume, and the Shilingol League Youth School was founded at Pandita-gegeen-keid. Each school accepted Mongol children through their teen years, schooling them in basic subjects and in the foreign culture then sweeping the region. The already established Chinese schools, organized to educate Chinese residents, functioned as they always had. The schools of the Tumed Banner were considered especially important, and like the other banner schools, those Tumed Schools were financially supported at several levels.

In a bid to better understand Japan, students had been sent to Japan in ever-increasing numbers since the Military Government era, when only ten or so had studied in Japanese universities. During the Allied League era, this number grew to several dozen, studying in a variety of fields.

Shortly before Prince De's official visit to Japan, Wu Heling and I toured the Imperial University in Hokkaido. Wu was particularly impressed with the departments of animal husbandry and forestry. It became obvious that the Imperial University was where Mongol students should study in Japan to obtain crucial scientific instruction. Wu negotiated with the university's president and a Professor Soga, working out the means whereby Mongol students could study at the university. The Mongolian government established a student dormitory in nearby Sapporo, and provided room, board, and school fees. The prince approved of Wu's preliminary negotiations when he himself visited Japan; soon, several students came to Sapporo, among them Gombojab (Hangin), who later became Prince De's secretary. Also, a Japanese language training center was established in Hohhot to help Mongol students and officials communicate with their Japanese advisors.

The Allied League Government was also active in rejuvenating the domesticated stock and herds of Mongolia. The Ministry of Animal Husbandry imported rams from Australia and America and established several breeding paddocks throughout the leagues and banners. Unfortunately, breeding conditions in America and Australia differed substantially from those in Mongolia, and so the generation of sheep produced by the cross-breeding was inferior in quality to the old Mongol stock. The importation program thus was a failure. The ministry also actively improved pasturelands, bringing in several Japanese technicians, who constructed winter shelters for animals in an attempt to guard against overgrazing. Unfortunately, the Japanese refused to take the advice of the local herdsmen; they built the paddocks in the distant wilderness, where they were never used. The ministry also sought to vaccinate the many herds of Mongolia, initially with no success. Unschooled herdsmen, having no understanding of the value of vaccination, refused

ministry officials access to their herds. Following a prolonged campaign of public education, however, the vaccination program became successful.

The Japanese advisors of the Joint Committee controlled the entire transportation, finance, telecommunications, and industrial networks in the Mongolian region. The Joint Committee likewise controlled both grain and opium production within the Allied League region. These elements of the modern world really had no impact on the traditional Mongol pastoralist, whose chief outside interest was the ongoing trade in animal byproducts, food, and textiles. This trade had traditionally been in the hands of Chinese merchants, though increasingly they were controlled by the *Daimo Gongsu*, the Japanese-controlled Great Mongolian Company. They co-opted the local Chinese merchant class, eventually monopolizing trade in the traditional Mongolian territories. In areas where the Chinese were better entrenched, they continued to dominate the local economies. The Daimo Gongsu had been given the task by the Japanese Army in Mongolia of purchasing horses, wool, and hides for military use. The Army provided the company with quality textiles at subsidized prices to exchange for animals and animal by-products with the local Mongol pastoralists. Mongolia's large population of herdsmen were thus under a double yoke of economic oppression, both Chinese and Japanese.

Except for the seven eastern banners of Shilingol, all the Mongol leagues and banners relied on food produced either within their own banner or on food produced elsewhere within the boundaries of the Allied League Government. Shilingol, because of its geographical location, had to rely on food produced in what was then Manchukuo. The two regimes eventually worked out a trading agreement that allowed for the free sale of food across the border. Shilingol always found itself at a disadvantage, however, because the prices of its two main trading commodities—domesticated animals and salt from the salt lake of Ujumuchin—were always less than those of the imported foodstuffs. Skirting the disadvantageous money economy, a barter system soon developed across the border. When the Japanese tried to regulate this, the trading situation grew very confused, and many Mongols suffered economically. The Allied League Government was, however, unable to redress these woes, consumed as it was in the struggle against alien pressures.