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THE MONGOLIAN ALLIED AUTONOMOUS GOVERNMENT SEPTEMBER 1939 - AUGUST 1941

Formation of the New Mongolian Political Regime

The Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government was established on September 1, 1939. Its name was changed to "Mongolian Autonomous State" on August 1, 1941. Prince De hoped that changing the name of this organization to the original Mongolian term would create a foundation for future independence. It was during these two years that Prince De's emotional condition was at its worst and that the course of Inner Mongolian politics reversed.

After his visit in Japan, Prince De spent ten months in Hohhot negotiating the future of Mongolia with authorities from Hohhot, Kalgan, and Tokyo. Finally, the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government had to be dissolved because of heavy pressure from the Japanese army stationed in Mongolia. It united with the two puppet regimes of Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi, having Kalgan as its capital; and was renamed the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government. Although he accepted most of the conditions advocated by the Japanese authorities during this time, Prince De also insisted on using the word *Mongolia* instead of *Mongolian Territory* as the name of this new regime, and dating the years from Chinggis Khan rather than from the founding of the Republic of China. Prince De accepted a splendid title but lost the real power of the old Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government.

On August 29, 1939, Prince De held the fourth session of the Mongolian Congress and declared the disbanding of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government and the unification of the three political regimes of Mongolia, Southern Chahar, and Northern Shanxi. At 9:00 a.m. on September 1, as Germany invaded Poland, a founding ceremony for the newly established Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government took place in Kalgan in the courtyard of the Joint Committee of Mongolian Territory, under the direction of the Japanese advisor, Kanai Shoji.

At the beginning of the ceremony, Kanai Shoji recommended Prince De as chairman of the newly founded political organization, with Yu Pinqin and Xia Gong as deputy chairmen. Following this, Kanai reported on the negotiations among and procedures specified by the agreement made by the three political regimes of the Mongolian territory, including their desire to establish the new Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government. Yu Pinqin announced the outline of the organization of this new government and its political goals. Xia Gong announced the statement of the newly established government. Finally, Prince De led the main officials of this new government in their swearing in to their new posts. After this ceremony, Lieutenant General Hasunuma Shigeru, Commander of the Japanese Forces Stationed in Mongolia, and Major General Sakai Takashi, Head of the Liaison Office of the Asian Development Board (*Koayin*) in Kalgan, delivered the words of greeting which established the Mongolian Allied Autonomous

Government.

Following is an outline of the organization, the political goals, the inaugural statement of the newly established Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government, and the oath taken by its chairman.

I. Outline of the organization

1) The new regime is established in the territory of Mongolia and organized by all the nationalities of East Asia [present in that territory].

2) The title of the new political organization is the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government.

3) The head of this new political organization is titled Chairman.

4) The new political organization is established on the basis of East Asian uprightness. The policy of the government should be carried out according to the general will of the people.

5) The location of the capital is Kalgan.

II. Political goals

1) To uphold and promote the moral spirit of East Asia.

2) To achieve the grand harmony of all the nationalities and to go forth toward the great goal of peace.

3) To improve the livelihood of the people, to establish stability and order, and to guarantee the benefit of the people.

4) To bring forth the liberation of all the nationalities from the oppression of communism and to reinforce the common world anti-communist front.

5) To ally sincerely with the friendly nation [Japan] and to lay the foundation for the establishment of the new order of East Asia.

III. The Declaration

On September 1, of the 734th year of Chinggis Khan's chronology, the three governments of Mongolia, Southern Chahar, and Northern Shanxi unite to establish the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government. Because of the difficult present conditions, [we] must open the way for great harmony and peace [and] build the foundation for everlasting peace and good rule. This must be announced to all the people of every banner [and local administration unit] and be declared to all the nations of the world as follows:

The territory of Mongolia is well known in history. Its resources are splendid. The people are simple, honest, strong, and brave and are accustomed to leading peaceful lives herding and farming. The landscape is continental, with many mountain ranges. It extends from the Great Wall on the south to the North Sea [Lake Baikal]. However, from the founding of the Republic of China, it was occupied by the war lords. For twenty years they tyrannically oppressed the people at will and treated them as nothing but food for tigers and wolves. The man Chiang [Kai-shek], although setting up the national order for a temporary period with his capital in Nanjing, "allied with the Soviets and tolerated the Communists," exhorted the Mongols and resisted the Japanese as his main project. Consequently, relations with the friendly nation [Japan] worsened and war broke out. [Chiang] was defeated again and again and was able to maintain his existence only in the area of Sichuan. Nevertheless, such a beast-like person still aimed at a chance to swallow up the banners on the Gobi Steppes, encroaching on Mongolian borders and heartland. Judging from the approaching danger of communism and on the basis of the common will and desire for anti-communism to bring peace to the people, the three governments of Mongolia, Southern Chahar, and North Shanxi must have a basic policy: to cooperate; to found the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government; to defend against communism; to carry out harmony of the nationalities; to accept the assistance of Japan and sincerely unify Japanese, Mongols, Manchus, and Chinese into a solid body to march toward the establishment of the new East Asian order; to enlighten the upright spirit of East Asia; to glorify the world; to increase the welfare of human beings; and to establish everlasting merit in history.

IV. The Oath of the Chairmen

Before Buddha and the gods I swear that I will follow the constructive spirit to obey the organization of law and other ordinances, to strive for victory in the great enterprise against the communists, to unite harmoniously with all the nationalities in order to enrich the livelihood of the people, to march forward toward the establishment of an East Asian new order, and to strengthen the foundation of national establishment forever and ever. This I swear. (Go Minoru, "Mokyo," *Omoite no naimoko*, pp. 63-66).

According to the specified general procedures, the Declaration and the Outline of Policy had to be declared by the supreme leader of the regime unless he was not able to perform this task. These important documents were not to be read aloud by other people. On this occasion Prince De read only a few lines of the oath; the other important documents were proclaimed by Yu Pinqin and Xia Gong. Although the three heads of the unified governments had equal political positions, his behavior suggests that Prince De did not wish to read documents that were not agreeable to him. This declaration, compared with the declaration of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Movement of 1933, had no meaningful content. It did not express the emotions or desire of the Mongol people who were fighting for liberation and sheer existence. Evidently, this new declaration did not represent the will of Prince De either.

After Wu Heling was exiled to Japan, all the important documents and regulations were composed by Tegshibuyan, who was also expert in Chinese literature; consequently, he was one of the men nominated to compose this declaration. Later, in the fall of 1949, when the last Mongolian Autonomy movement was proclaimed at Alashan, Prince De personally told me about this matter: "When the three governments decided to unify, they brought me the finished manuscript of the Declaration. I was very dissatisfied with it, especially the words against Chiang Kai-shek. I recommended a change, but it had already been printed, and there was no way to retrieve it. Later, I rebuked Tegshibuyan, saying that the struggle for existence and independence of the Mongol people put us up against China, but not against any individual who was part of the Chinese state. We should speak, but there is no need to use such ugly words against someone, especially since the man Chiang did not do any bad things to Mongolia. Why should we attack specific individuals without cause? He is the leader of China, and if later we are really able to establish our independence, we will have to solicit the cooperation of such a leader of the Chinese government. Since then I have read all declarations under my name very carefully, and nothing like this has happened again."

Prince De mentioned this matter to me because I was then writing the Declaration of Autonomy. All this suggests that the Declaration of the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government was not authorized by Prince De; it was a document that he hated.

It is impossible to find in the organization of the government and its political outline any words that reveal the desire of the Mongol people for independence. Moreover, this new political outline erased the words "livelihood, unification, education, development, nourishment, and defense" (see p. 179) as the goals of the government. These words clearly announced the founding of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government by the Second Mongolian Congress. Their deletion here perhaps shows how thoroughly the old goals were dismissed.

Although Prince De used the chronology of Chinggis Khan in his oath, the flag that hung in the courtyard was different. The new flag had the same colors, but the design was different, in order to show that this was the flag of a combination of the Mongolian government and the governments of Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi.

After Kanai Shoji conducted the ceremony, Prince De, Yu Pinqin, and Xia Gong went to the Japanese Military Headquarters in Mongolia and the Liaison Office of the Asian Development Board to visit with Commander Hasunuma Shigeru and the Office Head Sakai Takashi and to express gratitude for their "support." After they returned from this visit, they held a public conference as a formality to pass the organizational laws and regulations for the Political Affairs Department, the Councilors Department, the ministries and bureaus of the Political Affairs Department, and the Offices of the Leagues, and to appoint important personnel to fill the positions. At the same time, Kanai Shoji was "welcomed" as Supreme Advisor.¹

The combination of the three political regimes—Mongolia, Southern Chahar, and Northern Shanxi—destroyed the Mongolian government and the leagues under the jurisdiction of the newly organized Political Affairs Department of the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government. The two regimes of Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi were demoted to political bureaus under the direct administration of the new Political Affairs Department. Their original territories and administrations remained unchanged.

The new flag of this new regime was greatly disappointing to Prince De and other Mongol leaders. It had seven horizontal stripes of red, white, blue, and yellow. A broad red stripe in the middle represented the Japanese, two narrow white stripes adjacent to the red represented the Moslems, two slightly wider blue stripes represented the Mongols, and the yellow stripes—which formed the upper and lower border—were equal in width to the blue and represented the Chinese and other nationalities. This flag symbolized Japan as the center country toward which all the nationalities of East Asia should incline, unifying harmoniously under a new political regime.

The design for this flag was initiated by Kanai Shoji and authorized by the Japanese commander, Hasunuma Shigeru. When it was shown to Prince De, he refused it and insisted on using the old flag of the Mongolian Military Government. The two sides were deadlocked for a long period. Finally, Sakai Takashi put pressure on Prince De to accept the new flag. According to the words of Nojiri Tetsuji, a Japanese deputy minister of that period, "Sakai Takashi admonished Prince De, 'You will be the representative of this new political regime. You are the one who is really qualified to be a monarch. However,

¹ The important appointments were as follows: Jodbajab, Head of the Political Affairs Department; Wu Heling, a Councilor of the Councilors Department; Muratani Hikojiro, Advisor of the Chairman's Office; Sekiguchi Tamotsu, Minister of General Affairs; Sungjingwangchug, Minister of Civilian Affairs; Oba Tatsunosuke, Deputy Minister of Civilian Affairs; Ding Qichang, Minister of Peace Preservation Ministry; Nagakawa Kazuo, Deputy Minister of the Peace Preservation Ministry; Togtakhu, Minister of the Judiciary Affairs Ministry; Hatano Yoshikuma, Deputy of the Judiciary Affairs Ministry; Ma Yongkui, Minister of Finance; Nojiri Tetsuji, Deputy Minister of Finance; Altanochir, Minister of Communication and Transportation; Ito Tasuku, Deputy Minister of Communication and Transportation; Du Yunyu, Minister of Industry (the deputy minister was a Japanese); Khorjurjab, Head of The General Bureau of Husbandry Industry; Itsuna Ei, Deputy Minister of the General Bureau of Husbandry Industry; Shonnudongrob and Tegshibuyan, Councilors of the Department of Political Affairs; Sekiguchi Tamotsu, President of the Mengjiang Institute; Yi Dechin, Head of the Mongolian Cultural Institute; Jirgalang, Head of the General Bureau of Investigation; Takasu Shinichi, Deputy of the General Bureau of Investigation; Bayantai, Head of the General Bureau of Economic Supervision; Chen Yuming, Head of the Southern Chahar Political Bureau with Takeuchi Gempei as Deputy; Tian Rubi, Head of the Northern Shanxi Political Bureau, with Maejima Noboru as Deputy; Han Guangsen, Mayor of Kalgan, and Yaejima Seiji, the deputy mayor. The heads of the leagues remained as they were. All these appointments were decided prior to the conference, which was just a rubber stamp.

a monarch should not talk too much on small matters. Under the Manchukuo Regime, when Puyi was established as leader, his attitude was excellent. He gave thorough trust to the newly established organization and to the designers creating the flag; he only said, "Good, good," and offered no interference. Although the national flag is an important matter, since it is already designed it would be better not to criticize it too much. I hope you also will have the attitude of a real monarch and understand."²

This advice is an example of Sakai's attitude toward Prince De and frankly assumes that this new political regime was to be the political organization serving the Japanese. He wanted Prince De to act as a puppet, as Puyi had in the Manchukuo regime. This basically meant that the important matters were not Prince De's business, and the small matters were not worth his interference. Of course, Sakai was able to apply pressure to cause Prince De to nod his head, but he could not eliminate the opposition of the Mongol people. Many Mongols ridiculed the flag as "*solongga-yin toos*" meaning, "trim for women's costumes." From the beginning to the end, this flag never captured the hearts of the Mongols.

As for the personnel appointments, too many Japanese deputy ministers and heads held the real power. This had been the goal of the Japanese advisory institution from the time of the founding of the Mongolian Military Government: the Japanese were not advisors anymore, but officials. Consequently, except for the Mongolian banners (all of which had strong historical feudalistic traditions), all other new institutions came under the control of the Japanese officials. The personnel assignments of the Mongolian Army did not change because of the unification of the three governments. Nevertheless, because of the dissolution of the Mongolian Allied League Government, Li Shouxin lost his nominal position as the vice-chairman of the former government.

Wu Heling, who was in Japan, realized that the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government was being dissolved and that consequently he was becoming a figure with only nominal power as a mere councilor of the new government. There had been no decision on the length of his stay in Japan, nor was there a budget for his support there. Therefore, he decided to take me along and return to Mongolia to observe what the future held. We left Tokyo around the 10th of September 1939, and arrived in Beiping in the middle of the same month. There we met with many high and middle-ranking officials of the old Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government. From these conversations we realized that this newly organized Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government was nothing but the old Mengjiang Joint Committee with a new label. There were not even desks and chairs for the officials of the old Mongolian government in the ministry offices. They were thus all idle and had come to Beiping merely to look busy.

Wu and I stayed in Beiping for several days, then left for Kalgan. During our conversation with Prince De, we noticed that while talking he always looked at the ceiling. It seemed he was preoccupied. This was later explained by his secretary: "In recent months, the prince has been terribly disturbed by Kanai Shoji, Ohashi Kumao, and Sakai Takashi. This has caused his current lack of motivation and distress." This kind of psychological depression continued even when circumstances later improved. Of course, he did not ask to see any psychiatrists.

After arriving in Kalgan, Wu Heling and I went to visit the Supreme Advisor Kanai Shoji, whose attitude toward Wu was extremely different than when he had received me six months before. He smiled and said, "I think it would be better for Mr. Wu

² Nojiri Tetsuji, "*Mokyo Kaiso*," *Kogen Senri*, p. 238.

to go back to Japan to continue studying one more year. Then your contribution to the Mongolian government would be much greater." Since Wu had already personally seen the situation at Kalgan, he also wished to leave. So he answered, "I was thinking of asking you to prolong the period of my study in Japan." This was, of course, immediately agreed to by Kanai. Prince De also desired Wu to go back to Japan to continue his activities in the Japanese capital against Kanai. Consequently, Wu stayed in Kalgan only a little over a month, then returned to Tokyo.

Prince Sungjingwangchug and Other High Officials

The newly appointed minister, Prince Sungjingwangchug (1886-1948), a very good friend of my father, was very happy when he saw me and said sincerely, "You know I don't speak Chinese, and I don't understand Japanese at all. Now that you have returned from Japan, don't go again; be my secretary." Given the good friendship between Prince Sung and my father, it was impossible for me to refuse. Moreover, since Wu Heling and I disagreed on so many issues, it was difficult for us to work together; it would be better for us to separate. So I accepted the kind offer of my father's friend and resigned as Wu Heling's secretary to become the secretary of the Minister of Civilian Affairs. The following record is of things I experienced personally or heard directly from the people involved from this time on.

Sungjingwangchug was the *jasag* prince of the Khauchid Left Banner and the deputy head of the Shilingol League. He was a very intimate friend of the deceased head of the Shilingol League, Prince Sodnamrabdan, but his relationship with Prince De was merely cordial. He was well known among the leaders of the eastern Shilingol as a moderate and kind elderly person. Prince Sung's appointment to this new job was promoted by the Japanese military authorities, particularly by Kanai, and was agreed to by Prince De. They intended eventually to make him Prince De's equal, and, when it became necessary, to have him take over Prince De's position. Kanai's attitude toward Prince Sung was thus very "friendly." This situation greatly "improved" the Japanese advisor's attitude toward me as well. However, Kanai's plot was in vain. Prince Sung was a very faithful, honest person who had no political ambition at all. Because of the loyalty so characteristic of Mongols, after his appointment as a minister, he showed absolute support for and loyalty to Prince De, and throughout their association they never had any conflict. In fact, Prince De eventually recognized Prince Sung as one of his most faithful friends, relying on him in all domestic matters involving Mongolia. When he had an idea he wanted delivered to the Japanese side, he would ask Prince Sung to communicate it in order to reduce his direct contact with the Japanese. The increasing intimacy between Prince De and Prince Sung evoked jealousy in Buyandalai.

In the Ministry of Civilian Affairs, Oba Tatsunosuke, the deputy minister, was very controlled and polite. Kimura Yujiro, the General Affairs Section Head, was also a prudent and careful person and easy to deal with. Prince Sung's policy was very clear: he wanted Oba and other Japanese officials to manage the affairs of the Chinese of Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi and the Chinese *xians* inside the borders of Chahar and Bayantala Leagues; however, he wanted to himself supervise the affairs of the Mongolian banners of the leagues. Because of this policy, Oba and other Japanese officials honored Prince Sung's decisions on the Mongolian leagues and banners. This created a division of power which made both Prince Sung and the Japanese officials feel comfortable and thus avoid conflict. Prince Sung thereby received honor from both Mongolian and Japanese.

At this time, many officials from the dissolved Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government were moved into the Civilian Ministry, although at first there was not even a chair prepared for them. After Prince Sung began to act as minister, they were able to settle down and start to work. Among them was the head of the Bureau of Education, Togtakhu (Tao Libin), who, because of Prince Sung's management, later became one of the active bureau heads in that ministry.

The beginning of the newly established Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government reflected the symbolism of its new flag. The Japanese officials were at the center of power. Important matters, such as policy decisions, as well as minor matters, such as management of automobiles, were all in Japanese hands. The "autonomy" of this "Autonomous Government" was nothing but a mockery.

Prince De's residence was a nice civilian house in the city of the Lower Castle in Kalgan. Unless there were ceremonies to attend, he rarely came to these so-called governmental offices. The Supreme Advisor, Kanai Shoji, who lived in a newly established residence at the Upper Castle, came to the office every day. So his room became the real center of power in this regime. The chairman's room opposite Kanai's room was nothing but a room full of furniture. Except for the Department of Councilors, consisting of some of the Japanese advisors from the dissolved Mongolian Allied League Government, such as Nakajima Manzo and Yamamoto Nobunaga, only a single Japanese secretary, Wasa Yoshinosuke, spoke fluent Chinese.

In any event, Kanai, Sekiguchi Tamotsu, the Minister of General Affairs, and his personal henchman, Akiyama, were the most powerful people of this new regime. Sekiguchi was originally a Manchukuo official. His personality and attitude were exactly the same as Kanai's: they both treated the local leaders as puppets. Sekiguchi was supported by Lieutenant Colonel Ohashi Kumao, the chief of the political staff of the Japanese army in Mongolia, and therefore he became the Minister of General Affairs. It is difficult to judge whether personal envy caused the constant power struggle between him and Kanai. Although Kanai was able to manipulate Prince De, he could not do anything with Sekiguchi. This conflict continued until the end of 1940, when Sekiguchi was forced to resign. Thereafter Kanai again grasped absolute authority over all Japanese officials under him.

The two vice-chairmen, Yu Pinqin and Xia Gong, did not come to the office; there was nothing for them to do. Among the ministers, the most arrogant and impolite was the Minister of Industry, Du Yunyu, who had a Japanese wife and was trusted by Kanai. The local people viewed him as a running dog of the oppressive Japanese. After Togtakhu, the Minister of Judicial Affairs, had betrayed his superior, Prince De, and the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government, his value to the Japanese military authorities and to Kanai Shoji came to an end. However, he was made a minister in name. Altanochir also accepted his "due" reward and was duly appointed Minister of Communication and Transportation. At this time he had a severe heart attack and, perhaps because of his bad health, became a devout Buddhist. After being healed, he regretted his former deeds. He also understood that "minister" was only a vain title of no significance. His attitude toward Prince De reversed fully, and from then on he did no harm to the reputation and leadership of the prince. His personal relationship with the prince gradually improved.

Engkeamur was appointed as a bureau head of the Ministry of Communication and Transportation; Urgunbu, the third younger brother of Wu Guting, was appointed as the secretary of the same ministry. Their relationship with Minister Altanochir was pleasant and smooth. Nevertheless, this ministry was dominated by Ito Tasuku. The Minister

of the Peace Preservation Ministry, Ding Qichang, was a Chinese of Kharachin Right Banner. As a young man he had joined the troops of Cui Xingwu under Tang Yulin and become one of Li Shouxin's group.

It was also at this time that the Mongolian army was reorganized. The original Chinese troops of the first, second, and third divisions were regrouped into police forces. Ding, recommended by Li Shouxin and several other Japanese advisors, was appointed Minister of the Peace Preservation Ministry in charge of police administration and espionage. However, he was only able to manage the ordinary police administration, not the organization of spies and the secret police, which was handled by the Japanese. Sangdugureng was also appointed as a powerless bureau head of this ministry.

Ma Yongkui, Minister of Finance, was welcomed and praised by Japanese officials because he never tried to manage affairs or become involved in the administration. Because of his placement in the entourage of Prince De during the visit to Japan, Jirgalang was hated by Kanai. He lost to Togtakhu his position as minister of the dissolved Mongolian Allied League Government, and was made Head of the General Bureau of Supervision and Investigation. Bayantai, although not favored by Prince De, had been able to occupy the position of a councilor in the old Hohhot regime. Now he was demoted to Head of the Economic Supervision Bureau. After Wu Heling's exile to Japan, Tegshibuyan became one of Prince De's planning advisors. Despised by Kanai, he also lost his original position as minister and became a mere councilor in the Political Affairs Department. Khorjurjab became the Head of the General Bureau of Husbandry Enterprise (the new version of the ministry of Husbandry Enterprise of the old Hohhot government). The Supreme Advisor of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government, Itsuna Ei, became Khorjurjab's deputy chief. These were the personnel arrangements designed by Kanai.

Although the middle-ranking cadre, the bureau chiefs, were assigned some posts and no one was dismissed, they now had nowhere to work. Moreover, before the combination of the three regimes, the Southern Chahar and the Northern Shanxi regimes had given big salary raises to their employees. Only the Mongolian regime reported their original position salaries; after the unification, their salary and rank fell even farther behind those of the others. This caused a collapse of morale.

Of all the Mongol leaders, Jodbajab was the one most greatly favored by Kanai Shoji. This was for the following reasons. Jodbajab was one of the senior leaders among the Mongol politicians and also the senior leader of the Chahar tribe. After the assassination of Nimaodzar, he had been greatly threatened by the Japanese and dared not refuse their demands. He yielded all his power to the Japanese advisors and never questioned their administrative acts, being content to put his personal seal on each document to signify his approval. For Kanai's purposes, he was the most suitable person to head the Political Affairs Department. He would provide a check against Prince De by putting his administrative power in the hands of Japanese officials, or in other words, in the hands of Kanai. That is why Mr. Jodbajab, well known as a courageous hero during his early days, now became the person in the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government most welcomed by the Japanese, but also the most ridiculed by politically active Mongols.

Persuading Prince De to accept the Japanese insistence on dissolving the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government, to join the Mengjiang Joined Committee, and to establish the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government had not been an easy project. In order to increase the pressure on Prince De, Marshall Sugiyama Gen, the senior military leader and commander of the Japanese army in North China, personally took the position as Commander of Japanese Forces in Mongolia. He transferred Lieutenant

General Hasunuman Shigeru to another military position in Japan.³

The unification of the three regimes and the formation of the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government was the "accomplishment" of Sakai Takashi. One day he went to visit and tour the office of the newly established government. When he entered a broad hall, he found two or three desks with a dozen or more Mongolian officials standing around. Seeing this inactivity, he asked Kanai Shoji and Sekiguchi Tamotsu, "What are these people doing here?" They told him these were the officials of the former Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government. Although their jobs were defined, space was limited and there was nowhere for them to work. Sakai told Kanai and Sekiguchi to do their best to put these people immediately to work and not to neglect them any longer. After this dramatic intervention, the upper-middle officials of the dissolved Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government were given a place to work with chairs and desks; but it was still the case that no work was assigned to them. To win the goodwill of the Mongols, Kanai rebuked Akiyama, a loyal follower of Sekiguchi, for his negligence of the Mongol officials, cleverly turning the blame for not honoring the Mongols toward Sekiguchi and Akiyama. Later, these Mongol officials were able to again find work to do.

Secret Contact between Prince De and Chiang Kai-shek

Under the oppression of Kanai Shoji, Sakai Takashi, and Ohashi Kumao, everyone from the dissolved Mongolian Allied Leagues Autonomous Government except Togtakhu and Jodbajab were greatly discouraged. Even Li Shouxin, whose belief in Mongolia's national aspirations was very slight, felt disappointed and viewed the Japanese oppression as an insult. They all originally thought that the reason for their cooperation with Japan was to gain existence and independence for Mongolia, but this hope was entirely swept away by the Japanese attitude and policy. The opportunity provided by this psychological change was not neglected by the KMT's Chungking agents. Gao Rong, the special commissioner of Chungking's Military Intelligence Bureau, had his colleague Namur (Liu Jianhua, Chief of the Hohhot Police Bureau and a trusted follower of Prince De), test the prince and Li Shouxin as to their desire to establish a connection with Chungking and join together to fight the Japanese.

Namur went to Kalgan and reported Gao Rong's proposal to Prince De, who accepted it immediately and agreed to go to Hohhot to investigate the administration of the Bayantala League Office but also to visit secretly with Gao Rong. During this secret meeting, Prince De revealed that he was willing to leave the area under Japanese occupation and go to Chungking. Gao Rong answered that such a great risk had to be authorized by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Later, Ma Hansan, a high rank organizer of Chungking intelligence in North China, arrived in Hohhot. Through Wu Junyu, a Chinese officer in the General Headquarters of the Mongolian army, he was able to contact Li Shouxin and to observe He Yunzhang, a Tumed Mongol intellectual and the secretary general of the Bayantala

³ However, Sugiyama did not come to Kalgan himself to directly administer the Japanese army in Mongolia. Until the new commander, Lieutenant General Okabe Naosoburo, was appointed and arrived in Kalgan in later September, 1939, Japanese military affairs continued to be handled by the transferred commander, Hasunuman Shigeru. According to the diary of General Okabe, his first visit with Prince De did not turn out well because of the prince's anxiety, reflected by his shifty eyes and dull countenance. See *Diary of Okabe Naosoburo* (Tokyo 1982), p. 238.

League Office, and join his organization. Mergen (Liang Chixiang), a section head of the Bayantala League Office, and Xiao Zhaogeng, a Manchu man, previously Prince De's chauffeur and later magistrate of Togtakhu *xian*, were the liaisons between Ma and the prince.

The latter part of 1939 was the grimmest period for Prince De. Mergen and Xiao were eventually able to bring back instructions from the Generalissimo that he wished the prince to cross the Yellow River in the vicinity of Baotou and go on south to Chungking. The prince immediately had Mergen bring Ma Hansan to Kalgan to visit with him. He expressed his desire to enter Outer Mongolia from his own Sunid Banner and to go from there to Chungking via the Soviet Union. He gave the reason that leaving from Baotou was too dangerous because of the heavy concentration of Japanese soldiers stationed there; the northern route was safer. In reality, however, the prince did not want to leave the area occupied by the Japanese simply to enter another area controlled by Fu Zuoyi, his personal mortal enemy.

Ma Hansan reported this to the Generalissimo, and the Chinese leader persuaded Prince De not to risk going through the Soviet Union; it would be better for him to continue to stay in the area occupied by the Japanese and to "tolerate the heavy oppression so as to carry out his important obligations, and to deceive the enemy." (I later heard this from the prince.) This secret contact with Chungking was extremely dangerous. So in order to be prudent, Prince De appointed only Mergen and his cousin, Wangragjab, as intermediaries.

The Secret Contact Ends in Failure

Through monitoring of radio frequencies, Japanese military intelligence eventually discovered this secret line of communication. Becoming suspicious, they enlarged their investigation and discovered the disappearance of some people, among them a man who had close ties to Namur. The Japanese military police issued an inquiry to Namur, asking him to answer immediately. Namur was very intelligent, and in answering their questions, emphasized the seriousness of the problem. He wanted to go arrest the escapees himself. First, he went westward to Baotou, convincing the Japanese that the man was perhaps hiding in Beiping. Then, accompanied by Japanese military police, Namur went to Beiping. There he falsely told the Japanese police that the escapee had just left Beijing for Baotou. While the police were going to Baotou to search for the man, Namur himself escaped. (Mr. Namur told me this in the winter of 1982 in Taipei.) The defection of Namur increased the seriousness of the situation.

The Japanese military police, after investigating those who had intimate relations with Namur, arrested Wu Junyu, He Yunzhang, Mergen, Xiao Zhaogeng, and others. After examination and torture, the captives confessed that Prince De and Li Shouxin were involved in the conspiracy. Since Li Shouxin was the first to receive news of the confession, he came to discuss the matter with the prince. At the same time, he purposely disclosed the secret intelligence to a limited group, who alerted Ma Hansan and other agents of Chungking, enabling them to hide or escape.

After consultation, both Prince De and Li Shouxin realized that their involvement was undeniable. They thought it would be better to confess and try an alternative plan. On April 11, Li went to the headquarters of the Japanese army to visit with Commander Okabe Naosaburo. Soon after, Prince De also visited with Okabe and Major General Tanaka Shinichi, chief of staff of the Japanese army. He openly confessed that those

arrested had merely been following his orders. He wanted to take full responsibility for their activities and asked pardon for the innocent persons. At the same time, he revealed his reasons for running this risk: the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government had been dissolved under pressure; the Mongols had been thoroughly neglected by the Japanese side, and the hope for building a Mongolian nation had become slim.

Tanaka Shinichi expressed his sympathy and asked, "If Chiang Kai-shek allowed Mongolian independence, what would you do then?" This sudden question prompted Prince De to consult with his interpreter, Chogbadarakhu. He answered, "Even if Chiang Kai-shek promised Mongolian independence, I would have to see whether it was realistic or not before taking action because none of his promises have materialized. I cannot trust vain words." This kind of response did not offend the Japanese military, and the prince maintained his image of humility. Agreeing with the comment, Tanaka said, "I understand the course of this entire event. Chiang Kai-shek asked you to go, but you didn't go. That's all right; I understand your motives and sympathize. Please don't worry."

Since Prince De felt absolved of responsibility, he added, "It was I who ordered He Yunzhang, Mergen, Xiao Zhaogeng, and Wu Junyu to be the intermediaries. I should take the whole responsibility, yet you pardon me. I wish you could pardon them also." The result of Prince De's conspiracy with Chungking was that Tanaka agreed to consider the prince's desire. However, by then, Wu Yunyu and others had been executed (at the beginning of their trial), He Yunzhang had died as a result of torture during his imprisonment, and Mergen and Xiao had been sentenced to eight years imprisonment. Three years later, when Prince De again asked for their pardon from the Japanese military authorities, Mergen and Xiao were finally released.

According to Okabe's diary:

1) Prince De and Li Shouxin's contact with the agents of Chiang Kai-shek started in the summer of 1940.

2) Prince De was greatly disappointed with the unification of the three regimes and the newly established government, which did not benefit the Mongols. He refused to remain in a nominal position, one leaving him no power to manage either big or small matters. He had confidence in Japan and considered Japan a model. However, when his expectations were not realized, he became distressed and rebelled.

3) Prince De absolutely opposed the Soviet domination of Mongolia and worried that the Japanese would one day withdraw from Mongolia. It would be better for the Mongols to struggle for existence alone than to suffer under the power of the Soviet Union. Therefore, he disregarded the danger to his life, and worried instead about the existence of the Mongol people as a whole. It was rumored in 1940 that the Japanese army was only temporarily stationed in China and might eventually withdraw. Prince De had to consider what the situation might be after Japanese withdrawal. He had the feeling that Japanese expansion had already reached its limits.

4) Because of his fear that Mongolia might come under the influence of Soviet communism, Prince De indicated he would establish contact with Chungking, but did not receive a concrete answer from the Chinese side.

5) From this time on, he awakened from his dream of trusting Japan. He appreciated the pardon from the Japanese commander in chief, but hoped the commander would take responsibility for dealing with those treacherous people.⁴

⁴ Okabe, p 326.

Okabe's diary may provide a good supplement to the account I have given. It describes Prince De's feelings and his willingness to accept responsibility. The words "he did not receive a concrete answer from the other side" show that in order to maintain some chance for future negotiations, Prince De did not reveal the whole picture to his opponent.

Perhaps a brief biographical sketch of the interpreter Chogbadarakhu would be appropriate at this point. He was a Kharachin Right Banner man who graduated from the Chongzheng school of that banner. Later, he went to Beijing to study at the Mongolian-Tibetan Academy. He later transferred to the Political Academy of the Kuomintang in Nanjing. During Prince De's visit to Nanjing, Chogbadarakhu, greatly influenced by the nationalistic attitude of the prince, left Nanjing to return to Mongolia and join the prince's Students' Brigade. During the period of the Mongolian Autonomy Movement at Bat-khaalag in 1933, he was one of the most radical of the youths. When the prince realized Chogbadarakhu's potential, he sent him to Japan for further study under the tutelage of Sasame Tsuneo, the early Japanese agent in Inner Mongolia. He studied in the Political Science Department of Chuo University, Tokyo. There he read many Marxist books and was greatly influenced by socialistic ideas.

During Prince De's visit to Japan, Chogbadarakhu became one of his intimate followers and became furious at Kanai's high-handed policy against the prince. In the spring of 1939, he graduated from the university and returned to Hohhot. Prince De immediately appointed him his secretary and interpreter for important negotiations because of his facility in the Japanese language. Chogbadarakhu was very faithful to the prince, and as a result, became a member of the prince's personal advisory group. Although Chogbadarakhu was greatly trusted by the prince, the prince did not mention contact with Chiang Kai-shek to him until the secret became known.⁵

At the insistence of Tanaka Shinichi, Prince De's contact with Chungking finally dissolved without greater harm. It was rumored that during a meeting at the headquarters of the Japanese Army in Mongolia, Tanaka advised that making too much of the incident might influence many important leaders in Mongolia to turn against Japan and finally lead to the total failure of Japanese policy in Mongolia. Therefore, it was better to smooth the tense situation over by having the Mongols ask Japan for help. Commander Okabe Naosaburo agreed with Prince De, and the decision became final.⁶

⁵ After the secret was discovered, Wangragjab, the cousin of Prince De, left Kalgan and hid out to avoid being arrested. Since Wangragjab was trustworthy enough to keep matters confidential, he was asked to take part in this top secret matter. In fact, even after the matter became open, he never discussed it with anyone.

⁶ After the affair was over, Iwai Fumio, advisor to the Mongolian Army, reported the meeting of the top Japanese military authorities to Sangdugureng, commander of the Mongolian Army's ninth division. At first, Ohashi Kumao demanded that the Mongol leaders be subject to severe punishment. He feared that Prince De and others might try to contact Outer Mongolia. Perhaps Iwai revealed this secret information to threaten Prince De, put a stop to future attempts, and evoke gratitude toward the Japanese military authorities. Prince De's reputation and his prestige in Mongolia were much greater than that of Lingsheng, whom the Japanese executed in 1935. So any damage to Prince De might cause many Mongols to turn their allegiance away from Japan, even to causing the Japanese position in Mongolia to collapse. Thus the regime of the Mongolian Territory could suffer mortal damage and the Japanese endeavor might end in failure. It was better to downplay the importance of the situation. This was probably why Tanaka advocated a moderate policy toward the Mongol leaders. On the other hand, Ohashi Kumao, always antagonistic toward Prince De, naturally insisted on a harsher policy. Fortunately, the Board of Asian Development in Tokyo replaced

Kanai Shoji, a close collaborator with Ohashi Kumao, should not be absolved from responsibility in such an important political problem. He pretended, however, not to be involved. Therefore, Prince De humbly discussed this matter with Tanaka, but never with Kanai. Again, only a limited number of Mongolian and Japanese leaders knew about this great political crisis. Some leaders did not know of Prince De's involvement in the secret attempt; others thought that He Yunzhang, Mergen, and Xiao Zhaogeng were arrested because of their contact with Chungking. Three years later, when Mergen and Xiao Zhaokeng were released, they remained silent, saying nothing in public. After the end of the Second World War, Chiang Kai-shek did not label Prince De a traitor; he had told the prince to be patient and remain in Japanese-occupied territory, but to only pretend to collaborate with the Japanese. That is why none of the Mongol activists who followed the prince were ever punished by the Chinese government.

The Wang Jingwei Regime and the Qingdao Conference

After establishing his regime in Nanjing, Wang Jingwei, with the assistance of the Japanese, established a movement to unify China. Liang Hongzhi of the Nanjing Renewal Government and Wang Kemin of the Beiping Preliminary Government immediately responded to Wang's initiative. On January 23, 1940, a conference chaired by Wang Jingwei in Qingdao discussed the new central government and its relation to the Chinese regimes in Chungking and Beiping, and the Mongolian government in Kalgan. The problem of the founding of the "Central Political Committee" was also discussed. This matter had been studied and discussed for quite a long time. The Japanese authorities in China supported Wang. This required Prince De to yield to the new Chinese regime. Because Prince De stubbornly rejected this move, a deadlock occurred between the Mongol leaders and the Japanese military commander in Kalgan. Finally, the Japanese decided that even if the prince disagreed, they would have the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government send a representative to the Qingdao Conference. So Ohashi Kumao and Kanai Shoji joined forces and put heavy pressure on Prince De.

By this time, those pressing the Mongols to recognize Wang's regime as their superior and to see themselves as subordinates to China were not the Chinese but the Japanese. For a long time, the Japanese had encouraged the Mongols to separate from China and establish their own independent political regime. Of course, this about face greatly discouraged Prince De, who realized that the Japanese were not to be relied upon. This turn of events not only cheated and insulted the prince, but also made it impossible for him to face his own people. His original aim had been to ally with the Japanese and cooperate with them. He wanted their assistance in founding an independent Mongolian nation, while avoiding becoming a puppet of a foreign people. Since Prince De felt he was being forced to be a puppet by the Japanese as well as a puppet of another puppet (Wang's regime), he tried once more to establish contact with Chungking. At the same time, he decided not to send anybody to Qingdao to the conference.

In order not to disappoint Wang Jingwei, without the permission of Prince De, the Japanese military authorities sent Li Shouxin to Qingdao, as the delegate from the

Sukai Takashi with Major General Takeshita Yoshiharu as Head of its Liaison Office in Kalgan. The prudent Takeshita had no personal prejudice in Mongolian matters or against Prince De. This was possibly another reason for the success of the moderate policy among the Japanese military leaders.

Mongolian government. Li Shouxin was accompanied by Sekiguchi Tamutsu, Minister of General Affairs; Nakajima Manzo, a secretary of the Councilors Department; and Chen Yousheng, a counselor of the General Affairs Ministry and interpreter of Japanese and Chinese languages.

As a matter of fact, Wang Jingwei had already reached an agreement with the Japanese. He planned to place all the political units in the Japanese-occupied areas under his control. The Japanese Board of Asian Development had agreed to this proposal in October 1939. Many decisions were made at that time concerning the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government.⁷

After he arrived in Qingdao, the Japanese had Li Shouxin meet with Zhou Fohai, the representative of the Wang regime. On March 24, Li and Zhou signed an agreement containing the following points: 1) the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government recognized the new central government as the legitimate government of China; 2) the central government recognized the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government as a regional political regime, thereby also postulating the unity of the Mongolian, Chinese, Manchu, and Japanese peoples as an established fact, but with each party granted a higher degree of autonomy; 3) the central government allowed the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government to use the year date of Chinggis Khan and its original flag.

During the negotiations, both sides had distinctively different opinions, but the compromise (summarized above) was suggested by General Itagaki Seishiro, chief of staff of the Japanese Army stationed in China. In order to express the independent character of Mongolia, Li Shouxin did not attend the conference for unification between Wang Jingwei, Liang Hongzhi, and Wang Kemin. Although Li Shouxin visited with Wang Jingwei once, they did not discuss politics. After signing the agreement, Li formally visited with Itagaki Seishiro. After his return to Kalgan, he reported all these events to Prince De. He was trusted now by the Japanese because he had agreed to go to Qingdao. This decision helped the Japanese pacify the deadlocked opponents of Wang Jingwei. Nevertheless, Li's image darkened in the hearts of the Mongols.

After Wang established his regime in Nanjing, he set up the Ministry of the Frontier Administration, and appointed Engkebatu, former member of the National Government, and Keshingge, former member of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, as the Mongolian members of his newly established regime. These decisions symbolized that Mongolia and other frontier areas were still under the domination of Wang's so-called Republic of China. During this time, some Mongol students were still studying in Beiping.⁸

The Clash at Wuyuan

At about the same time that Prince De was in contact with agents from Chungking, the Japanese military authorities and the Mongol army under their control were planning a western campaign into the grain-producing territory inside the Great Bend of the Yellow River, where Fu Zuoyi had located his headquarters and base. Fu fortified

⁷ Nakajima Manzo, "The Qingdao Conference and its relationship to the Wang Regime," *Kogen-senri*, pp. 76-77.

⁸ The Mongolian-Tibetan Academy in Beiping was not, however, influenced by this changing political situation. At first, the academy was governed by the Beiping Provisional Government, but later it came under the administration and maintenance of Wang's National Government. A Manchu, Guan Zhenduo, was the head of this school and administered it until the end of the Second World War.

Wuyuan and Linhe as his special strategic sites. Prior to this period, Fu had sent An Chunshan to hide inside the city of Baotou; however, An joined Li Shouxin's old troops, now reorganized into police brigades, to respond to the attack from Fu's army. On the night of December 19, 1939, Fu's troops were able to enter the city. However, they were soon driven out by the Japanese and Mongolian forces. This attack from Fu's side greatly alarmed the Japanese military authorities stationed in Mongolia, and consequently became one of the direct causes of the Japanese invasion of Wuyuan and Linhe.⁹

After a period of preparation, the Japanese army appointed Lieutenant Colonel Kuwabara Araichiro, head of the Special Service Office in Hohhot, as the commander of the Japanese forces. The army also appointed Wu Guting, chief of staff of the Mongolian army, as commander of the Mongolian forces. Both the Mongolian and Chinese forces of the local Police Brigade also joined the invasion. On February 3, they occupied Wuyuan and two days later took Linhe.

The war started just like a military review. When the Japanese moved forward, Fu Zuoyi had his troops retreat. After the Japanese occupied the two cities, the enemy was so weak that another blow was not necessary. Both the Japanese and Mongolian forces withdrew to Baotou. The newly occupied territory was protected and administered by both Japanese and Mongolian police forces. (The old Mongolian army had been reorganized into the Police Brigade under their commander, Kuwabara.) Underestimation of the enemy provided Fu Zuoyi with a good opportunity to carry out a counterattack; on February 14, Fu's troops retook Linhe; and on March 20, Fu brought reinforcements to this battlefield. After two days of fighting, Fu was able to reoccupy the city of Wuyuan. Kuwabara and most of the Japanese police officers were killed in the battle. To avenge this defeat, both the Japanese and Mongolian army again attacked Wuyuan, entering the city on March 26. But Fu carried out a large scale counterattack, finally pushing the Japanese and Mongol forces out of the areas of Wuyuan and Linhe. This defeat prevented the Japanese military forces from moving westward or southward from the vicinity of Baotou until the end of the Second World War.

These battles had a great impact on those Mongols who were hostile to Fu Zuoyi in the area of the Yekejuu League. Prince Altanochir, who was in Baotou, was especially anxious for the liberation of his people from domination by Fu. Prince Altanochir wanted the entire Yekejuu League to be unified under the Mongolian government in Kalgan.

However, Fu Zuoyi was the one who triumphed. This victory elevated his personal reputation and political position; it also brought high honors from the authorities in Chungking and diminished the people's fear that the Japanese could take over still more territory. Consequently, the Mongol banners of the Yekejuu League dealt with Fu prudently and dared not plan to break away from China despite the difficulty of their situation. The Mongolian Political Council of the Suiyuan area became Fu's main instrument for controlling the Mongols. And the number of Chinese settlers in the Mongolian territories of the Yekejuu League immediately increased. These changes eventually became the direct cause of the March 26, 1942 incident in the Yekejuu League, when the Mongols of the Jasag Banner rebelled against Chinese domination, causing Mongol and Chinese blood to be shed.

⁹ Just before hostilities broke out at Wuyuan, Prince De and the Chungking agents had discussed the ability of the prince to use the Baotou district as an escape route to enter the territory under Chinese control.

Wang Jingwei's Visit to Kalgan

After the Qingdao Conference, Prince De fell into deep depression. Although it was impossible for him to abolish the agreements established at Qingdao, he utterly ignored their existence, and the Japanese had no way to force him to honor these articles. By this action, Prince De refused to acknowledge that the Mongolian regime was a part of China. He would certainly not recognize any subordinate relationship between his government and Wang's in Nanjing. On the other hand, Wang Jingwei always felt sure it was impossible to recognize the "Mongolian Territory" as equal to the local political entities of North China under the authority of his regime. Wang even desired that the "Mongolian Territory" become a part of the "Republic of China," with himself as the sovereign.

On April 9, 1940, after his visit to Beijing as the Chairman of the National Government of China and before the crisis of Prince De's contact with Chungking had been completely resolved, Wang decided to visit Kalgan. This event caused great tension among the Japanese military authorities in Mongolia, the Liaison Office of the Asian Development Board, Kanai Shoji, Prince De, and other Mongol leaders. The Japanese military authorities told Kanai about this event. Then Kanai conveyed the desires of the Japanese to Prince De: "The commander in chief of the Japanese forces in Mongolia sincerely hopes that you will go to the airport tomorrow morning to personally welcome Wang. This is the sincere hope of the Japanese side. Wang will not be involved in any political discussions during his visit." Prince De rejected this demand. He would not accept Wang's claim and absolutely would not go to the airport to welcome Wang.

This caused a dilemma for Kanai, who asked the prince what it would take to get him to respond positively to the Japanese authorities' request. Prince De told Kanai that his health was bad, and thus he could not receive a visitor. This excuse greatly angered Kanai's military superior, Ohashi Kumao, who telephoned Prince De personally. The prince did not answer the telephone, but had his secretary Chogbadarkhu respond for him. Ohashi said, "Wang Jingwei is coming. The Japanese army desires that Prince De treat him politely." The secretary explained that the prince was sick and not able to receive visitors. Ohashi said, "If Prince De is really sick, then we will send a military doctor to heal him." The secretary rejected this suggestion. Finally, Ohashi insisted that the prince go to the airport to fetch Wang personally; the result was yet another refusal.

Kanai was helpless; he was not able to make Prince De accept the demands of the Japanese army authorities in Mongolia, nor was he able to deliver Prince De's refusal to them. In the afternoon of the same day, he gathered all the ministerial-rank officials of the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government and laconically informed them that the coming of Wang would have no impact on the political position of the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government. But for the sake of simplicity and formality he asked Jodba-jab, head of the Department of Administration, to go to the airport to welcome Wang. Other high-ranking officials would await Wang's arrival in the conference hall of the government and join the official luncheon party.

Kanai still had not reported the result of the telephone communication between Ohashi and Prince De. That evening, Prince Sungjingwangchug and I were discussing the matter when we suddenly received a telephone call from Kanai, who asked Prince Sung to be at the airport before 8:00 the next morning to welcome Wang Jingwei as the representative of Chairman Prince De. Prince Sung answered by saying he had to obtain the permission of the chairman himself. Kanai said, "Because the prince is sick and cannot

go to the airport personally, he has agreed. Please come to the airport on time." Prince Sung felt this event had great possibilities for political entanglement. We immediately went to see Prince De and asked how to resolve this problem. Prince De smiled as Prince Sung told him the whole story: "Since Kanai asked you to go, I agree. You may deliver word of my 'sickness' to Wang. At the time of the autonomy movement at Batu-Khaalag, Wang showed his sympathy toward us. We have to treat him as a guest and not embarrass him. However, he comes in the position of chairman of the Chinese government and with the intention to make us his subordinates. We of course cannot accept this. I am not going to the airport and will not accept his visit. Please do your best."

Early the next morning, Prince Sung and I rushed to the airport. There was no special ceremony of welcome. Kanai Shoji, Tanaka Shinichi, Ohashi Kumao, Jodbajab, and others were there. The airplane arrived at about 9:00 a.m. Because Prince De was not there, the welcome was chilly. Jodbajab went forward as the representative of the Mongolian government to express welcome. Then Prince Sung appeared as the personal representative of Prince De and said, "Your Excellency, arrived from afar; unfortunately Prince De is in bad health and unable to come to welcome you personally. He had me come to express his welcome and apology." I interpreted this.

In this way, Prince Sung avoided using the formal official titles of the leaders on both sides and diminished the political significance of Wang's visit. Wang smiled and accepted these good wishes courteously, showing his great ability as a talented politician. But the face of Lin Bosheng, Minister of Propaganda, who was following Wang, was very cold. After this formality, the Japanese military officers and all the Mongol officials accompanied Wang to the hall of the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government.

During the subsequent conversation, Wang realized that this was neither the place to talk about politics nor the time for political bargaining. His questions avoided important problems and made the atmosphere very comfortable. But outside the room, the air was very tense. Ohashi Kumao again telephoned Chogbadarakhu and told him that Wang's purpose for visiting was to see Prince De face to face; the prince had to accept a meeting. Chogbadarakhu answered that the prince was sick. Ohashi angrily responded, "This is a demand of the Japanese army. He should not pretend sickness. I will send a military doctor to see if he is sick or not." A military doctor arrived at the residence of Prince De, but Chogbarkhu refused to give him access to the prince, explaining that whether the chairman was sick or not, his religious beliefs indicated that this day was taboo. He could not accept visitors.

While Wang was talking with the Mongolian government authorities, he turned to Prince Sung and said, "My goal in coming here is to visit my old friend Prince De. Unfortunately, being sick, he is not able to leave his bed. The only possibility then is for me to go to his place to comfort him. I don't know whether I can see him or not. If not, my visit has been completely in vain." This time no one was able to answer for Prince De. Prince Sung had to say, "Prince De is feeling quite poorly, and receiving you from a bed would be really impolite. But since Your Excellency has this desire, let me convey it to the prince and bring you his answer." I translated this entire conversation.

When Prince Sung again took me to visit Prince De, and I reported Wang's conversation to him. Prince Sung admonished Prince De not to embarrass Wang. After hearing these reports, Prince De said, "Ohashi used all his pressure upon me to receive Wang Jingwei, which I rejected. Even more, he sent a military doctor to check me, which is very offensive. But these words of Wang make rejection impossible. You go and tell him he can come, and that it was because of my sickness that I did not go to welcome him. I ask for his pardon." Prince Sung returned to the government hall and reported

Prince De's reply. Wang gladly accepted this invitation, thus relieving the terrible tension of the past two days. Kanai's face showed some wrinkles of a faint smile.

During Wang's visit to Prince De's residence he was accompanied by Lin Bosheng. Prince Sung and I were the only officials from the Mongolian Government. Kanai did not go, to show that the Japanese were not interfering in every matter; if the situation became embarrassing, it would be better for him not to be there. Prince De said he was sick and could not meet the guest at the gate. Moreover, he did not properly welcome Wang Jingwei as an honored guest in his inner apartment, but rather had him wait in the guest room.

This was a very tense occasion. Though Prince De's health was very good, he pretended to be a sick man. With his sharp eyes, Wang undoubtedly realized Prince De suffered from a political disease, but he pretended to comfort an old friend and wished him recovery as soon as possible. Again and again Prince De apologized for not being able to welcome his guest properly because of ill health. The men chatted for a while, but touched on nothing political. The interpreter for Prince De was Chogbarkhu; I acted as a temporary interpreter for Wang. Because of the need for interpreters, the time taken up by the meeting was doubled, and there was no time to talk about the real problem. Finally, Wang smiled politely and concluded, "I really didn't come at an appropriate time; you are sick in bed, and we cannot talk more. This is regrettable. Please take care of yourself." Then he bade Prince De goodbye, and the prince accompanied his honorable guest to the outside gate of his residence.

At noon, Wang and his entourage were welcomed with a formal luncheon party at Yuanlai Zhuang in the park at Kalgan. Jodbajab and the ministers of the Mongolian government acted as hosts. Many other leaders were in attendance: Kanai, Supreme Advisor; Okabe Tsunesuburo, Commander of the Japanese army in Mongolia; Tanaka Shinichi, Chief of Staff; Ohashi Kumao, of the Political Staff of the same Japanese army; and Takeshita Yoshiharu, Head of the Asian Development Board Kalgan Office. Although this was a very formal luncheon party, none of the attendees discussed politics. Shortly after the banquet, Wang and his entourage left Kalgan by air, and the political deadlock between Prince De and the Japanese authorities disintegrated. Afterward, Kanai repeatedly expressed his gratitude to Prince Sung for helping resolve the deadlock; in the end, both sides maintained their honor.

After Wang left, Prince Sung and I again visited Prince De to review the matter to determine who, in this political drama, was the winner and who the loser. Although Wang had come as the Chairman of the National Government of China, the Mongolian government had treated him only as an honored guest, not as a superior. Prince De had even tried to reject his visit altogether. However, since Wang came to the personal residence of Prince De, the prince could not refuse to see him. Thus, Wang was able to visit with Prince De in person. In this way both sides were satisfied. Wang did not lose face and Prince De did not give in. During Wang's visit, no political subject was discussed, a win for the Mongols. Prince De's pretense of bad health, and his not appearing in the office of the Mongolian government, officially suggested to Wang that something was not good. Consequently, Wang did not attempt to discuss any political issues, evidence of his political brilliance.

These things I experienced personally. My account is quite different from what Lu Minghui said in his book. Of course, Lu used the material of other writers who purposely distorted the facts. For example, he says that Prince De's acceptance of Wang's visit was the result of Japanese pressure. I do not agree with such a false account.

Political Unrest in Ujumuchin

While this political storm was brewing in Kalgan, a serious political problem arose in Ujumuchin Left Banner, located in the northeast corner of Shilingol League. After the former *jasag* prince's death, his son Dorji, while still only a boy, succeeded him in rank and position. The administration of the banner was carried out by Duke Dobdan, as *jasag* in charge. By the time the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government was established, Dorji had reached the age of eighteen. According to tradition, it was time for the young *jasag* to assume responsibility for the administration of his banner. Dobdan resigned from the post of *jasag* in charge and from the position of *tusalag-chi*—high-ranking assistant to the *jasag*.

Since Dorji was young and not well educated, men of ill intent manipulated him, increasing taxes and mistreating the people. There arose great dissatisfaction among the residents of the banner. However, even though they were angry, there was nowhere to complain. Dobdan, avoiding involvement, kept his mouth shut. During this time, the Japanese Guandong Army established a "Special Service Office" at the temple of Nunai sume, located on the southeastern side of the banner, where people came to vent their discontent to the Japanese. Because the Japanese Special Service Office could not openly interfere, it tried to become involved in this matter secretly. Lubsang, known by the title of *Kabji Lama*, was the abbot of *Kabji Lama-yin sume*, located to the south of Prince Dorji's residence. With Japanese encouragement, this young and ambitious lama openly opposed Dorji, the *jasag* of the banner, and created a great split in the Ujumuchin Left Banner.

Early in the summer of 1938, when the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government dispatched a group of Mongol leaders to visit Japan, this *Kabji Lama* was among them. During his stay in Tokyo, *Kabji Lama* told Wu Heling and me about the problem and stated his intention to solve it.¹⁰ However, because we were abroad, we could only show him sympathy, but could take no action to help him, especially during the visit of this group of Mongol leaders. The head of the group, Prince Khorjurjab, was planning to see Tojo Hideki, the Japanese Deputy Army Minister, and demand Japan's help for achieving independence for Mongolia. Thus the lama's opinion was not sincerely considered and not even reported to Prince De.

Eventually, after hearing of Dorji's misdeeds, Prince De ordered him to come to Hohhot and join the Mongolian Banners Academy for training, and assigned Dobdan to once more act as the *jasag* in charge. Later, at the time of the unification of the three regimes, the Academy was moved to Kalgan. Of course, this kind of education did not change Dorji's thinking or behavior at all. Soon after, seeing Prince De's preoccupation with Japanese negotiations, under the pretense of bad health, he returned to his own banner, where he soon created the problem anew.

In a movement against Dorji, the people under the *Kabji Lama's* leadership refused to pay taxes, did not take on any duties for the banner, and did not respond to the orders of the banner office. The *Kabji Lama* organized the lay people and moved them to

¹⁰ Since the *Kabji Lama* saw so many new things in Japan that broadened his views, he realized a great change was necessary in Mongolia or the nation would be destroyed. Although he mentioned that a possible answer was available, the Chief Councilor of the Mongolian Government, Wu Heling, did not respond. Perhaps, he surmised, it would be better for him to create an opposition movement ranged against Dorji's maladministration and himself promote a policy of change for traditional Mongolia's pastoral livelihood.

the vicinity of his monastery to practice a pastoral lifestyle. This made it possible for the children to attend a school that he established inside the monastery. He also established a workshop in the monastery to teach handicraft skills and demanded that the young lamas study in the school. All these reforms came from a lama who was not supposed to interfere in politics. If the government ignored them, other lamas might imitate the *Kabji Lama* and get involved in politics, creating still greater confusion.

On the matter of involvement with foreigners, the *Kabji Lama*, who was pro-Japanese, was supported by the Japanese Special Service Office. Later on, Dorji's followers tried to get assistance from Outer Mongolia and the Soviet Union, but the Japanese Special Service Office discovered their attempt.

The *Kabji Lama* caused worry for Prince De, Prince Sung, and other Mongol leaders, and also attracted the attention of the Japanese military headquarters in Kalgan. At this time, Prince Sung and I were vacationing in his native home, Khorchid Left Banner. Because the Japanese military headquarters was concerned, it discussed the matter with Kanai, the Japanese Supreme Advisor, and Prince De. Prince De decided to send Prince Sung to deal with the problems that related to diplomacy, civilian administration, and religion.

The Mongolian Government also appointed Japanese advisors Muratani Hikojiro, Kimura Yujiro, and Nakamura Asakiji (the Councilor of the Shilingol League Office) to join with Prince Sung in settling the problem in Ujumuchin Banner. When this group of Mongol and Japanese authorities first arrived in the banner, Prince Sung visited Dorji's mother. Although Dorji was there, he did not realize the significance of this visit and did not explain his situation. Soon after this visit, Prince Sung arrived at the banner office. The two conflicting groups sent all their delegates to confront each other and to petition Prince Sung to settle the problem. After hearing both sides, Prince Sung sent the leaders of the two groups to the monastery of Gakhail Sume, located between the *Kabji* monastery and the residence of Prince Dorji, to wait for his final decision.

The banner officials now began to realize the seriousness of the situation. They also asked the retired leader Dobdan to act as mediator for both sides. After his arrival at *Kabji* Monastery, Prince Sung carefully listened to the *Kabji Lama's* defense of his activities. After Prince Sung observed the *Kabji Lama's* work, he felt that this young monk was a man of great talent. However, traditionally, a lama was not allowed to interfere in banner administration. There were also people from among the lama's *shabinar* (underlings) who petitioned Prince Sung with pro and con opinions. Whether the *Kabji Lama's* deeds were appropriate or not, and no matter to what degree, he had received the assistance of the Japanese Special Service Office. This gave grounds for Prince Sung to insist that a monk should not interfere in politics. Any activities that went beyond the principle of religious discipline should not be allowed, and to have women stay in the temple was forbidden, by regulations of the monasteries.

All the lama's projects were prohibited; Prince Sung also strictly ordered that, except for the traditional obligations of its people, no additional burdens should be assigned by the monastery and the lifestyle of the monks should not be interfered with. This decision halted most of the *Kabji Lama's* reform activities. Although the lama did not resist, he was greatly disappointed by Prince Sung's conservative solution.

After Prince Sung issued this decision at *Kabji* Monastery, he went to Gakhail Monastery, where he gathered the leaders of the second group to inform them that the government would not retroactively punish their unlawful activities, but from this time on, they should not continue these unlawful activities, such as their refusal to pay taxes and duties, or they would be severely punished. This was a partial solution to the prob-

lem.

Prince Sung took further action when he returned to the office of the banner. Here he officially announced the removal of Dorji from his rank and post and installed Dorji's son (who was under the age of eighteen) to succeed him. Dobdan was to once more carry out the functions of the banner's *jasag*. Though Dobdan tried hard not to be involved, at the insistence of Prince Sung he finally accepted the assignment. Muratani and Nakamura did not interfere because they had asked Prince Sung to manage this political problem completely according to his own judgment. This political problem was thus solved without complications.

Though the problem of Ujumuchin Left Banner appeared outwardly to have been solved peacefully, it arose again in 1945. After the defeat of the Japanese and intrusion of the Soviet-Mongol Allied forces, Kabji Lama and Dobdan were accused of having been collaborators of Japan, arrested, and brought to Outer Mongolia. Dorji and his followers, because of their former contact with the Outer Mongolian agents, moved to the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic. Although it was later rumored that the MPR Government gave Dorji and his group a splendid welcoming ceremony, he was soon after killed as a feudalistic remnant.

The Mongolian Conference

In the first half of 1940, Prince De's spirits were low. This emotional depression greatly influenced the leaders of the leagues and banners, who usually followed him unconditionally. Since the Japanese could not neglect this situation, they persuaded Prince De to call a meeting of the *jasags* and *ambans*, as well as of the high-ranking officials of the leagues and the banners. The Japanese wanted to inform these officials of the sincere concern of the authorities in Kalgan and to revive their morale. Except for this desire, there was no other political goal. Prince De agreed only to a Mongolian conference, not to a formal meeting of "the Mongolian Congress."

From August 29 to 31, a three-day conference was held in the auditorium of the Mongolian Development Academy outside the Dajing Gate of Kalgan. Many leaders attended the conference: the Chairman, Prince De; Minister of Civilian Administration, Prince Sung; high and middle-ranking Mongolian officials of the government; the Commander in Chief of the Mongolian Army, Li Shouxin; Deputy Chief of Staff of the Mongol Army, Buyandelger; the heads and deputy heads of all the leagues, *jasags*, and *ambans* of the banners, and some high-ranking local Mongol officials. Jodbajab, head of the Administration Department, did not attend because of ill health. The guests of honor included the head of the Liaison Office of the Asian Development Board in Kalgan, Take-shita Yoshiharu, and the consultant of the Japanese Army in Mongolia, Morishima Kadosu. However, the Minister of General Affairs, Sekiguchi Tamotsu, and the advisor of the Chairman's office, Muratani Hikojiro, also attended as guests of honor. The staff members of the Japanese Army in Kalgan, together with Kanai Shoji, purposely stayed away to signify that there was no Japanese involvement. The Japanese "guests" only attended the ceremony of the opening session and were not involved in the conference itself.

The ceremony of the opening and closing sessions occupied one of the three days of the conference. However, the most important item was to proclaim the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government's basic policy toward the Mongolian leagues and banners. They made the following resolutions: (1) the institution of the leagues and ban-

ners embodied the social system of the Mongols, and hence the historical tradition of the ethnic Mongol districts should be honored; (2) the present social institutions must be maintained; (3) the teachings of Buddha should be honored; (4) the present *jasag* institution should continue as it is presently constituted.

The goal of these four points evidently was aimed at appeasing the emotions of the conservatives, by promising no new basic reforms for Mongolia. Although Prince De issued this declaration, it was basically a token gesture.

Prince De's Redirection of Effort

Though the Mongolian Conference was formally opened and closed, the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government continued to be tightly controlled by Kanai Shoji and Sekiguchi Tamotsu, with no change. Prince De rarely had the opportunity to administer the affairs of the so-called Mongolian government. His depression made it impossible for him to avoid self-evaluation. Sometimes he pondered to the point of preoccupation, not responding to people who addressed him. In this depression, he asked how much the autonomy movement of 1933 had benefited the Mongolian people. The Mongol leaders had occupied themselves in the struggle outwardly and inwardly. Yet in reality, what had they done for their own people?

During this time, he pondered the wasted time and energy of those years that failed to achieve independence and self-government. How could the Mongol people in such a decline continue to exist overshadowed as they were by the great powers, if they were unable to see some immediate results. Perhaps there would be no chance for an independent Mongolia to exist in the future. Would it be better to pay full attention to our own people, and go along with securing their basic requirements rather than concentrate completely on the struggle against outside oppression? Perhaps this would contribute something to the Mongols. This was what the prince personally told me about his thoughts. He repeatedly suffered mental breakdowns during this period. At such times he liked to be alone and avoided communication with other people. If someone inquired about his whereabouts, the prince usually had someone respond that he was napping. All these matters happened during this period of self-evaluation.

Prince De felt that since he was unable to interfere with the affairs of the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government and the Mongol Army, it would be better to concentrate his energy on his own Sunid Right Banner, using it as a testing ground to determine if a similar plan could be promoted in other banners. Prince De appointed his young and shrewd nephew, Altanochir, a second-ranking Duke, as the first *tusalagchi* to the *jasag*. In this capacity, Altanochir would assist the prince's son, Dugursurung, then the *jasag* of the banner, in carrying out the new policy.

Although there were many new tasks, Prince De especially emphasized educational matters: school facilities, textbooks, nourishment of the students, dormitory problems, encouraging the pastoral people to bring their children to the school, and elevating the standard of knowledge among the people. He also emphasized the importance of girls' education. On this matter, his viewpoint was exactly the same as that of Gungsangnorbu, the enlightened prince of Kharachin.

After Prince De's plan was perfected, he immediately established a girls' school about forty kilometers southeast of his princely residence. He had all school-age girls attending the school stay in a dormitory. In addition to ordinary classes, special attention was given to domestic skills. He hoped that education would help them become good

wives and dedicated mothers of the future. This school was the first purely Mongolian-style girls' school. Since the teachings could not go against the traditional forms of daily life, the classrooms and dormitories were yurts, not houses. The prince continued to expand and reform this girls' school. A few intellectuals trained in Japan were appointed as teachers at the school. At the same time, the school was promoted to the standard of a middle school. The teachers included the late Gombojab Hangin of Indiana University in the USA, and Urgungge Onon, who later taught at the University of Leeds in England.

In addition to this girls' school, the Mongolian Army Young Cadets' School greatly attracted Prince De's attention. It was established in the summer of the same year, west of the princely residence. He visited it often, personally encouraging students to become great men and heroes who would struggle for the Mongol people. He also encouraged boys of the Tumed Banner, already sinicized, to receive a pure Mongolian education as well as to carry out the rehabilitation of the Mongolian language and writing system.

Prince Sung's Activities in Japan

On November 10, 1940, Japan celebrated what its mythic ancient histories suggested was its 2,600th anniversary as a nation. At the same time, a conference was held in Tokyo to establish the New Asian Order. The Mongolian government dispatched Prince Sungjingwangchug, the Minister of Civilian Administration, and Ding Qichang, Minister of Peace Preservation, as the chief and deputy chief of the Mongolian delegation. Also sent to Tokyo to celebrate and join the conference were Erkejibu, the son-in-law of Prince Sung, several Japanese advisors, and I, who went as the secretary and interpreter of the group. Before leaving, Prince Sung foresaw that conflict would inevitably break out between his group and the delegates of Wang Jingwei from Nanjing. Prince De instructed him to deal with the matter as he saw fit.

Hisamitsu Masao, the head of the Office of the Mongolian Government in Tokyo, had been serving in Tokyo since the period of the Mengjiang Joint Committee. Although a very capable person, he did not understand the Mongolian situation. When Prince Sung arrived, he had already prepared a very detailed itinerary, including everything from a visit to the Imperial Palace to sightseeing. But he failed to realize that a confrontation between the Mongol and Chinese groups would take place at the meeting. When Prince Sung and his group arrived at Hibiya Hall and registered with the conference secretariat, they discovered that there were three national flags: those of Japan, Manchukuo, and the Wang Regime in Nanjing (the original flag of China, with a yellow strip added above it). There was no flag for the Mongolian regime. Prince Sung expressed his dissatisfaction and ordered Hisamitsu to negotiate: "For this conference, the Mongolian flag has to be hung, or the flags of the Manchus and Nanjing must be pulled down. Just hang the flag of the host country, Japan, or I and my delegates will return to Kalgan immediately and will not attend even a celebration of Japan's 2,600th anniversary."

Hisamitsu tried to explain to Prince Sung Japan's stand, hoping he would sympathize with Japan's difficulties. The prince's response, however, was completely opposite from what Hisamitsu hoped for. Prince Sung would not discuss Japan's predicament. Instead, he asked Hisamitsu, "Are you talking to me as a representative of the Japanese government or as an official of the Mongolian government stationed in Japan? If you are still an official of the Mongolian government, there is no need for you to debate with me. Just go and negotiate what I have told you, or I will not attend the meeting tomorrow."

There is no need for you to explain the matter on behalf of the Japanese government; that is not your duty. You cannot be their representative." Since Hisamitsu had never met such a decisive Mongol leader, these words shocked him into compliance. He said, "All right, since that is what you request, I will go negotiate. If I fail, I will resign from this post."

Three or four hours later, Hisamitsu returned in high spirits and reported to Prince Sung: "Although I was not able to convince them to hang the Mongolian flag, they agreed to hang the flag of Japan only; the others will be pulled down. The mission that you gave me has been accomplished." Because of this dramatic incident, Prince Sung and Hisamitsu established a very close relationship. But at other conferences that involved Japan, Manchukuo, Nanjing, and the Mongol Government, the hanging of flags remained a problem. Nevertheless, to hang only the flag of the host country became a precedent.

At the departure of Prince Sung from Kalgan, he gave a formal address without any specific content. Because of the problem of the flags, a confrontation with the Nanjing side was inevitable. Prince Sung ordered me to write a speech that explained to the delegates of the Asian countries the reason for the Mongolian struggle for liberty and self-determination. The speech was also to emphasize the irony implied by the Nanjing regime's attempts to put Mongolia under Nanjing's control. This official address of Prince Sung, although intensely provoking to the delegation from Nanjing, won great applause from the other delegates from all over Asia.

Emperor Hirohito presided over the celebration of the 2,600th anniversary. All the countries that had relations with Japan had their representatives attend the ceremony. The senior diplomat in attendance was the ambassador of the United States. After the ceremony, Prince Sung had a series of official visits with Japanese leaders. Of all these meetings, the most significant was the one with Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yosuke. After exchanging greetings, both sides emphasized the importance of the Mongolian-Japanese relationship. Prince Sung stressed the faith of the Mongols in their ability to handle independence and subsequent nation-building. Hoping that an agreement would soon materialize, Matsuoka responded that Prince Sung's idea was congruent with the policy of Japan in dealing with the changing situation in East Asia. Prince Sung also received an invitation from Waseda University to lecture at Okuma Hall on "The Present Situation of Mongolia."

The Founding of the Mongolian Cooperatives (*Khorshiya*)

In the fall of 1939, Wu Heling and I (acting as his secretary) visited Hokkaido and met with Ishikuro, the governor of the island. With Ishikuro's assistance, Wu was able to contact the authorities of the Imperial Hokkaido University and develop a program of education and living arrangements for Mongol students. During his island travels, Wu had a very successful interview with Kurosawa Torizo, an outstanding leader of the Japanese milk products industry and the founder of the cooperative of the Hokkaido dairy farms. Kurosawa explained the reasons for his success and described the difficulties he confronted in the founding and establishment of the great cooperative. Kurosawa's experience greatly impressed Wu Heling, who realized that the economic development of the Mongolian herdsmen depended on learning from Kurosawa's example. A cooperative movement for production and consumption was necessary in Mongolia. At the time of the winter disaster of Inner Mongolia in 1936, the Mongolian Livelihood Association (*Shengjihui*) was established, but because Wu Heling went to Japan, the association re-

mained inactive. However, it did pave the way for the foundation of future cooperatives.

In the fall of 1940, Wu Heling returned from Toyko to Kalgan. He reported his activities in Tokyo to Prince De and also tried to discover the attitude of the Japanese Army Headquarters in Mongolia toward him. Because of Kanai Shoji's objections, Wu had no choice but to go back to Japan to "finish his studies." While in Kalgan, besides holding secret talks with Prince De on the matter of Kanai, Wu again earnestly encouraged Prince De to establish cooperatives that would manage the production, transportation, and consumption of commodities in every banner. Of course, Kurosawa Torizo's experience was one of the important topics of discussion.

Prince De, agreeing with Wu's opinion, called a meeting of all the top officials of the leagues and banners in his residence at Kalgan November 21 to 28. Prince De, who personally presided at the meeting, explained that a cooperative would be established to manage the problems of production, consumption, and transportation for the Mongol people. Wu Heling detailed the plan. Because the Mongols had no commercial experience, they worried about the success of this new attempt. But because it was advocated by Prince De and was necessary, they agreed unanimously to establish the *khoshida*, a new Mongolian commercial organization.

In those days, the economic life of the western Inner Mongolian herders was entirely controlled by the Chinese merchants. In addition, because of the involvement of the Japanese *Daimo gongsi* (Great Mongolian Company), all the trade in wool, hides, and domestic animal products was manipulated by foreigners. Since the Japanese military controlled the economy, the prices of imported goods increased, but the price of domestic goods was controlled. Moreover, the main commercial activity in Mongolia employed a barter system. The herders suffered great losses. The prices of sheep wool, camel wool, and animal hides, all essential for Japanese military use, were worst affected. The Japanese army headquarters in Mongolia had *Daimo gongsi* gather these essentials for them.¹¹

These conditions forced the Mongols to run the risk of establishing their own economic enterprise. The Mongolian word for cooperative is *khoshida*, a term also used in Outer Mongolia under that socialistic regime. Instead of using the Chinese word *hezuoshe*, which has a socialistic flavor, the conference stuck to the word *khoshida*, and abandoned the Chinese word in order to avoid problems with the Japanese military authorities. Each family had to buy at least one share so that the cooperative could assemble its capital, but no one could have over 300 shares. Each share was priced at ten *yuan* of the Mengjiang currency. Domestic animals could be exchanged for a family's first share. If there was some yearly profit, a part of it had to be divided among the shareholders to establish confidence in the hearts of the people. The *khoshidas* were encouraged to engage in the export of domestic animals to Beijing and Tianjin directly, without Chinese and Japanese intermediation. The *khoshidas* also had to gather all the wool and hides from their members but were obliged to exchange them with the Japanese Military Headquarters for the necessary imported goods at controlled prices. The Mongolian

¹¹ The *Daimo gongsi* ran this selfishly manipulated enterprise of gathering the hides and wools from among the Chinese merchants. The *Daimo gongsi* greatly benefited, because they could get cloth and tea from the Japanese army headquarters at a low, controlled price. After these materials were delivered to the Chinese, the Chinese increased their implicit prices when trading them to the Mongols. They could do this because they were linked to a monopoly supplier. This changed the barter system into a kind of theft, causing the Mongol people to suffer greatly. The economic situation became even worse than before the war.

Livelihood Association was designated as the central organization of all *khoshiyas*.¹²

Besides establishing the *khoshiyas*, Wu Heling also initiated the establishment of the Association for Assisting Mongol Students in Japan. All Mongol students who returned from Japan were designated as members of this association. Wu himself, officially sent to Japan to "study," was nominated as chief of this organization. The goal of the association was to support the government by gathering money to send one hundred students to Japan each year to study. One thousand intellectuals were to be educated in Japan over a period of ten years and on their return would serve as cadres for Mongolian reconstruction. The establishment of this association received enthusiastic support from all sides, and the plan was carried out beginning the next year (1941). Although the number did not reach one hundred in the first year, preparation was made for one thousand to study in Japan during a ten-year period.

The Resignation of Prince Sung and the Response

The 1941 solar new year day, though supposed to be formally observed in the government office, was celebrated only by the Japanese. It was traditionally neglected by the Mongols and the Chinese, whose New Year followed the lunar system. Prince De, Prince Sung, and the Shilingol League leaders planned to return to their home banners and celebrate the lunar new year with their families and officials on January 27, 1941. Following the government ceremony, Prince De left Kalgan and returned to Sunid. Prince Sung was to leave a little later. One night, Prince Sung was invited to dinner by his Japanese friends Muratani Hikojiro and Kimura Yujiro. Prince Sung and I went together and enjoyed a very relaxing supper—talking, laughing, and drinking. Later Kanai Shoji came, because he had heard that Prince Sung was there. Initially, they talked in a relaxed atmosphere, but the tone of the conversation gradually changed.

Kanai started to talk about his accomplishments—how he had created so many profitable policies for the people and how he had improved their livelihood. Perhaps he thought Prince Sung would give him great praise. However, Prince Sung, in somewhat high spirits from the liquor, deliberately acted drunk and began to criticize him:

I don't want to recognize what you said. These words could not fool anyone. I do not know the Japanese and Chinese languages, but I am still able to observe the heart of the people. I, as the Minister of Civilian Affairs, usually visit and observe the local administration. Where I went I had to deliver addresses [in reality, all the addresses Prince Sung made in

¹² After these principles were accepted, the old Mongolian Livelihood Association was reorganized, with Wu Heling again as its appointed head. Prince Sung and Jirgalang were the deputies. In reality, however, this association had been directed by Wu Heling himself since its establishment in 1936. Although the *khoshiyas* were now very important to the livelihood of the entire Mongolian people, the reorganization of the Mongolian Livelihood Association did not change its traditional management simply because of a decision by its director. Wu's unyielding character was one of the many reasons for its slowness to change. Most of the Mongol leaders hesitated to offend Wu because to do so might harm the *khoshiyas*. This association was originally organized to carry out a service for the Mongolian herders and to raise their standard of living. Unfortunately, two covetous people, Chidaltu (Dai Zhongyuan in Chinese) and the Chinese Luo Lipu, were mistakenly appointed by Wu to manage the association. Later, some suggestions for different leaders were given to Wu, but all were rejected. Following the expansion of both the association and the *khoshiyas*, the wrongdoings of Chidaltu and Luo Lipu became more evident. Eventually their conspiracy and greed damaged the reputation of Wu Heling. This could have been avoided.

Chinese territory were drafted by Kimura] in which I explained the political outlines of the government, just as you said a moment ago. These are all lies. These are words to cheat people. Now I feel that to go out and speak these words to the people is really an unrewarding business. I never lied during my entire life, but after being appointed minister, the words I have said have been mostly untrue. I feel disturbed from the bottom of my heart. You are the Supreme Advisor of the government. I would like to ask you which department of this government is really planning for the welfare of the people? All the officials and clerks of this government, besides wasting paper to write the documents to cheat the people, what have they done? What useful thing have they accomplished? As head of such an office, I feel very ashamed. I don't know how you feel. Now I tell you, I am returning and will be no more the Minister of the Civilian Affairs. Everything is up to you.

I interpreted these words honestly, giving them no polish, and Kanai was terribly embarrassed. He laughed bitterly. He could neither debate nor leave. Muratani and Kimura, also embarrassed, tried to smooth thing over by urging everyone to drink more and end the unhappy gathering as soon as they could. As a result, Prince Sung and Muratani both got drunk. Kanai pretended to be drunk. I did not drink. Kimura could drink much without being affected. At noon on the next day, Prince Sung awakened and asked me to fill him in on what happened the previous night. I related it in detail. Prince Sung laughed: "These are the words I should have spoken earlier. It is good I spoke out. Since these words came from my mouth, I must resign, and I won't regret it."

After returning to his home in the Khauchid Banner, Prince Sung sent two documents of resignation to Kalgan. He demanded that I personally deliver them to Prince De, the chairman, and Kanai, the supreme advisor. These two documents referred to Sung's bad health as the only reason for his resignation. But I knew Prince Sung's personality. He really meant to resign over matters of principle.

So I showed these two documents to Kimura and had him translate one into Japanese and presented both of them to Prince De and Kanai following the governmental procedures. Although Kimura was astonished, it was too late for him to reverse the situation. Kimura and I went to the vice-minister of the Civilian Administration Department, Fujii Gochiro, who had a high reputation in Japanese law enforcement circles and was the judge in the case of the notorious May 15 Incident, and we discussed the situation. Fujii's and Prince Sung's personal relationship was quite strong because Prince Sung felt that Fujii was a fair person. Fujii had always advocated that the affairs of the Mongol banners be decided by Prince Sung. To deal with the unexpected news, Fujii sent a telegram to Prince Sung, asking him not to resign. In addition, he discussed the matter with Kanai. Nevertheless, Fujii, not knowing the reason for Prince Sung's resignation, was disappointed that he had not been consulted about the problem beforehand.

Prince Sung's resignation gave rise to many rumors. The Japanese military authorities recognized Prince Sung as a very important figure. They knew of the good relationship between Prince Sung and Prince De. However, unlike Buyandalai, Prince Sung was not a confidant of Prince De. Nevertheless, a figure like Prince Sung had to remain in the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government.

After Prince De returned to Kalgan from Sunid, Kanai immediately explained the desire of the Japanese military authorities to return Prince Sung to a government position. Prince De also felt that Prince Sung had already achieved his purpose in resigning. It would be better not to prolong a rigidly maintained confrontation; Prince Sung might best return. After consultations, Kanai obtained permission from Prince De and sent Fujii Goichiro to Khauchid, returning the document of resignation to Prince Sung and asking to escort him back to Kalgan. For his convenience, Fujii asked me to accompany him.

Before leaving Kalgan, I went to see Prince De to receive his instructions about whether Prince Sung should accept Fujii's request. Prince De instructed me that it was very important that Prince Sung come back to Kalgan.

Fujii was an honest person. After his arrival in Korchin, Fujii explained the desires of Prince De and Kanai and returned the documents of resignation to Prince Sung. After a few minutes of rejecting the papers, Prince Sung eventually accepted Fujii's persuasion because I had already informed him of Prince De's instructions. Then Fujii began to relax and said formally, "Your Excellency the Minister, if you have any instructions, please tell us without hesitation, but please don't mention resigning again." After returning to his office in Kalgan, Prince Sung was sincerely welcomed by Kanai. He held the prince's hands in his own and laughed. Prince Sung also laughed, thus ending the political tension. From this time on, the high ranking officials of the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government realized that this polite and gentle prince, Sungjingwangchug, could not be influenced by power or political position; he had an independent will.

Prince De had not been in Kalgan when Prince Sung decided to resign. His secretary was unable to report this significant event to the chairman immediately. Kanai was the man who really knew the reason for Prince Sung's resignation, but it was difficult for him to explain matters to the Japanese authorities without criticizing himself. So when this news reached the Headquarters of the Japanese Army in Mongolia, it drew great attention and created suspicion. The Japanese misunderstood the situation and thought that the reason for the resignation was Prince Sung's disappointment with Prince De.

In the lunar calendar's new year's day of the white snake year (January 27, 1941), the commander of the Mongolian Army, Li Shouxin, also left Hohhot and came to Kalgan for the celebration. On the night of the last day of the white dragon year (January 26, 1941), Wang Zhenhua, the former commander of the third division under Li, also arrived at Li's residence. After retirement, Wang had no income. That is why he decided to visit his superior and old friend, who might help him with money or position. Li's aide de camp, knowing that it was the new year's eve, asked Wang to stay in a room for one night. He would have him visit with Commander Li after the celebration of the new year ended the next day. Wang received this as an insult, and felt that Li was being unfaithful toward his old follower and friend. So at midnight, when everyone was awaiting the arrival of the New Year, Wang committed suicide with a pistol.

After this news became public, many of Li Shoushan's followers became disillusioned. At the same time, a group of old Chinese soldiers in the Mongolian Army who had been reorganized into the police forces ran off with their equipment. Some of them even surrendered to Fu Zuoyi. Though these activities all happened among the Chinese soldiers, they influenced the entire Mongol Army.

After these unsettling events, the authorities of the Japanese Army in Mongolia and those of the Asian Development Board Liaison Office in Kalgan seriously analyzed the causes of the trouble. They began to connect the dissolution of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government and its impact on the Mongolian Army with the changed civilian feeling toward Japan and Prince De's contacts with Chungking. They concluded that these events were the result of their oppression of Prince De and other Mongol leaders. It would be better to alter this high-handed policy and to relax their oppression to some extent in order to win back the hearts of the Mongols. This was a great change in Japanese policy, and of course a great blow to Kanai Shoji. This change of policy probably stemmed from the transfer of Colonel Ohashi Kumao, who was unusually hostile toward Prince De.

Prince De's Determination to Modernize

After the lunar new year (1941) celebration, Prince De went to Janglung Pandita Gegeen Keid (present Shilinhote), the location of the Shilingol League Office. Before his arrival, he ordered the *jasags* of the ten banners of the Shilingol League to gather at the great monastery for important discussions. Although the office of the Shilingol League was originally located at Tara-eke-yin sume of the Sunid Left Banner, during the summer of 1940, it had been moved east to Pandita Gegeen Keid in Abkhanar Left Banner. Before the league office moved, a primary school and a clinic had been established by the Japanese Zenrin Kyokai, and these were later transferred to join with the league office. However, the conference authorized by Prince De was held in the monastery, not in the league office.

Since the conference was not official, the Japanese in the Kalgan government and the office of the Shilingol League were not informed. The leaders were gathered for five days and nights, but not one Japanese was invited. Not even Lieutenant Colonel Makino Masaomi, head of the Japanese Special Service Office of the Guandong Army, was notified, despite his reputation as one of the Japanese officers most capable of penetrating Mongol secrecy. All the attendees, including Prince Sung, maintained silence about the meeting; no one said a word to the Japanese. This secrecy was not motivated by anti-Japanese sentiment. It was Prince De's idea to transfer his own experience, which he had gained in his own Sunid Right Banner, to the *jasags* of the Shilingol League, demanding they carry it out in their own banners as he had in his.

The demands from Prince De were many: 1) all the feudal lords, the *jasags*, had to practice fiscal self-restraint; 2) each banner had to establish a definite budget system; 3) the expenditures of the *jasag*, including his own and his residents', should not surpass five percent of the budget; 4) twenty-five percent of the whole income of the banner should be devoted to education; 5) the existing primary schools should be strengthened, while the primary schools for girls should be established immediately; 6) each school should supply the students with books, accommodations, and food; 7) because of the pastoral-nomadic lifestyle and the difficulty of accommodating students under twelve years of age (eleven in the Western way of counting), compulsory education therefore should only apply to children twelve and over. It would be more efficient if the well-to-do people sent their girls first, followed by everyone else; 8) for the maintenance of Mongolia's population, the numbers of lamas—celibate males—should be limited. An only son of a family was forbidden to become a lama. Only one in three or two in five would be allowed to become lamas; 9) each monastery or temple would have to strengthen its ecclesiastical orders; 10) the education of the young lamas would have to honor equally the teachings of Mongolian and Tibetan literature; 11) the lamas under forty years of age would have to pass an examination demonstrating their understanding the scriptures; 12) those males in a temple who were unqualified according to provisions 8, 9, and 11, would be sent back home and stripped of their ecclesiastical positions.

Because such changes had never before been proposed in Inner Mongolia, especially in the western part, Prince De's proposals must be recognized as bold and innovative. Although the minds of the attendees were extremely conservative, they finally accepted the prince's orders without open opposition. This was a very difficult task to accomplish during the early 1940s in Inner Mongolia. It perhaps confirms the thesis that the reputation of Prince De had already reached its peak, at least in the ten banners of the Shilingol League. The nature of his prestige as a leader had become very different from

what it had been at the time of the 1933 autonomous movement.

Because no conference decisions were referred to them for their approval, great suspicion arose among the Japanese. The military authorities asked Kanai about Prince De's activity at Pandita Gegeen Keid, but Kanai knew nothing of what had occurred there. Kanai questioned Muratani Hikojiro, the advisor to Prince De who had accompanied the prince to the conference. However, Muratani was not invited to the actual conference proceedings, and because of his great confidence in the prince, he did not suspect that the conference was anti-Japanese. He also said the Mongols needed to have their own conference; it was not necessary that any Japanese attend. Muratani's attitude was welcomed by the Mongols. He did not ask about the conference until he talked to Prince De's secretary, and only then got the information that he reported in its entirety to the Japanese military authorities. Naturally, his report was accepted with suspicion.

The Japanese Change Their Attitude

In the latter half of 1940, important personnel changes were made in the Japanese military headquarters in Mongolia. The commander, Lieutenant General Okabe Naosaburo, was transferred to another position; Lieutenant General Yamawaki Masataka was placed in Okabe's post. However, Yamawaki left Kalgan in January 1941 because of bad health, and his post was filled by Lieutenant General Amakasu Jutarō, who was stationed in Kalgan until March of 1942. In general, the commander in chief of the Japanese army in Mongolia usually refrained from open and direct involvement in politics; however, that did not mean that he would never interfere. Amakasu, at least ostensibly, had no personal prejudice against Prince De or against solving Mongolia's problems, and consequently, the prince's impression of this Japanese commander was not a bad one.

The chief of staff of the Japanese Army, Tanaka Shinichi, whom I mentioned earlier, was also transferred to another place in July 1940. The new chief of staff was Major General Takahashi Shigekazu, a straightforward person who had a great interest in the Mongolian situation. While I was still acting as the secretary of Mr. Wu Heling, I had seen him several times together with my boss. I still remember the discussion between this Japanese general and Wu on Mongolian problems and on the confrontation between Prince De and Kanai. Later, Mr. Wu told me that he had established good personal contact with Takahashi. Wu was able to win Takahashi's understanding and sympathy on Mongolian matters and on Prince De's situation. Of course, during this period, no one could imagine that this person would become the chief of staff of the Japanese Army in Mongolia. His appointment to the new post and the transfer of the political attaché, Colonel Ohashi Kumao, undoubtedly had an important impact on the alteration of Japanese policy toward the Mongols.

Prince De's Second Visit to Japan

The change in Japanese policy toward Mongolia was evident during Prince De's second visit to Japan. The results of this visit were entirely different from the first visit. Although the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government was the result of the unification of the three political regimes of Mongolia, Southern Chahar, and Northern Shanxi, no delegate from any of the other areas joined the expedition. Prince De was accompanied by Li Shouxin, the commander of the Mongolian Army; Buyandalai, head of the

Bayantala League; and Jirgalang, head of the Investigation and Transportation Bureau. Others present were Muratani Hikojiro, the advisor of the Office of the Chairman; Secretaries Ruiyong and Chogbadarakhu; and Kimura Yujiro, the head of the General Affairs Section of the Civilian Administration Ministry. Moreover, Kanai Shoji, supreme advisor to the Mongolian Government, and Major General Takeshita Yoshiharu, head of the Asian Development Board Liaison Office in Kalgan, went to Tokyo before Prince De to prepare the agenda for his visit.

This visit of Prince De to Japan resulted from the conflict of opinions created by the Japanese-Chinese Basic Treaty, which the Japanese and Wang Jingwei's regime agreed to in Nanjing on November 30, 1940. The visit was initiated by Prince De himself, not arranged by Kanai Shoji. By this time, those who had been deeply involved with the Mongolian independence problem had been reassigned to various positions. For example, Tojo Hideki became minister of the army in Prince Konoye's Cabinet, Tanaka Ryokichi became head of the Soldiers' Affairs Bureau, and Moto Akira became head of the Military Affairs Bureau. Prince De thought it would be a good time to discuss the Mongolian problem with them, and reverse the unfavorable political situation that had been created by the Qingdao Conference.

Prince De and his delegation arrived in Tokyo Station from Shimonoseki on the afternoon of February 15, 1941. Ohashi Chiuchi, Deputy Foreign Minister, as the formal representative of the Japanese Government, welcomed the guests at the station. Others included Chu Minyi, ambassador of the Republic of China that was under Wang's leadership; Lieutenant General Sakai Takashi; Major General Tanaka Ryukichi, head of the Soldiers Affairs Bureau of the Army Ministry; Oshima Yutaka, head of the Zenrin Kyokai; Lieutenant General Takeshita Yoshiharu, head of the Asian Development Board Liaison Office in Kalgan; Kanai Shoji, the Mongolian Government supreme advisor; Wu Heling, councilor of the Mongolian government; and many members of the Mongol elite. In addition, more than one hundred Mongol students from Tokyo, carrying the flag of Mongolia, welcomed Prince De. The prince and his delegation, after greeting those who came to welcome him at the station, left for the courtyard of the Imperial Palace to pay the customary respects to the Japanese Emperor. Then Prince De went to the Imperial Hotel for a press conference. He said the goal of his visit was to increase the friendship between Mongolia and Japan and deliver congratulations on the 2,600th anniversary of the founding of Japan as a nation.

Although Prince De was still accompanied by Kanai during this visit, the problem of the wording of "Mongolia" and "Mengjiang" did not occur as it had during the first visit. The reason was that the title of the newly formed political regime then was "Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government"; because the word *Mongolia* was authorized in the title, there was no need for further struggle between Prince De and Kanai.

One of the important activities of Prince De in Tokyo was to pay his respects to the Emperor of Japan. During this visit, Prince De expressed his appreciation and thanks to the emperor for his support of Mongolia. In return, the emperor expressed his appreciation for Prince De's efforts to establish peace in East Asia. Overall, the emperor's statement treated Prince De as leader of a nation or at least an independent political regime, not the head of a regime inside another country. The exchange was merely a ritualistic formality, but this change in tone was significant as compared with the tone of the prince's first visit to the same country.

The visit with Prime Minister Konoye Fumimaro was also but a ceremonial courtesy. However, the visit with Army Minister Tojo, Foreign Minister Matsuoka, and Head of the Asian Development Board Yanakawa Heisuke was political. The political

concern was how to carry out a plan for the founding of the nation of Mongolia. This, of course, was one of the topics Kanai Shoji had stubbornly opposed during the first visit. During this second visit, Prince De brought forward his "Proposal for Mongolian National Founding," which he personally gave to Prime Minister Konoye Fumimaro and those others mentioned above. This was Prince De's blueprint for negotiations with the top Japanese authorities.

Among all the talks, the one with Foreign Minister Matsuoka was the most successful. At the formal banquet, the Japanese foreign minister toasted Prince De by saying, "Long live Mongolia!" Thus, Prince De was very satisfied with the new attitude of the Japanese Government. Of course, this change in attitude was influenced by Matsuoka's vice-minister, Ohashi Chuichi, a long-time personal friend of Prince De. Ohashi was also well known for being bold and ambitious as a professional diplomat.

During his visit with Army Minister Tojo Hideki, Prince De avoided Kanai Shoji's company, keeping Wu Heling as consultant and Jirgalang as the interpreter. During their talk, Prince De gave this high Japanese military authority a lengthy, detailed explanation of his project. Although Tojo did not give a definite answer to the proposal, his response was nonetheless friendly and positive. During this talk, Moto Akira and Tanaka Ryukichi, two important bureau heads of the Japanese Army Ministry, were in attendance. Also during this talk, Prince De frankly expressed his wish that Kanai Shoji be dismissed as superior advisor of the Mongolian Government. At the same time, he said, referring to the Autonomy Movement of 1933, that the goal of the Mongols was to struggle for their independence; they did not want to be dominated by others and had no desire to put the Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi Provinces under their control.

Besides this official talk with Tojo, Prince De and his group carried out a personal visit with Tanaka Ryukichi, who recommended that Prince De appoint Wu Heling as the head of the Political Affairs Department of the Mongolian Government. For years, Tanaka had held strong feelings against Wu, but now he changed his attitude from hostility to support. This alteration, of course, was deeply welcomed by the prince, who immediately asked Tanaka to deliver his suggestion to the Japanese military authorities in Kalgan.

During this negotiation, the changes in Japanese policy toward Mongolia and the increased support of Tojo, Matsuoka, Ohashi, Moto, and Tanaka eventually helped Prince De reorganize his Mongolian Government, build a semi-independent regime—the "Mongolian Autonomous State"—and successfully remove Kanai from the post of the supreme advisor. All these were the result of this second visit to Japan.

Following is the Prince's proposal for the founding of the new Mongolian Nation:

Proposal for Mongolian National Founding

The people of Mongolia have suffered decline for hundreds of years. Fortunately, now supported by the Japanese Empire, it is able to march toward a national foundation. For five years we, the Mongol people, have dared to adventure without regret for any sacrifice and move forward to the realization of this goal. Unfortunately, the establishment of the Japanese-Chinese Treaty placed Mongolia (*Mengjiang*) and North China on the same level; the already-established Mongolian independent regime reappeared as part of China. Hearing this, the Mongolian officials and civilians were greatly surprised and disappointed, and the Chinese in the Mongolian territory consequently began to waver. This was not only a severe blow to the rise of Mongolia, but also set a bad example for all nationalities who, in the new Asian order under Japanese leadership, would be greatly disappointed and turn

away. This situation was desired by most of the Japanese elite.

Earlier, after the success of the Autonomous Movement of 1933, many people from Outer Mongolia, Xinjiang, Kokonor, Kham (Xikang), and Tibet, including the Moslems, came to us for consultation. These [results] are a clear witness that if Mongolia were able to achieve the status of an independent nation, this would have a great impact on all the people and the future development of East Asia. The Japanese Empire should not be unduly concerned with the problems of the Chinese people, but should instead concentrate on Mongolia and its needs. Here, for the sake of Japan, we propose a secondary request that will establish the Mongolian Autonomous State under the suzerainty of China, [and will also serve as] the foundation of a future independent Mongolian state. The request is based on one principle found in Sun Yat-sen's *Outline for National Building*, honored by the Chinese Government as its basic principle: "The government should foster the weak and the minority nationalities inside the country and enable them to carry out self-determination and self rule." If the Chinese term for autonomous state, *zizhiguo*, could not be recognized, then the Chinese term *zizhibang* should be used instead.¹³ All in all, with the establishment of the Sino-Japanese Treaty, some new measure needs to be carried out to satisfy and pacify the hearts of [both] the Mongolian and Chinese people. Thus, we propose a draft for a triple agreement between Japan, China, and Mongolia as follows. We sincerely hope that the Japanese Empire will give us great support.

The following is the draft for a Japanese-Chinese-Mongolian agreement:

- 1) The Japanese Empire and the Republic of China recognize Mongolia as an autonomous state. The territory under its control should include the land north of the Great Wall line. It should enjoy a broad and high degree of autonomous power, and all the administration should be handled according to its own will and determination.
- 2) The Empire of Japan recognizes the suzerainty of the Republic of China over the Mongolian Autonomous State.
- 3) If any difference of opinion occurs between the Republic of China and the Mongolian Autonomous State, it should be managed through negotiation.
- 4) The Mongolian Autonomous State should enjoy the right to negotiate with Japan, Manchukuo, and other related countries by exchanging diplomats and becoming with them members of the international organizations for Asian development.
- 5) The Mongolian Autonomous State should continue to use the chronology of Chinggis Khan as the basis for its calendar.
- 6) The Mongolian Autonomous State should use its own national flag and national symbol.

Before Prince De departed for Tokyo, the Japanese Consulate-General in Kalgan delivered a secret report to Matsuoka, the Japanese foreign minister, about the possibility of a proposal by Prince De to the Japanese Government, together with his personal analysis of the situation. He concluded that without success in Japan, it would be very difficult for the prince to satisfy the hearts of the Mongol people. This report seemingly facilitated the negotiations of Prince De in Japan's capital.

Before returning to Mongolia, Prince De visited Kimura Yujiro's hometown of Morioka in northeastern Japan, where Japanese ranches are located. He did this to reward Kimura's faithfulness and obedience. This of course was a great and glorious matter for Prince De's Japanese followers.

During the prince's visit in Japan, no open hostility arose between him and Kanai. However, when the prince was discussing political matters with the Japanese

¹³ The Chinese terms *guo* or *bang* would be translated in Mongolian as *ulus*, which means a nation, state or country.

authorities separately, he frankly and seriously expressed to the Japanese government his desire to replace the supreme advisor in Mongolia. Although Kanai of course heard about this movement against him, he pretended everything was in harmony, hoping that his superiors in Japan would sympathize with him.

Tojo's Arrival in Kalgan

Soon after Prince De's return to Mongolia, General Tojo Hideki visited North China and Kalgan to observe the Japanese military situation in these areas. He met with Prince De to communicate his personal concern and sympathy to the prince. He also urged him not to be disappointed and to devote himself to the struggle for Japanese-Mongolian friendship and the future of East Asia, implying the possibility that the Japanese Government might alter its policy towards Mongolia. Tojo also presented 500 rifles to the prince as armament for a personal bodyguard. Tojo's arrival significantly encouraged Prince De, who realized that Mongolia's independence and the beginning of its nation-building might not materialize immediately, but that the situation would surely proceed toward that goal. At the same time, the prince and most of the Mongolian leaders discovered that Kanai no longer dominated the situation.

Prince De started to organize his bodyguard, naming it *shitar cherig* (lit. "chess soldiers; i.e. "pawns"). He appointed as its commander, Khatanbagatur, who he had sent to the Japanese Imperial Military Academy for training during the period of the autonomy movement in the early 1930s. By this time, Khatanbagatur was already a colonel in the Mongolian Army. A very serious person, he recognized that the *shitar cherig* was the bodyguard of the Chairman of the Mongolian Government. He selected the finest young soldiers from the seventh and eighth divisions which solely included Mongol troops and had them begin serious modern training. Theoretically, the bodyguard should have had the exact same nature as the imperial bodyguard of Japan, and should not mix with the private troops of Prince De from the Sunid Right Banner. Consequently, when Prince De was traveling, to maintain the dignity of the Chairman, Khatanbagatur refused to seat the personal entourage of the prince on the trucks of the *shitar cherig*. This did not make the prince happy, because he felt that the institution and dignity of the government had been compromised by the stern demand of his own bodyguard commander, who absolutely refused to compromise.

Reorganization of the Government and its Personnel

From the latter part of March on, Prince De's main activity was negotiating with Takahashi Shigekazu, the chief of staff of the Japanese Army in Mongolia, and Takeshita Yoshiharu, head of the Asian Development Board Liaison Office in Kalgan, to build on the results of his talks with the Japanese authorities in Tokyo. The first item on his agenda was to bring Wu Heling back from Tokyo to Mongolia to take over Jodbajab's post as head of the Political Affairs Department. Of course, this was the matter that Kanai most opposed. However, Prince De again and again negotiated with Takahashi, emphasizing that unless Wu Heling accepted this important position, the needed construction for the future of Mongolia would not materialize. He also demanded to talk with Tanaka Ryukichi, who advocated the same course as Prince De. Since the spring of 1936, when Jodbajab's trusted friend Nimaodzar was assassinated by Japanese agents, Jodbajab felt

greatly threatened and had dared not express his opposition to the demands of the Japanese advisor. In fact, he never said a single no to Kanai. Consequently, he was strongly supported by Kanai. But since Kanai was unable to stop this threat to go over his head, Jodbajab had no other choice but to resign from his post.

After everything was settled, Prince De immediately summoned Wu Heling to return from Japan. Before leaving Tokyo, Wu visited Moto Akira and Tanaka Ryukichi, influential leaders of the Japanese Army Ministry to confirm and emphasize the understandings that had already been discussed between Prince De and Japanese authorities.

Prince De's second step was to reorganize the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government and appoint new personnel. Prince De and Wu Heling, the new head of the Department of Political Affairs, decided to win the agreement of the Japanese authorities in Kalgan, such as Kanai, Takahashi, and Takeshita. On April 8, these decisions were formally issued as a resolution from a meeting of the Political Affairs Department. The following are the important points of that meeting:

The top leader of the government will be the Chairman, with the Deputy Chairman under him. The position of the Supreme Advisor should be equal to that of the Chairman. The organizations directly under the Chairman are the Political Affairs Department, the Department of Councilors, the General Headquarters of the Mongol Army, the Supreme Court, and the Attorney General's Office. All the ministries, except for the Civilian Ministry, are combined and reorganized. The new ministries of the Political Affairs Department are the Board of General Affairs, the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee, the Ministry of Interior Administration (originally the Ministry of Civilian Administration), the Ministry of Economy, the General Bureau of Communications, the Judiciary Committee, the Audit Bureau, the General Mobilization Committee, the Bureau of Information, the Moslem Affairs Committee, the delegations stationed in the areas of other regimes, the Central Academy, and the offices of the regions and leagues.

The main goal of the reorganization was to form the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee, the Ministry of Interior Affairs, and the Ministry of Economy. These established administrations for the Mongols separate from those of the Chinese. All the administrative bodies dealing with Mongols were put under the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee, while those concerning the Chinese, in the Chinese territories, would be administered by the Ministry of Interior Affairs. The administration of finance and economy was put under the control of the Ministry of Economy.

These main principles were important, and fortunately, their acceptance did not cause more tension. However, the selection of new appointees for the reorganized government was a difficult task. Prince De originally desired, through the reorganization of the government, to pick individuals perfectly attuned to their positions and thereby maximize the ability of the government to function. This goal was difficult to reach.¹⁴

¹⁴ On June 1, the Chairman announced a new unit, the Political Affairs Department. The list of appointees to that and the other institutions was as follows: Li Shouxin, Vice Chairman; Wu Heling, Head of the Political Affairs Department; Jodbajab, Chief of the Department of Councilors, with Togtakhu, Khorjorjab, Jirgalang, and Jiang Huiruo as Councilors; Sungjingwangchug, Chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee; Ding Qichang, Minister of Interior Administration; Jirgalang (from Dahur), Minister of Economy and Deputy Chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee; Altanochir, Head of the General Bureau of Communications; Du Yunyu, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee; Maejima Noboru, Vice-Head of the General Affairs Board; Muratani Hikojiro, Main Advisor of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee; Hayasaka Fuyo, Vice-Minister of Interior Affairs; Hibino Jo, Chargé d'Affaires of the Vice-Minister of the Depart-

Balanced appointment of personnel was very difficult to achieve. However, the above list of appointments was a masterpiece of political maneuvering given the conditions of that period. These arrangements had to balance out confrontations between the Mongols and Japanese, Mongols and Mongols, Mongols and Chinese, and Japanese and Japanese.¹⁵

Details of the personal relationship of Wu Heling and Jodbajab, already discussed, will not be repeated here. However, the personal relationship of Wu Heling and Buyandalai remained bad. Buyandalai always had a strong desire to take over the leadership of the Department of Political Affairs. Seeing the post come into the hands of Wu Heling disappointed him and increased his antagonism toward Wu; this became one of the factors in a later power struggle in 1944 leading to Wu Heling's removal from this important political position. Wu Heling was brilliant, zealous, and talented in political maneuvering, but also overconfident and proud. At the beginning of his tenure, his ambition was not a hindrance to his acceptance by most of the Mongolian cadres in the government, but because of his opinionated attitude, his popularity among the other Mongol leaders gradually crumbled.

Prince Sungjingwangchug enjoyed a good reputation among both the Mongols and the Japanese, so there was no challenge to his appointment to the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee. Togtakhu lost his position as a minister and was transferred to the position of councilor without power. Of course, this increased his hatred of Wu Heling. Prince Khorjurjab lost his position as head of the Husbandry Enterprise Bureau and also was transferred to the position of a councilor. Yet he was tolerant and remained faithful; he had no personal desire for power and reputation, only a desire to do something for the Mongols. These events were insignificant to him. Jirgalang (from Dahur) had always been kept from employment congruent with his abilities by Kanai Shoji and Togtakhu. His appointment as a councilor was a favor from Prince De to reward his loyalty during the prince's troubles with Kanai. At the same time, he was appointed vice-chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee to support Prince Sungjingwangchug in carrying out the task of building a new Mongolia.

Jiang Huiruo, a Moslem leader with some military experience, had had no contact with Prince De or other Mongol leaders before his appointment as a councilor. He

ment of the Economy; Fujii Goichiro, Deputy Chairman of the Judiciary Committee; Jirgalang (from Jerim), Vice-Head of the General Affairs Bureau; Chen Yousheng, Chargé d'Affaires of the Deputy Head of the General Affairs Board; Jirgalang (from Dahur), councilor and Deputy Chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee; Mogdengbu, the Deputy Chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee; Kashiwa Goro, Advisor to the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee; Sekiguchi Tamotsu, Advisor of the General Affairs Board; and Moto Kohei, Advisor of the General Affairs Bureau.

¹⁵ For instance, the promotion of Li Shouxin to the position of vice chairman would not only increase the Mongolian influence in the government, it would also satisfy the hearts of the Mongol Army under Li's command. As for Li himself, he always refused to criticize the politicians openly. Therefore, Li's promotion would appease the Japanese and not hurt Xia Gong, one of the vice-chairmen of the Mongolian Government, who basically had no ambition for or interest in politics. So it was easy to persuade Xia Gong to retire from the vice-chairmanship under the pretense of old age. However, in order to make him feel good, he was appointed as nominal director of the Board of Trustees of the Datong Coal Mine. This position carried a high salary, and to appease the feelings of the people in Northern Shanxi, he continued to be treated as vice-chairman. With the persuasion of Prince De, Xia Gong and Yu Pinqin, another Chinese vice-chairman, who still remained in this post, returned the favor by recommending that Li Shouxin also be appointed as a vice-chairman.

had been discovered and recruited by the Japanese Special Service Office to organize a strategic Moslem force and became commander of the Northwestern Trade Protection Brigade with the rank of Lieutenant General. In order to win over the Moslems in north-west China, the Japanese advocated creating a Committee for Islamic Affairs and gave Jiang the title of councilor. Jiang Huiruo was talented in winning the trust of the Japanese. Also, because of his personal relationship with the Moslem leaders of the Ma family, both in Qinghai and Ningxia, he could openly smuggle opium via Inner Mongolia to North China. He also bribed the authorities by smuggling cloth and daily necessities into Qinghai and Ningxia. Even weapons were included in his smuggling operations. Of course, these activities enabled the Japanese to collect intelligence from the other side and establish secret contacts with their counterparts.

Ding Qichang, a Chinese settler in Kharachin Right Banner and an old follower of Li Shouxin, respected Prince De and other Mongol leaders. When he accompanied Prince Sung during the latter's visit to Japan, he clearly showed his attitude that all political problems should be resolved by Prince Sung. Of course his yielding to the Mongolian leadership was reported to Prince De by Prince Sung. Establishment of the Interior Ministry combined the Civilian Ministry and the Peace Preservation Ministry. The target of this new ministry was the Chinese administration in the Chinese settlers' territory. Prince De decided to appoint Ding as the head of this new ministry. Of course, Ding's cooperation with the Japanese created support from the Japanese side. Vice-Minister Hayasaka Fuyo was transferred from the Vice-Minister's position to the Peace Preservation Ministry where he took charge of the police administration.

Since the Ministry of Economy was an important department, Kanai Shoji and the Japanese side were reluctant to have Jirgalang as the minister. They insisted that Ma Yongkui, the former Minister of Finance, originally a shopkeeper in Shanxi province, be given that appointment so they could manipulate him as a puppet minister. They also wanted Hibino Jo as Vice-Minister, to actually run the ministry.

Mugdenbuu had lost all his political power because of the defeat at Bat-khaalag and Shiramoron in the winter of 1936. However, because of his personal relationship with Wu Heling and as a result of Wu's strong recommendation, he was promoted from head of the Industrial Bureau of the Chahar League to the position of vice-chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee.

Quarrels Among the Japanese

There were also confrontations and clashes among the Japanese, most evidently between the Supreme Advisor, Kanai Shoji, and the Minister of General Affairs, Sekiguchi Tamotsu. Sekiguchi's strategy was to strengthen his own position within the Ministry of General Affairs by taking over one after the other each of Kanai's responsibilities until the latter no longer had any real power. Kanai, on the other hand, used this opportunity to reorganize the government institutions. He was able to demote the General Affairs Ministry to a General Affairs Board. Kanai was also able to obtain approval from the Japanese Army Headquarters in Mongolia and the Japanese Liaison Office of the Asian Development Board in Kalgan to move Sekiguchi from the position of a minister to that of an advisor. This caused Sekiguchi to resign and leave Kalgan. During this phase of the struggle Kanai was the winner.

To stop this conflict from happening again, Kanai advocated that no board head should be appointed in Sekiguchi's place; the deputy board head alone should carry out

the board's business. Kanai was able to appoint Maejima Noboru, who was his capable confidant, as deputy head. By so doing, Kanai completely controlled the government institutions without interference from other Japanese officials. In order to win the friendship of both Mongols and Chinese, he also formally advocated the establishment of two vice bureau heads, one each for the Mongols and the Chinese. The Mongolian vice-bureau head position was assigned to Jirgalang (from Jerim), a very faithful follower of Prince De and a trusted friend of Wu Heling. The Chinese vice bureau head position was assigned to Chen Yousheng, the interpreter and confidant who had followed Kanai to Kalgan in 1937.

Because of Prince De's visit to Japan, the Japanese elevated the Office of Mongolian Government in Japan to that of Delegation. Originally, the head of the old office, Hisamitsu Masao, had quite a serious political debate with Prince Sung, which increased their mutual understanding. Because Hisamitsu had a long period of contact with Wu Heling, this also gradually altered Hisamitsu's view of the Mongolian problem. During Prince De's visit, Hisamitsu had gained personal contact with the prince thanks to his record of good service. Kanai, taking advantage of the change in the Tokyo office, dispatched his confidant, Ito Tasuku, as the delegate of the Mongolian Government stationed in Japan. Kanai had Hisamitsu return to Kalgan to fill the functionless post of chief secretary of the Department of Councilors. This brought Hisamitsu into Wu Heling's circle. Since Hisamitsu had a personal relationship with Major General Takahashi Shigekazu, chief of staff of the Japanese Army in Mongolia, he became the bridge between Wu Heling and Takahashi. This contact made it possible for Takahashi to carry out the secret move to oust Kanai from Kalgan.

Muratani Hikojiro was a Japanese acceptable to most of the Mongols. His assignment as chief advisor to the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee was proposed by Prince De and Prince Sung. During his service on this committee, Muratani maintained his traditional policy and manner. Anything the Mongols were able to manage, he usually heeded with silence. If the committee had something to negotiate with the Japanese side, he usually acted as a mediator—really as a spokesman for the Mongolians. Muratani's policy also created a good model for the rest of the Japanese assigned to the same committee.

At the same time, the General Bureau of Husbandry Industry was dissolved and Kashiwa Goro was assigned as advisor to the Bureau of Enterprise of the Committee. Kashiwa, a retired Lieutenant General of Veterinary Medicine in the Japanese Army, used his knowledge and experience to negotiate between this committee and the Japanese military headquarters. Kashiwa's interest was concentrated entirely on the management and development of Mongolia's husbandry enterprise; he had no intention of interfering in Mongolian politics. Even though he held a high military rank, he was satisfied to be an advisor to a bureau of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee. He continued in this job until the Japanese were defeated at the end of the Second World War.

The Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee

Establishment of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee was one of the central topics in discussions of the reorganization of the Mongolian government. At least in the hearts of the Mongols, this committee was the only real institution to work for to achieve the reconstruction of Mongolia. There were five bureaus under this committee: General Affairs, Civilian Administration, Education, Industry, and Peace Preservation. In

addition, there were the Institute for Mongolian Cultural Research, the testing ground for husbandry enterprise, the Office of Animal Vaccination, and the Center for Breeding Facilities.

The recruitment of personnel for this newly established committee was very complex. Oljeitu, a well-known, respected person from the early period of the Bat-khaalag Autonomy Movement in 1933, was assigned to be the head of the General Affairs Bureau. Jirgalang (from Jerim), already assigned as vice minister of the General Affairs Bureau, was the head of the Bureau of Civilian Administration; Ruiyong, a secretary to Prince De for years, was made head of the Bureau of Industry. Togtakhu, originally the head of the Section on Education within the dissolved Ministry of Civilian Administration, was now the head of the Bureau of Education; and Khorongga, a Mongolian army colonel, was appointed as head of the Peace Preservation Bureau. Makhashiri and Jalgamji, formerly of the Mongolian Political Affairs Commission at Bat-khaalag, were assigned to supervise the compilation of Mongolian textbooks for schools; I was assigned to be secretary to Prince Sung.

The higher ranking Japanese officials assigned to this committee were relabeled as advisors, while the lower ranking Japanese officials were relabeled as assistants. These title changes seemed to be a throwback to the institutions of the old Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government—previously known as the Mongolian Military Government. Although this was only a superficial change, it restrained the Japanese in the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee and made them better behaved than the Japanese in other branches of the government. The Mongol members of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee were the heads and vice heads of the leagues, and some were highly reputed *jasags* and *ambans* of the banners. The committee held two meetings each year, one in the spring and one in the fall. All the *jasags* and the *ambans* attended the conference; although they could express their opinions, they had no voice in the final decisions.

The leaders of all the leagues were influenced by the establishment of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee. The most important event was the change of the head of the Shilingol League. Rinchinwangdud was the original head of this league, the *jasag* of Sunid Left Banner, and was very loyal to Prince De. However, his personality was very conservative and he did not support the new policy for the league administration. After the league government moved from Sunid to Pandita-Geegen-Keid, he never visited the office again. His negligence rendered the administration of the league inactive. To improve the situation, Prince De appointed Bodibala (the son of Yangsang—a former league head and the eldest prince of Shilingol) to be the head of the Bureau of General Affairs of the League Office. Accompanying him was Makhashiri, Prince De's old intellectual follower, as the head of the Bureau of Industry.

In part because of Makhashiri's strong antagonism to the Japanese and his quarrelling with them, he was unable to reform any of the work of the league office. Because Prince De always considered Shilingol as his power base, he could not tolerate the continuation of this miserable situation in the league office. He appointed Chogbagatur, a capable bureaucrat and head of the Bureau of General Affairs of the Bayantala League Office, to replace Makhashiri. However, Chogbagatur also failed to accomplish the tasks that Prince De wanted. Because of this disappointment, Prince De decided to make a complete change in the bureaucracy of the league. He "persuaded" Prince Rinchinwangdud to resign because of his "bad health" and assigned Prince Sung to be the head and Bodibala to be the vice-head to manage the administration while Prince Sung was in Kalgan. Also, in order to encourage the administration of the league office, both Prince De and Prince Sung agreed to have Mandaltu (a founder of the Inner Mongolian People's

Revolutionary Party in the 1920s and by now a senior politician in Mongolian officialdom) become the head of the General Affairs Bureau. Nevertheless, this man also failed to accomplish the goals of his superior.

The main task assigned to the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee was to carry out the renewal of the league and banner administration that Prince De had decided upon with the *jasags* of the Shilingol league during the early spring in Pandita-Gegeen-Keid. Another important task for this newly established committee was to strengthen and promote the facilities of the *khoshiyas* in order to stabilize the economy of the banners.

The important assignment in the territories of the leagues and banners was to figure out how to obtain the needed horses, hide, and wool within the territory for the Japanese army; and how to exchange these materials for a sufficient quantity of the commodities essential for the herding people who sent their husbandry products to the Japanese side. For the territories in the hinterland of the Kalgan regime, the important economic questions were (1) how to establish smooth and rational control over the exportation of domestic animal products to North China and gain profitable commodities in exchange, and (2) how to improve the trade through improving land transportation facilities leading to Manchukuo.¹⁶

The Peace Preservation Bureau separated the police administration from involvement with the Chinese police in Chinese territory. Since the areas had both Mongol and Chinese populations, the drawing of definite boundary lines for this mixed administration was a very difficult problem and one never really solved right up to the end of the Mongolian regime in Kalgan.

The Civilian Administration was assigned a most important and difficult problem—to draft institutional regulations for the leagues and banners. Modernization was necessary and earnestly demanded by all the antifeudalistic intellectuals, who wanted to abolish the hereditary institution of the *jasags* and princes. Although these proposals were necessary for Mongolian modernization, they could be realized only with great difficulty. Opposition from the feudalistic privileged class and conservatives was inevitable. The good side of the survival of the feudal classes was that the old feudalistic system left no basis for the Japanese to legally become involved in local government. Paradoxically, excessive or too rapid modernization might enable the Japanese to penetrate down into the “grass roots” of the Mongolian local administration. The movement toward modernization had to keep this risk in mind.

Finally, the Mongol leaders decided institutional modernization should be carried out, but not immediately. They agreed that only one Japanese advisor should be allowed to stay in a banner office, thereby using backward feudalistic institutions as shields to stop the penetration of Japanese influence into the banners. Still, discussions prior to drafting of the plan for modernization had to be handled prudently.

While Prince De and his group were busy reorganizing the Mongolian Govern-

¹⁶ For instance, the domestic animals and “blue salt” produced from the Dabusun-nor (salt lake), inside the territories of Ujumuchin and Khauchid banners, were necessary items for Manchukuo. Originally, the export of these products from these two banners was very profitable. However, after the establishment of Manchukuo, its authorities abolished free trade in cereal and food stuffs. This eliminated the profit from this trade for the people of eastern Shilingol. The Mongolian traders were also unable to keep up with the complex regulations issued by Manchukuo because of language difficulties. In addition, the Manchukuo bureaucrats used price controls to unreasonably depress the price of Mongolian domestic animals and salt, making the exchange very unfair. How to balance the trade became one of the main problems this committee had to solve immediately.

ment, an extraordinary change occurred in world politics: Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yosuke visited Germany and Italy. Through the intervention of Hitler, the Japanese Foreign Minister was also encouraged to go to Moscow to visit with Stalin. And on April 13, 1941, Matsuoka signed the five-year Russo-Japanese Treaty of Friendship and Nonaggression with Foreign Minister Molotov of the Soviet Union. The treaty relieved Japanese military activities in China from the threat of being outflanked by the Soviet Union. The military confrontation along the border between the Mongolian People's Republic and Manchukuo also ceased, and at the same time, the Soviet threat on the northern border of Inner Mongolia ended. In Inner Mongolia (at least to a limited extent), this great change was welcomed; the leaders hoped the treaty between Russia and Japan would last long and produce positive effects.

Prince Sung's Activities

In the summer of 1941, following the establishment of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee, Prince Sung and the heads of the bureaus took a tour of the banners of Chahar and Shilingol League. They observed the progress of the new policy and were able to help the officials of the committee understand the real situation of the banners in order to facilitate plans for the reconstruction of the local administrations. In fact, it was proving very difficult for so conservative a society to apply the new policy. Although the majority of the people were concerned about the individual *khoshiyas*, which had great impact on their daily life, they had no real concern for the policy of modernization in the abstract. Requiring examinations of lamas contradicted their faith and traditions; they dared not touch it. Among the conservative leaders, Prince Rinchinwangdud, the former head of Shilingol League, was most opposed to the reforms. For a man like Prince Rinchinwangdud, it was difficult to change his opinions, but Prince Sung had tried his best to persuade him not to hinder progress.

At this time, the Police Affairs Bureau of the Shilingol League was still included within the police system of the Ministry of Interior Affairs. During the official tour of Prince Sung, the chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee and the head of the league, all the Mongolian and Japanese officials and clerks stood up to show their respect for the prince. However, when he entered the Bureau of Police Affairs, the Mongol members all stood up, but the Japanese ignored his presence. Prince Sung then turned to the Japanese councilor of the League Office, Nakamura Asakichi (a retired colonel), and asked him, "Do you know in what position I came here? In this league office, whether Mongol or Japanese, all servicemen are under my leadership. Why didn't these people stand up to show their respect for me? I have visited Japan, noting the politeness of you Japanese people and observing the regulations of your government and offices. So why are these Japanese servicemen, under your control, so impolite as not to honor the institutions of the government? How did you guide them?"

This question embarrassed Nakamura. In a loud voice he rebuked the Japanese police officers. He then had each of them come to the front, stand before the league head and bow and report their names. After this clash, the Bureau of Police Affairs of the Shilingol League was at least formally put under the jurisdiction of the League Office. This paralleled the relationship between the bureaus of police affairs of the other leagues and the heads of the league office.

The Shilingol League Middle School was originally a primary school founded

by the Zenrin Kyokai;¹⁷ its business was now being conducted by a Japanese schoolmaster by the name of Yoshimura. Although he was cordial toward the students, he also very zealously carried out Japanese policy. So from the early days of the primary school, Yoshimura taught Japanese literature but omitted the Mongolian curriculum. Every day before class, the students had to gather in the courtyard to raise the Japanese flag and bow toward the east—the direction of the Japanese Imperial Palace. I suggested to Prince Sung: “Education in a foreign language should follow the general rule and only begin with the first year of middle school. Education in primary school should be limited to the native language. Although it is difficult under the current situation to stop bowing toward the east, we can demand that after bowing to the east the students also bow toward the west—the direction of the Shrine of Chinggis Khan. By so doing, we can balance east and west and prevent the Japanese from indoctrinating the youngsters.”

Prince Sung, agreeing with my opinion, immediately summoned Yoshimura and advised him of these suggestions. Yoshimura could not reject the order of Prince Sung, but after expressing his acceptance of the instructions, he asked to resign under the pretext of old age. Prince Sung comforted him and asked him to stay temporarily until the arrival of the new schoolmaster. This example became a policy for all middle schools in the leagues and the Mongolian youth were thereby released from the pressure of Japanization.

After returning to Kalgan, Prince Sung reported about all his activities while touring the Chahar and Shilingol Leagues. By then, Prince De already knew what had happened at the Shilingol League Middle School: the head of the Japanese Abaga (Pandita-Gegeen-Keid) Special Service Office, Lieutenant Colonel Magino Masao, had already reported the event to the Japanese military headquarters in Kalgan, accusing anti-Japanese activists of hiding behind Prince Sung. When Japanese military headquarters asked Prince De why this change had been made, Prince De answered very simply, “I agree with this change.” In this way he defused the accusations of an “anti-Japanese conspiracy,” of which nothing further was heard. Also, soon thereafter, the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee issued an instruction to all the schools demanding that all students bow toward the west during every ceremony to pay their respects to Chinggis Khan and that the foreign language course (meaning Japanese) should only begin in middle school.

While Prince Sung and his group were in Shilingol, on June 22, 1941, Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. The existence of the Axis alliance, which linked Japan to Germany, and Italy created a tense situation. However, at the beginning of July, the Japanese cabinet announced that it would not interfere with Russia’s military actions; this announcement brought relief along the border between Inner and Outer Mongolia.

In June, during the period of the reorganization of the Mongolian government,

¹⁷ The Zenrin Kyokai was originally a Japanese military organization to foster Japanese/Mongolian relationships. Before the breakout of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, this organization helped a number of Mongolian students study in Japan and established schools and clinics in several areas of Mongolia. However, after the Japanese occupation of Mongolia, the Zenrin Kyokai had to retreat from the front to the second line. Most of their schools and clinics were gradually relinquished to the control of the Mongolian government. Of course, the remaining Zenrin Kyokai branches in Mongolian territory continued their intelligence work for the military. The Zenrin Kyokai gradually developed an internal split, creating a division between the home headquarters in Tokyo and the headquarters in Hohhot. Following the death of the head of the board, Lieutenant General Inoue, the confrontation became more visible. Eventually, the original organization split into two independent Zenrin Kyokais—the one in Tokyo, headed by Oshima Yutaka, and the one in Hohhot, headed by Maekawa Hirokichi. The political importance of this institution declined thereafter.

the Japanese proposed to establish a General Mobilization Committee. The purpose of this organization would be to reinforce the power of the Japanese to expand. The chairman of this committee was also assigned to be head of the General Affairs Board of the Mongolian government. All the committee members were Japanese vice ministers. By then, Maejima Noboru was the chargé d'affaires of the General Affairs Board, and so he became the head of this committee. The task of this committee was planning, not practical administration. Almost no Mongols paid attention to this purely Japanese organization, and its existence was thoroughly ignored by the Chinese as well. Yet in order to strengthen Japanese political propaganda, the newly established Bureau of Information (propaganda) was put under this committee.

The most important changes in the Japanese policy toward Mongolia happened in the late summer of 1941. In reality, the attitude of Japan toward Mongolia, or probably toward Prince De, began to change from the beginning of this year. This was a real turning point, and was the result of Prince De's second visit to Japan.