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THE MONGOLIAN AUTONOMOUS STATE AUGUST 1941 - AUGUST 1945

The Formation of the Mongolian Autonomous State

If the 1933 Autonomy Movement was Prince De's first golden era, then the period between August 1941 and August 1945 was his second. But his shining light came too late, too near the sunset.

Following Prince De's second visit to Japan—after years of struggle, endeavor, argument, and compromise—a breakthrough eventually occurred in the relationship between Prince De and the Japanese authorities: the two sides reached an agreement to establish the Mongolian Autonomous State. The inaugural ceremony was carried out on the morning of August 4, 1941 in the courtyard of the Mongolian government offices in Kalgan. The Mongols in attendance were greatly encouraged, and their cool feelings toward Japan during the administration of the Mengjiang Allied Committee under Kanai Shoji's leadership began to dissolve. The ceremony was carried out quickly, without adequate preparation; Prince De and his fellow planners of the event worried that the Japanese might change their minds if too much time elapsed. So they decided to act immediately.

Of course, Prince De and the great majority of Mongol leaders had always wanted to establish an independent Mongol state. Because this goal could not be reached, they compromised by establishing an autonomous state. To deal conveniently with Wang Jingwei, the Japanese authorities had not wanted to use a word for this government offensive to the Chinese, such as *guo*. Nevertheless, no matter whether they used country (*guo*) or state (*bang*) the Mongolian translation of both terms is *ulus*. The formal title of this new regime became *Monggol-un Obesuben Jasakhu Ulus*, a title satisfactory to Mongol patriotic feelings.¹

The changing of the personnel in the Political Affairs Department and the formation of the Autonomous State greatly encouraged the Mongols and improved Mongolian-Japanese relations. However, any real progress for the Mongols was limited to the affairs of their own leagues and banners. Those administrative posts held by the Japanese (finance, economy, transportation, and the police administration in the Chinese territories) that had been under their control from the time of the Mengjiang Allied Committee, were not all influenced by the changes. Of course these administrative units were not the

¹ From the time of the autonomy movement in 1933 until the end of the Second World War, Prince De kept looking for a satisfactory title for his Mongolian regime. He got the idea for autonomy from the self-ruling domains of the British Empire. He thought that if Mongolian independence could not be realized, either in fact or at least in name, it would be better to follow the pattern of the self-ruling domains of the British Empire. After the Second World War, the British Empire was transformed into the British Commonwealth, a move that also attracted Prince De's attention. After the war, he recommended this new political form to Chiang Kai-shek, chairman of the Chinese government, but failed to get a positive answer. This problem is discussed in later chapters.

ones Mongol leaders earnestly desired to take over. What mattered most to the Mongol leaders was the power they obtained to allocate and increase some budgets for the construction of local Mongolian administration, thus making the plans of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee easier to push forward. To enhance the efficiency of banner administration, they created a training center for Mongol banner officials in the fall of this same year. All middle-ranking officials, such as *meiren-janggis* and formal *bichechi* (clerks) under the age of forty, were summoned to this center on a rotating basis for three months of training. The purpose of this training was to explain the new policies decided upon by the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee and the methods used to carry out these policies.

On September 18, the top leader of North China under Japanese occupation, Wang Yitang, chairman of the North China Political Affairs Committee, arrived in Kalgan for a formal visit. Although Wang and Prince De had been introduced earlier and met several times, they were not personal friends. This visit was of course only a formality, but it had political significance in that it recognized Prince De as the leader of an autonomous state.

The Removal of Kanai Shoji

In mid-October 1941, Takahashi Shigekasu, the chief of staff of the Japanese army in Mongolia, who had supported Wu Heling, was transferred and left Kalgan. Major General Imamura Toyojiro replaced Takahashi. During his stay in Kalgan, Imamura maintained a prudent and friendly attitude toward Prince De and other leaders. Most important, Imamura helped remove Kanai Shoji, with whom the Mongols were disgusted.

In the middle of November of that same year, it began to be rumored among high-ranking Mongol leaders that the Japanese authorities had already urged Kanai Shoji to resign "on his own." This rumor, which delighted the Mongols, soon proved true. Of course, Prince De and Wu Heling were the two leaders officially informed by the Japanese authorities. Prince Sung was informed by Muratani Hikojiro and Kimura Yujiro; they only delivered the news, hesitating to analyze it. Since it was inconvenient for Prince Sung to visit Kanai, he went to see Prince De, who told him, "Now Kanai has to go. No matter what he has done before, he is leaving now. If he can be transferred, our purposes are achieved. It is not necessary for us to embarrass him while he is stepping down. Wu and I have already sent someone to ask Kanai how he would like to be rewarded for his accomplishments. His hope is to get half a million dollars for his retirement. Both Wu and I feel that amount is too much. Nevertheless, we have decided to give him what he desires, without hesitation."

Kanai had controlled the budget and expenditures of the Mongolian government for years. But now, after his formal request for retirement, he was unable to allocate the money for his own retirement. This decision had to be made officially by Wu Heling, head of the Political Affairs Department. Hence the transfer of this large amount of money could not be hidden. Everyone who heard the news recognized Kanai's desire as improper. Even the Japanese Army in Mongolia criticized Kanai. Because of this pressure, Kanai was forced to hand back to the Japanese Liaison Office of Asian Development Board \$350,000 of the total. This amount was already in his pocket. Now it became his personal contribution to the Japanese Government. This act eased the resentment of the Japanese Army against him. Nevertheless this last defeat during his last act in Mon-

golia was all the more humbling for having become public knowledge.² In addition to half a million dollars of pension money, Prince De gave him a scroll bearing the Chinese saying *Gong zai Meng-bang*, which means "Your merit is everlasting to the Mongolian State." Perhaps Kanai read between the lines and felt the stinging irony intended.

In 1948, seven years after his separation from Mongolia, Kanai published an article "To Establish a Country in the Desert."³ It is easy to see that he was mocking Mongolia's ambitions to establish a nation. He says, "Prince De is . . . a zealous fellow with a burning desire for the reconstruction of his people. The Mongols seemingly are always dreaming of the return of their great ancestor Chinggis Khan." He concludes, "Because of the necessities of the situation during the beginning of the Japanese occupation, Southern Chahar, Northern Shanxi, and Mongolian governments had to be dissolved and reconstituted in the form of the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government. By so doing, the formation of a new state of our dreams was able to show its fruits." These words clearly express Kanai's attitude toward Mongolian nationalism. It is also evident why the Mongols opposed him.

Kanai went on to recall the situation when he left Manchuria to come to Mongolia. He had asked for advice from Katukura, a staff member of the Japanese Guandong Army, the man who had supported the young activists who started the Mongolian independence movement in eastern Inner Mongolia in 1931. Soon after, though, he changed his attitude and pressed these young Mongols to cease their activities and disband their organization. Katukura continually warned them not to carry out any movement to separate from the newly established Manchukuo. During his service in the Guandong Army, Katukura was one of the opponents of Mongolian independence. He also advocated that Mongolia remain a part of China. Of course, Katukura instructed Kanai to hinder the Mongolian movement.

In this article, Kanai mentions that Prince De visited Japan three times; that the population of western Inner Mongolia was less than one hundred forty thousand; and that after the Mongol Army entered the city of Hohhot, more than thirty Mongol princes gathered to ask if Puyi really had ascended to the throne as emperor, the most influential among them being Prince Yon. The truth, however, was that Prince De visited Japan only twice; though the western Inner Mongolia population was quite thinly distributed, even so, Kanai's figure was only half the actual number; and last, Prince Yon did not come to Hohhot on this occasion and never visited with Kanai. All these errors appeared in an article composed by a man who had officially acted as the supreme advisor for several years. These errors show that while Kanai was in Mongolia, he overemphasized controlling the economy and administering the Chinese territories nominally placed under the Mongolian government. He was not concerned with the Mongolian national problem or the Mongol people. Otherwise, how could such errors appear in so short an article he himself had composed?

Following the removal of Kanai Shoji, the Japanese government decided to dispatch Prince De's friend, Ohashi Chuichi, as the new supreme advisor to the Mongolian government. Ohashi was a faithful supporter of the Mongolian independence movement. He had been deputy minister of the Japanese Foreign Ministry when Matsuoka Yotsuke was minister, during Prince De's second visit to Japan. While serving in the Japanese

² See Oya Giichi's "Kanai Daisensei" (Great Mr. Kanai) in his *Omoitei no Naimoko* (Inner Mongolia in My Memory), pp. 386-7.

³ In *Bongei Junshu*, v. 32, no. 13.

Foreign Ministry, Ohashi had persuaded Matsuoka to support Mongolian independence. So even before his arrival in Mongolia, the name of Ohashi was quite popular among the Mongol leaders.

At the end of November, Kanai left Kalgan; and Prince De and most of the Mongol leaders were happy to see him off at the Kalgan station. Kanai decided to go first to the capital of Manchukuo and then return to Tokyo. To maintain a better relationship with Kanai, Prince De had Prince Sung, who had a somewhat personal friendship with Kanai, accompany Kanai to Beiping and from there escort Ohashi to Kalgan. I was assigned to go with Prince Sung as his interpreter. On the way out from Kalgan, Kanai told humorous stories without mentioning political problems. He put up a good front pretending to be happy about his removal from the heavy burdens of leadership. When Ohashi Chuichi received Prince Sung, his first question was about the health of Prince De. Then he said, "My obligation is to help Prince De reach his long-range goal of Mongolian independence and nation building. The immediate problem right now is how to stimulate the Mongols into assuming their responsibilities and doing their own work. The Japanese do not need to interfere in everything." This straightforward attitude, very different from that of Kanai Shoji, was greeted enthusiastically by the Mongols.

Outbreak of the "Great East Asian War"

Prince Sung saw Kanai off and left Beiping on December 8 to escort Ohashi to Kalgan. This was the day the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and started the Pacific War, known in Asia as the "Great East Asian War." Prince Sung and most of the Mongols in the city of Beiping recognized this action as a great mistake made by Tojo Hideki (or by the Japanese government as a whole), because the Chinese problem was not yet resolved. This thoughtless adventure might rebound and bring great disaster to Japan. Of course, these analyses were influenced by the assumption that Great Britain and America would always remain great powers. Nevertheless, the future of Inner Mongolia merited concern in this new context.

When Prince Sung returned to Kalgan, he discussed the outbreak of the larger war with Prince De and discovered that Wu Heling and others held similar views. Although they thought Britain and America might suffer a period of setback, in the long run, the final victory would not belong to Japan. Consequently, the idealistic hopes for the future evoked by the changing of the supreme advisor was immediately overshadowed by the coming of a world war. They recognized that if the Japanese moved toward the south and east, this would ease the threat on the Soviet Union of an attack from the east, and the Soviet threat from the north on Inner Mongolia would gradually intensify.

Of course, the outbreak of the Pacific War not only influenced the future of Prince De, but also greatly affected both Inner and Outer Mongolia. Even during the worst days of the East Asian War, the Mongolian leaders retained their idealistic nation-building goals, but their power to control an increasingly unfavorable situation steadily diminished. Even though Prince De had to express an optimistic view publicly, he realized that disaster was unavoidable. From the beginning of this war, Prince De remained aware of the changing world situation. Since he had a radio station and very loyal supporters, he gathered news from all sides for analysis and reference. But this increased knowledge of the war and the problems it caused only brought him more worry.

Arrival of Ohashi, the New Supreme Advisor

After his arrival in Kalgan, Ohashi Chuichi went directly to the residence of the chairman and formally reported his arrival to Prince De, saying that he had come to Mongolia as the advisor to the chairman and would not follow in the footsteps of his predecessor. He would rather live near Prince De than move into the residence of the former advisor, Kanai Shoji. Although Ohashi tried to change the attitude of the Japanese toward occupation administration, most of the Japanese officials were accustomed to their own system. They preferred to grasp almost all economic and financial power. Even though the supreme advisor was their leader, it proved impossible for Ohashi to initiate change. In addition, the Japanese Army Headquarters in Mongolia and the Liaison Office of the Asian Development Board were traditionally two offices with power over the Mongolian government. Their heads had the power to make final decisions. The supreme advisor, although recommended by the Japanese government to the chairman of the Mongolian government, still had to follow the instructions of the Japanese military authorities. Ohashi, determined to change this unreasonable situation, presented a strong challenge to the Japanese military authorities and as a consequence eventually would be forced to resign.

The removal of the previous supreme advisor caused a rearrangement of Japanese personnel in the government offices. In order to avoid conflict between the supreme advisor and the head of the General Affairs Bureau, Ohashi also made himself head of the General Affairs Bureau. At the same time, Ohashi appointed Sawai Tetsuba, then counselor of the Bayantala League Office, to be the vice-head of the bureau. Sawai was an upright person who had few conflicts with the local Mongols and Chinese. He was, however, a member of the *Kokuryukai* and a disciple of Kasame Yoshiaki, a well-known extremist, right-wing scholar. The former vice head of the same bureau, Maejima Noboru, had been a close friend of Kanai and hence had to resign and leave Mongolia. Many of Kanai's clique who had accompanied him to Kalgan from Manchuria also resigned. Ohashi appointed Nishijima Shozo, who was working in the Japanese-dominated North China Transportation Company, to be his secretary. Nishijima was young, well-educated and had a sharp eye, but his narrow-mindedness created many problems for his boss, Ohashi.

Ohashi's Conflict with the Japanese Military

Sawai Tetsuba was a straightforward and good-hearted person. However, because of the influence of the *kokuryukai* and his *ronin* personality, he was very emotional and disorganized. The routine work under his control fell into disorder, especially the administration of personnel. Although he honored the opinions of the local leaders, he was headstrong and dominating towards the Japanese. His first target was Kimura Yujiro, who had been a follower of Kanai from the beginning of the creation of the *Mengjiang*. Sawai thought that Kimura therefore had to leave. Prince De, Prince Sung, and other Mongol leaders recognized Kimura as a good man; Prince Sung had confidence in him and turned down Sawai's demand. The two sides finally reached a compromise. Kimura was moved from the position of advisor to the General Affairs Bureau to an advisorship without a definite assignment.

Nishijima Shozo tried hard to establish a good relationship with the more intellectual Mongol officials, such as Chogbagatur, secretary of Prince De; Ruiyong, head of

the Bureau of Industry of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee; and me, secretary of the committee. He usually invited us to his place for long talks. He was open-minded about the Mongolian problem. He also had some good ideas for rehabilitating the Mongol people. Nishijima was even sympathetic toward the *khorshiya* (cooperatives) of the banners, which were designed to promote the economic rehabilitation of the Mongol people in socialist terms. Although his thinking was precise, his opinions were very narrow, and he was hostile to other Japanese. Because Ohashi ranked high in the Japanese political world, his attitude toward the military authorities was quite different from that of his predecessors. However, because of stubbornness among the other Japanese advisors, little change was effected.

Ohashi arrived a little before New Year's Day 1942. At that time, Prince De was back home in Sunid. In order to express his personal courtesy to the prince, Ohashi decided to go to Sunid to deliver New Year congratulations to Prince De as part of his familiarization tour of the leagues and the Chinese territories. Prince Sung, as chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee, was to officially accompany Ohashi, together with two secretaries, Nishijima Shozo and me. On the last day of December 1941, this group left Kalgan and arrived in Zhangbei, where the Chahar League Office was located. By that late date, the league head, Jodbajab, was at his home in the Minggan Banner; therefore, Ohashi and his group were welcomed and briefed by two bureau heads of the League Office, Serengnamjil and Norbujana. Ohashi told them to do their best to improve the livelihood of the common Mongol people.

In the afternoon, Ohashi and his group left Zhangbei for Dehua (Jabsar). Colonel Matsuo Yutaro, head of the Japanese Special Service Office in Dehua, welcomed him. Ohashi not only refused to visit the Special Service Office, but when Matsuo came to his hotel, Ohashi did not invite him to his room but had the colonel stand in front of the door to offer his greetings. A Japanese colonel was quite important, but at this time and in front of many Mongols, he was not even given a seat. It might have seemed that this high officer of the Imperial Army was being insulted by a civilian, but Matsuo did not act insulted. He merely exchanged a few joking words with Prince Sung and left calmly. However, the atmosphere was charged.

Prince Sung, a straightforward person, admonished Ohashi by saying, "Your Excellency's attitude toward Colonel Matsuo seems a little difficult for him to bear. You should know that the head of the Special Service Office is quite a moderate, good-natured person." Ohashi then answered, "I have been vice minister in the foreign ministry. As for official rank, a colonel means nothing to me. This is due treatment for him. We shouldn't provide any special treatment just because he is a military man." Prince Sung did not continue, but he realized problems would be in store for this new supreme advisor.

On the morning of the second day, January 1, Ohashi reached Sunid. He insisted that the host, Prince De, not come to see him as was customary, but that he go as the supreme advisor to visit the chairman first, to deliver best wishes for the New Year. This ceremony was quite formal. It took place in the *Yeke ordo*, a yurt big enough to seat one hundred people. Such a structure has four red columns carved with golden dragons. All the officials of the Sunid Right Banner were gathered there. First, Ohashi delivered his formal greetings to the chairman, wishing him good health and a brilliant and successful future for Mongolian nation building. Prince De responded by wishing the supreme advisor good health, a smooth administration and victory in the Great East Asian War. That night, Prince De laid out a Mongolian-style banquet in this yurt for Ohashi, with music by a Mongolian band. The atmosphere was very friendly. It showed the harmony that existed not only between Prince De and Ohashi, but also between the Mongols and the

Japanese. From beginning to end, no one talked about politics; I acted as the interpreter.

On January 2, Ohashi's group left Sunid and traveled west, arriving in Beile-yin sume (Bat-khaalag) in the evening and stayed in the Ulanxhab League Office. The league head, Babudorji, had never been to the league office. All the administrative work was handled by the vice head, Shirabdorji. The atmosphere in the league office was not harmonious. The Japanese chief councilor, Yamamoto Nobunaga, was quite sympathetic to and enthusiastic concerning the Mongolian independence movement, but his personal relationship with Mergenbagatur, head of the Civilian Administration Bureau of the League Office, was tense. According to Mergenbagatur, Yamamoto interfered too much and paid no attention to the desires of his Mongolian colleagues. On the other hand, Yamamoto and the other Japanese considered Mergenbagatur to be a man without enthusiasm who delayed all the work of the League Office. To complicate things, in the banners under the League Office, the relationships between the local banner officials and the Japanese advisors evoked conflicts quite similar to the conflicts within the League Office. Consequently, all the new policies decided on and sent from Kalgan were delayed in their implementation.

During the night, Shirabdorji reported these difficulties to Prince Sung and asked for instructions on how to report his problems to the supreme advisor. Prince Sung told him he had to report the situation to the supreme advisor factually and ask him for solutions. The next day, in the hall of the league office, Shirabdorji reported all these unhappy events in the league to Ohashi, as instructed by Prince Sung, except for naming the people involved. Ohashi did not give any immediate answer to Shirabdorji. Perhaps Yamamoto had already submitted his report and criticism to Ohashi the night before.

From Beilin-sume, Ohashi's group went to Hohhot, where they were warmly received by the Mongolian military and Bayantala League officers. In the evening, they held a big welcome banquet at the well-known restaurant Fenglin-ge to which they invited many of the high-ranking military officers of the Japanese army.

By this time, the Japanese forces were winning great victories in the Pacific. Therefore, the spirits of these officers were high. In his speech Ohashi said, "Now, blessed by heaven, the Imperial Army is winning incomparable victories everywhere." Although these words were positive, the countenances of the Japanese officers became very solemn. Then an officer stood up and asked, "Your Excellency, the supreme advisor, are you implying that the victory of Japan was caused by the blessings of heaven and not caused by the effort of the Imperial Army?" Ohashi stood up, and in a condescending manner said, "I am not saying that the Imperial Army did not struggle vigorously, but the blessing of heaven should not be ignored." After saying that, he sat down. Unexpectedly these words, *tenyu mondai* (the problem of the blessing of heaven), became the spark that lit an open confrontation between Ohashi and the Japanese Army. I translated these words from Japanese to Mongolian and Chinese at the banquet, and I can still feel the changing atmosphere of that moment.

From Hohhot, Ohashi returned to Kalgan. Although the train passed Datong, he did not stop to visit the office of the Northern Shanxi district. His pretext was that these Chinese districts were secondary in importance to the Mongolian government, and there was no need to visit them right away. After returning to Kalgan, Prince Sung went to see Prince De and gave his report on Ohashi's situation. By then, Prince De had already received reports that the Japanese military authorities were greatly disappointed with Ohashi. First, they were aware of Ohashi's impoliteness toward Colonel Matsuo, head of the Dehua Special Service Office, when he purposely showed his condescending attitude toward the Imperial Army. Second, they said the "heavenly blessing" remark was taken

as an insult against the entire Imperial Army and demanded that Ohashi submit a formal apology. Prince De thought this was a very bad beginning for Ohashi and that his confrontation with the military authorities might hinder the progress of all the proposals promoting Mongolian rehabilitation.

When Ohashi Chuichi arrived in Mongolia as supreme advisor, Major General Takeshita Yoshiharu, head of the Liaison Office of Asian Development Board in Kalgan, was removed and Major General Iwasaki Tamio was appointed in his place. After Iwasaki took office, he had to deal with the confrontational relationship between Ohashi and the Japanese Army.

The Mongolian Delegation in Tokyo and the Mengjiang Bank in Kalgan

When the Mongolian Delegation in Japan was established in June 1940, it was controlled by Kanai Shoji, who appointed his confidant Ito Tasuku as delegate. By so doing, Kanai was able to expand his activities in Tokyo freely. After Ohashi's arrival, Prince De convinced Ohashi that the Mongolian Government Delegation in Japan needed Japanese official associates because of the language and communication barriers. Nevertheless, the post of delegate had to be filled by a Mongolian; otherwise, how could it represent Mongolia? Ohashi agreed to have Prince De appoint Tegshibuyan, the head of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Academy, as the delegate. He was a trusted follower of Prince De but had no path to promotion after the dissolution of the Mongolian Allied League Government. At the same time, Prince De appointed his secretary, Chogtumanglai, as secretary of the delegation and dispatched Hisamitsu Masao, who was originally supposed to be head of the delegation, to be councilor to the delegation. By so doing, Prince De was able to make it at least outwardly a delegation of the Mongolian political regime. Tegshibuyan stayed in Tokyo until the end of the Second World War.

At the beginning of 1942, to express support for Japan in the Pacific War, Prince De issued a statement in the name of the chairman of the Mongolian government. In it he emphasized that the mission of the Mongolian government was to strengthen the defense of the special anti-Communist zone located in the northern borderlands of East Asia. On one hand, he recalled the great enterprise of Chinggis Khan in the past and demanded that the Mongols look to their future. On the other hand, he emphasized that the flourishing of Japan encouraged that of Mongolia and that the flourishing of Mongolia contributed to the victory of Japan. These words were ostensibly diplomatic flattery of Japan, but in reality reflected the true feelings of Prince De at that time.

Soon after the Lunar New Year of the White Horse, on February 26, 1942, Prince De again visited the Pandita-Gegeen Keid, the place to which he had summoned the *jasags* of the Shilingol League the year before to promote the new policy. On this occasion he gathered the *jasags* to deliver their own reports. A conference was held to discuss how to balance the burden of people's taxation, to establish a budget system, to guide the lamas in their return to lay life, and how to manage the *khoshida*. Because Prince De personally scrutinized their activities, the officials had to produce results, and a good administrative atmosphere was renewed.

In the middle of March, the Mengjiang Bank, the central bank that controlled the economy of the Mongolian territories (Mengjiang), had to be reorganized. Bazargurda, a notorious pro-Japanese figure, had to retire because his term was up. Bazargurda wholeheartedly desired to be appointed as a councilor of the Mongolian government and was

recommended by the Japanese military authorities, but because of his unconditional pro-Japanese attitude, Prince De rejected him. This rejection, however, enabled the Japanese side to recommend an expert Japanese banker, Munekata Kyukei, to be the director of the bank, and Prince De could not reject two of their recommendations in a row and so he accepted Munekata. Prince De then appointed Temurbolod, vice head of Chahar League and the *amban* of Shangdu Banner, to be the nominal deputy director of the bank. The reason for the compromise was a practical one—there were no Mongolian experts to run the bank. However, the change in office by the aged Temurbolod made it possible to promote Serengnamjil, the *amban* of the Taipus Left Banner, to the post of vice head of the Chahar League so as to encourage adoption of the new policies in that area.

Christian Missionaries During the Pacific War

From the latter half of the nineteenth century on, both Catholics and Protestants continued to send missionaries to Mongolia. After the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, these churches were able to accelerate their work through diplomatic pressure. The Catholics moved beyond the Great Wall to Kalgan and Hohhot. However, because there were too few Mongols converted, they had to also make the Chinese their objects of proselytization. Only in the southern part of the Yeke-juu League were they able to convert some Mongols to Catholicism. As for the Protestant missionaries, though they penetrated several areas, only in Chahar were they able to have a little success. After the outbreak of the Pacific War, all the missionaries from England and America were sent to the concentration camp at Qifu (Yantai), Shandong. After the defeat of Germany and Italy, almost all missionaries, no matter from what country, were removed from Mongolia.

During the time they were in Mongolia, the Catholics and Protestants received instructions from the Japanese military authorities demanding that they reorganize and make a formal statement in support of the military actions of Japan. To increase Japan's control over these missions, a special group of police of the Interior Ministry of the Mongolian government established the Mengjiang Information Office (*Mokyo Annaijo*) as a special intelligence office to deal with all the foreigners in Mongolia. Consequently, all the foreign missionaries and the local people who had contact with the missionaries were usually "invited" to this "Information Office" to be "interviewed." If there was any kind of suspicion, deportation was inevitable.

Among the Mongols, Gombojab, a Chahar who spoke and read English and translated Marco Polo into Mongolian and who had regular contact with the missionaries, was "invited" to this office and tortured terribly. Although he was released after this torture, his health was very poor, and he died soon after. Among the foreigners, George Soderbom received the most severe torture. Soderbom was born in Mongolia to Swedish missionary parents and spoke fluent Mongolian. He was once the guide of Dr. Sven Hedin, the famous adventurer of Central Asia, in Chinese Turkistan. He was also known as a good friend of the Mongols. Although he was tortured, he was strong, and the torture did not really damage his health. Although Sweden had not declared war against Japan, Soderbom was also sent to the concentration camp in Yantai. After the Second World War, he served in the UNRRA, the relief organization of the United Nations, and brought tremendous relief supplies to the Mongols, especially to the poor.

Prince De's Visit to Manchukuo

March 1, 1942 was the tenth anniversary of the establishment of Manchukuo. Prince De, as chairman of the Mongolian Autonomous State, delivered a congratulatory telegram to Puyi, the puppet emperor of Manchukuo. On the same day, the prince attended the official celebration banquet given by Li Yishun, the delegate of Manchukuo stationed in Mongolia. Later on, Prince De invited various leaders to go with him to Xinjing, the capital city of Manchukuo, to express good will and celebrate their ten-year anniversary.⁴

The day after the prince's arrival, Puyi held a national banquet at his palace for Prince De. This was the third visit of Prince De to Manchuria, and the first time that he was treated as a national guest. In his speech, Puyi addressed Prince De as "Your Honorable Chairman." Prince De expressed his good will and congratulations on the tenth anniversary of Manchukuo and recognized its help to Mongolia. These ceremonial changes were of course the result of the establishment of the Mongolian Autonomous State. Prince De did not bow to Puyi, the abdicated emperor of the former Manchu Dynasty.⁵

Li Shouxin also had a conversation with Puyi, but they said nothing involving politics. Although Puyi had political interest in Prince De's visit, he was unable to express it because of the supervision of the Japanese Major General Kataoka. Soon after, Puyi dispatched Jingjia, a Manchu intellectual who was a member of his personal staff, to express Puyi's personal concern to Prince De and Puyi's decisive will to rehabilitate the Manchu people. Because Prince De realized that Puyi was a bird in a cage and could not do anything according to his own will, he knew that nothing would be accomplished except some pointless conversation. Although he received Jingjia and his message, there was no serious discussion of the future of the Mongols and Manchus.

Prince De's main activity in Xinjing was to visit the headquarters of the Japanese Guandong Army. The same night as the banquet, a welcome party was organized by General Umezu Yoshijiro, commander of the Japanese force in Manchuria. At the table, Prince De expressed his thanks for the support of the Guandong Army, emphasizing Japanese-Mongolian friendship and Mongol support of the East Asian War. In this speech, Prince De emphasized his intention to establish Mongolian independence and build a nation. But the response of Umezu (who had been commander of the Japanese Army in North China and therefore disagreed with separation of Mongolia from China) is unknown to me. Nevertheless, since he was the head of the Guandong Army, which organization had been involved with the Mongolian independence movement from the early 1930s, he could not officially express his pro-Chinese opinion.

Almost all Prince De's activities in Manchuria were ritualistic—matters of form, not substance. No real problems were discussed. During his stay in Xinjing, beside the formal visit to Jagar, head of the General Bureau of Kinggan, Prince De also met with

⁴ These leaders included Li Shouxin, Vice Chairman of the government; Ding Qichang, Minister of the Interior; Jirgalang, councilor of the government; Muratani Hikojiro, advisor of the Secretariat of the Chairman; Chogbadarakhu, head of the same secretariat; Nakajima Manzo, councilor of the General Affairs Bureau; and others. Prince De arrived at Xinjing on April 21, and was welcomed by Zhang Jinghui, premier of Manchukuo; Yu Shenzheng, minister of Military Affairs; Jagar, Prince of Baarin Banner and then head of Kinggan General Bureau; the chief of staff of the Guandong Army; and other Japanese authorities.

⁵ This was told to me by Mr. Jirgalang, and is different from the inaccurate record in Lu Minghui's book, p. 253.

other officials: Badmarabdan, commander of the Kinggan Army (Mongolian troops of Manchukuo); Manibadara, director of the Mongolian Livelihood Improvement Association (*Mengmin Huoshenghui*); Buyanmandukhu, governor of Southern Kinggan Province; Namkhajab and Oyundalai, councilors of the Kinggan General Bureau; and Askhan, the leader of the young Mongol military officers. Although they had sincere talks privately, no conclusions were reached.

The Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee and Japanese Horse Purchasing

Following the establishment of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee, the spring and fall sessions of the Members' Conference convened to discuss how to implement the new policies and how to provide the banners with a chance to communicate their difficulties to the central authorities. If there were problems related to the Japanese side, the conference would also have the opportunity to ask the central government for a solution. This official conference was two or three days long. However, after the closing of these official meetings, an unofficial conference was usually held at the residence of Prince De, with him presiding as the authoritative figure. The members of the committee and its high-ranking officials, the leaders from the leagues and banners, and the high-ranking officials of the government all had to attend. The session was conducted informally from the afternoon well into the night. The Japanese were not invited. Although this conference had no legal basis, it became the catalyst for the new policies. Because none of the attendees would discuss the information they had received with outsiders, the Japanese were suspicious of the meeting.

As mentioned earlier, the Mongol leaders worked to protect the growth of their pastoral economy and the privileges of the herders by establishing the *khoshiya* (cooperatives). After a testing period, the cooperatives became part of the plan. That is why the *khoshiya* question was one of the main topics at these conferences. The attendees had to provide detailed price lists for commodities to be imported and exported. This report provided the base for a new yearly plan. The formation of the *khoshiya* did not allow the Chinese merchants to export at will the products of the Mongolian herders. It also created great losses both for the *Daimogunsu* (the Great Mongolian Company) established by Japanese in Manchuria and the Mongolian territories and the *Mokyogunsu* (the Mengjiang Company established by Japanese in the Mengjiang areas). To recover the losses and diminish competition, the *Mokyogunsu* accepted the recommendation of the *Daimogunsu* and let itself be absorbed by the latter. Because the supply of wool and hide in exchange for consumer goods thereafter became a licensed monopoly under the management of the *khoshiya*, it was impossible for any Japanese firm or Chinese merchants to take over this trade again.

The Japanese had burdened the people of all the banners by demanding that they provide horses for the military. The go-between in this trade was the *Daimogunsu*. Because of extortion by this go-between, the people who submitted horses were unable to obtain appropriate amounts of commodities in exchange. The Mongolian Restoration Committee, however, negotiated with the Japanese army stationed in Mongolia the exchange ratios of the horses to cloth, brick tea, and tobacco leaves. The Mongolian Restoration Committee insisted that the horse prices determined by the Japanese military and the Mongolian government be set according to the quality of the horses. This insistence eliminated extortion by the Japanese go-between merchants. The Chinese agents also had

to give the Mongols a fair commodity exchange for their horses. Although the Daimogunsu represented the Japanese military in delivering the exchange commodities, the examination and appraisal of the horses were now carried out directly by the Japanese military. This arrangement made the management of military horses an easier task for the Japanese military and eliminated most of the disagreements between the Japanese military and the banner offices.

Japanese Schemes Concerning the Mongolian Religion

Their martial spirit is a unique historical characteristic of the Mongol people. But after the national conversion to Buddhism during the middle of the sixteenth century, this religion became the well-spring of almost all Mongol spirituality. Whether one views this reduction of the martial spirit as good or bad, it is an important political development in the history of the Mongols. The Japanese occupiers, of course, paid much attention to the role of the Buddhist religion. Many Mongol intellectuals had long engaged in antireligious activities, taking special note of the negative effects created by the Chinese government's religious policy toward the Mongols. Thus the Japanese had to be careful in their formulation of a religious policy. In the realm of Manchukuo, the Japanese pleased the intellectuals by forcing many able-bodied lamas to enter military service; after lamas had served in the military, they seldom returned to religious life. But in western Inner Mongolia, circumstances led the Japanese to implement different policies. The Japanese recognized that anti-religious activity in western Inner Mongolia might drive the Mongols into Outer Mongolia. Consequently, the Japanese Special Service Office implemented friendly policies toward the lamas and the monasteries in order to win over the hearts of the conservatives. Of course, this policy in western Inner Mongolia was not born of benevolent concerns for religious freedom, but of consideration for political realities.

By 1941, the young incarnation of the Panchen Lama [Pandita-Gegeen], who had not adhered to his religious vows, was forcibly removed by the officials of the Abkhanar Left Banner. The orders of the banner's *jasag* compelled him to leave his temple and go immediately to Tibet to study the scriptures. This was a terrifying piece of news to many conservative Mongols. Balgunsurung, the *jasag* of this banner and other banner officials had been making secret plans for this expulsion for quite some time. This event caused great concern to Lieutenant Colonel Makino Masaomi, the head of the Abkhanar Special Service Office. He feared that the conservative Mongols might suspect the Japanese of complicity in this plot, and anti-Japanese sentiment might arise. Since the expulsion was already a fait accompli by the time Makino received news of it, there was nothing he could do. Interestingly, Prince De and Prince Sung applauded the actions of the Abkhanar Left Banner authorities.

The Japanese realized that the policies of Prince De and other Mongolian leaders toward the lamas were excessively harsh, and that if these policies were implemented, general dissatisfaction would develop among the devout Mongol Buddhists, damaging the Japanese propaganda effort against Outer Mongolia. But the Japanese knew that the enormous proportion of males entering the celibate life of the monasteries contributed directly to a decline in the Mongol population. Therefore, they could not oppose Prince De's policies. On the other hand, they also understood the political influence wielded by the monasteries. In view of these parallel considerations, the Japanese decided on a policy of "Japanification" of Mongolian Buddhism—a policy they hoped to carry out in an

unobtrusive manner, without antagonizing the monks or defiling the temples.

This Japanification policy was run by the Koyazan sect, with its roots in the Japanese Shinganshu sect. Koyazan was a tantric Buddhist sect that had many similarities to the esoteric Buddhism of Tibet; it dispatched many monks to visit Mongolian monasteries and conduct research into Mongolian religious beliefs and practices. These monks also recruited young Mongol lamas and brought them back to Japan for education and training. The Japanese wanted these young lamas to be successfully indoctrinated and returned to Mongolia to reform Mongolian Buddhism along Japanese lines.

Although Prince De and other Mongol leaders realized that the number of young men who became lamas had to be reduced to protect the national existence of the Mongol people, they did not harbor any reservations or resentment toward the Buddhist faith itself. It was a faith they and their ancestors had embraced for generations. They could not, therefore, accept Japanese demands for basic changes in the doctrines and teachings of Mongolian Buddhism. The leaders of the monasteries were also unable to accept these demands. So it was decided that although young Mongolian lamas would be allowed to go to Japan for religious study and training, they should not accept any tenet opposed to their own orthodox teachings. Most of the lamas who went to Japan did not in fact change their religious beliefs. Some maintained a low profile after returning from Japan, while others became interpreters, refusing to go back to the temples. Overall, the Japanese policy toward Inner Mongolian Buddhism was a failure, producing opposition groups among the lamas and leading indirectly to the formation of *Lama tamag* (lama administration).

To strengthen their propaganda directed toward Outer Mongolia, the Japanese promoted a "reincarnation" of an Outer Mongolian religious leader, the *Noyan Khutugtu*, in the vicinity of Jara-yin sume of the Abaga Right Banner. In the summer of 1942, they enthroned him at Chagan Obootu sume, the largest temple on the northern edge of the Sunid Left Banner, located on the border with the Mongolian People's Republic. Prince De was very dissatisfied because he recognized that the Japanese policy of using religion for political purposes could create many problems. He was only too aware that in Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism it was illegal to enthrone an incarnation.

An event even more ominous than the one described above was the Japanese attempt to locate and enthrone the Ninth Jebtsundamba Khutugtu. After the death of the Eighth Jebtsundamba in 1924, the Communist authorities of the newly proclaimed Mongolian People's Republic announced that no further incarnation of the Jebtsundamba was to be established. The Guandong Army and the Japanese Army in Mongolia agreed that finding the ninth reincarnation would give the Japanese enormous political influence over the Mongols north of the Gobi. After hearing that the ninth incarnation had probably been located in Tibet just before the outbreak of the Pacific War, the Japanese sent to Tibet the *Dilowa Khutugtu*, a high Outer Mongolian lama who had defected to Inner Mongolia, to bring the incarnation of the Ninth Jebtsundamba Khutugtu to Inner Mongolia.

Because of his religious beliefs and hatred of the communist regime in Outer Mongolia, the *Dilowa Khutugtu* accepted this secret mission. He told Prince De about it and asked for his opinion. Prince De's opinion was that the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu line had reached its conclusion with the Eighth Jebtsundamba; no further reincarnation was possible. He also argued that no matter what amount of religious significance the discovery of the Ninth Jebtsundamba might have, there was no need politically to claim such a discovery. Prince De also objected to finding the Ninth Jebtsundamba because to do so would entail resurrecting elements of the now defunct Manchu dynasty's policy of establishing religious constraints for the Mongols. Since the Mongol people now had new

knowledge and a new nationalistic consciousness, any attempt to propagandize them would have to be made in terms of the unification of the several Mongol nationalities in establishing a free and independent country. He hoped that the *Dilowa Khutugtu* would not accept this mission. The words above were related to me personally by Prince De.

But the *Dilowa Khutugtu* did not heed Prince De's admonitions. The Japanese arranged for his departure from Kalgan to Beiping, and thence to Tianjin and Shanghai, and finally by sea to Hong Kong. At Hong Kong, he bought a ticket to Calcutta, India. But his presence there was discovered by the British intelligence community; and the British and Chinese intelligence services, taking advantage of his complete lack of knowledge of English, Chinese, or Cantonese, put him on a plane bound for Chungking. He discovered his actual destination only when the plane landed.⁶

I include this story here in order to describe the Japanese attempts to restrain the Mongols through their own religious beliefs, and also to present Prince De's opinions on reincarnated living Buddhas. Prince De was opposed to searching out the reincarnations of the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu and the *Noyan Khutugtu*; later, he even encouraged the Chinese government not to enthrone the Tenth Panchen Lama. These facts show that while Prince De was a religious person, he had independent ideas about using religion for political purposes. He was absolutely opposed to an alien people's alteration and use of Mongol religion to achieve political imperatives.

The Fall of Ohashi Chuichi

In June of 1942, the Manchukuo authorities dispatched Yu Shenzheng, Minister of Peace Preservation, and Buyanmandukhu, governor of the Kinggan Southern Province, to Kalgan. These two men were sent to express the appreciation of the Manchukuo authorities for Prince De's visit to the Manchukuo capital. The visit of these two men was only a ritualistic formality; no substantive talks took place, but Buyanmandukhu did manage to speak privately with Prince De, Wu Heling, and Prince Sung. These private talks led to somewhat closer relations between eastern and western Inner Mongolia.

The most important event of this summer was the downfall of the supreme advisor, Ohashi Chuichi. As mentioned earlier, the arrival of this man had raised the hopes of Prince De and other Mongol leaders that he might exert some positive influence on the Mongolian policy of the Japanese. This hope, however, was entirely dashed when Ohashi developed personal conflicts with the Japanese army and other Japanese officials in the Mongolian government. After these conflicts broke out, the Japanese military immediately began an agitation to have Ohashi removed. Apparently Ohashi did not realize the

⁶ The Diluwa was very clever, however, and he did not make his displeasure known. In fact, he even pretended to be overjoyed at having arrived in Chungking and acted as though he had been demanding to go there for years. In Chungking, he met with his old friend, Owen Lattimore, who at that time was working as an advisor of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Because the *Dilowa Khutugtu* had been appointed a member of the Legislative Yuan, his arrival in Chungking did not go unwelcomed by the Chinese government. The Chinese government made him a Member of the National Political Council (*Can-cheng hui*) in Chungking, expressing goodwill toward him. After the war, Diluwa resigned from his post and expressed his wish to go to Tibet to visit with the Ninth Jebtsundamba Khutugtu, and his request was approved by the Chinese government. Although he made it to Tibet and accomplished his religious goals, it proved impossible to achieve the political goal of taking the Jebtsundamba to Inner Mongolia.

seriousness of this movement when it first began. Perhaps he believed that his backers in Tokyo—powerful Japanese militarists such as Itagaki, Tojo, Matsuoka, and others—would keep him safe from low-level military conspiracies against him. At any rate, Ohashi continued to use his abrasive style and refused to bow down to the Japanese army leaders in Mongolia.

In the summer of this year, Prince Sung, Nishijima Shozo, and I accompanied Ohashi on a trip to the Shilingol banners for the purpose of observing the implementation of the new policies. In Shilingol, Ohashi first visited the Sunid Right Banner, where he was warmly welcomed by Prince De and his son, Dugursurung, the *jasag* of the banner. Here he visited the girls' middle school, an institution of which Prince De was immensely proud. The school was traditionally Mongolian in every way. Since Prince De was convinced that the girls would eventually become housewives, their lifestyle as students was not different from the nomadic lifestyle. Ohashi was also very satisfied with the founding and management of this middle school.

From Sunid, Ohashi and his group went eastward to Pandita Gegeen Keid, where the league office, the Japanese Guandong Army's Special Service Office and the great monastery were located. Because Prince Sung was chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee and head of the Shilingol League, a briefing was arranged for Ohashi by the vice-head of the league, Bodibala, the *jasag* of the Abaga Left Banner. While there, Ohashi instructed the Japanese officials that they should not always do things the Japanese way. He informed them that they must regard themselves as guests, honor the opinions of the local people, and act prudently. This action won the respect and admiration of the Mongol people. I do not know what the Japanese thought of him.

From the Shilingol League Office, he went to Prince Sung's banner, the Khauchid Left Banner, and was wined and dined at Prince Sung's modest princely residence. Ohashi greatly praised Prince Sung's modest lifestyle. After visiting Prince Sung's banner, he went eastward to the princely residence of the Ujumuchin Right Banner. At that time, Ujumuchin was considered the most conservative, wealthy, and pastoral of any region in all of Inner Mongolia. The *jasag* of this banner, Mijidjanghubniyambu, was then only a child of eight or nine years. Although he was not in actual charge of his banner, he still performed the ceremonies at the banquets in a very solemn and dignified manner. Because all of his actions were ritualistic, this child *jasag* was capable of a deportment that was neither submissive nor arrogant.⁷ Ohashi was very impressed with the ability of these strict feudalistic ceremonies to preserve an image of Mongol dignity and national self-respect in the face of such difficult circumstances.

From Ujumuchin, we left for Linxi, located in the Kinggan West Province of Manchukuo, and secured arrangements for the import of foodstuffs from Manchukuo to Ujumuchin. Because Ohashi was originally the consul of the Manchukuo government and was now the supreme advisor to the Mongolian government, he was able to engage in detailed discussions with the Japanese officials of Linxi *xian*. In Manchukuo, all the *xian* heads were puppets. Their presence was, therefore, not required in discussions of this type.

From Linxi, we went to the Ongniud Right Banner Office, located in Chifeng (Ulaankhada). After the founding of Manchukuo, the Guandong Army's policy was to keep the original Mongolian leagues and banners intact. They placed the banners in the Juu-uda League, where there were fewer Chinese. They also renamed the league "King-

⁷ At this point, I recalled the story of the former prince of this banner, Sodnamrabdan, and his treatment of Itagaki Seishiro, the deputy head of staff of the Guandong Army.

gan Western Province," to show that it was a region of Mongolian "self-rule." The banners of the Josotu League, along with the Ongniud Right Banner mentioned above (areas that were heavily populated with Han Chinese and had had Chinese-style *xian* governments established for years), were placed under different local administrations. That is, these banners were placed under Rehe and Jinzhou Provinces and maintained as Mongolian-style banner governments. The Chinese *xians* were abolished, and the banner offices ruled over both Chinese and Mongols. Chifeng *xian*, which was designated as the Ulaankhada *ting* during the Manchu period, was accordingly abolished; the banner office of the Ongniud Right Banner was moved to Chifeng, and all the *jasags* were designated as banner heads. By this time, the head of this banner was Sechinhogtu. He carried out the ritual formalities of reception and entertainment, but did not participate in discussions on the Manchu-Mongolian overland trade.

From Ulaankhada, we went westward to the old princely residence of the Kharachin Right Banner. The former prince of this banner, Gungsangnorbu, had started the modernization movement in Mongolia at the beginning of the century. Prince Gung, as he was popularly known, founded an ordinary girls' school and a military academy. Because of his modernization endeavors in this area, many of the political and educational leaders of Inner Mongolia were from Kharachin. Ohashi was especially glad to visit this region because of its importance in modern Mongolian history. Prince Sung was also very glad to travel to this area because he wanted to proceed to Kharachin and meet with his old friend, Lobsangchoijur, my father.

By this time, Tudub, the son of Prince Gung, had already been assigned as counselor of the Provincial Office of Rehe. The banner head, Uribatu, had been a follower of Sun Yat-sen in his activities against the warlord governments of northern China, and he had participated in the "protect-the-constitution" movement in Guangdong led by Sun. Uribatu gave a briefing on the modern history of Kharachin to Ohashi and Prince Sung, then guided his guests on a tour of the most luxurious and sumptuously appointed Beijing-style princely palace in all of Inner Mongolia—the residence of the prince of Kharachin. Uribatu also gave them a tour of the Chongzheng Normal School founded by Prince Gung.

Both Ohashi and Prince Sung delivered speeches to the students of this school. In his speech, Prince Sung emphasized the future of the Mongolian nation and the fact that its destiny depended on the diligence of the students in the audience. He became so excited that he neglected to mention the existence of Manchukuo! After this speech, he and Ohashi were guests at a luncheon party at my father's house. Because of my father's advanced age and his excitement at seeing Prince Sung, he asked Xing Chixiang, former principal of the Chongzheng School, to talk to Ohashi. My father wanted to spend the entire time talking with Prince Sung alone.

After leaving Kharachin, we returned to Chifeng, where we turned west and had a short visit at the princely residence of the Ongniud Right Banner. We then proceeded to Weichang, the *muran* or hunting ground of the Manchu emperors, and from there entered Doloonor, in the territory of the Mongolian government. The next day we visited the great Doloonor monastery, built where the Khalkha (Outer) Mongols had formally submitted to the Manchus in 1691. From there we travelled to the Juu-nainan sume and the ruins of Shangdu (one of Khubilai Khan's capitals). We then arrived at the banner office of the Taipus Left Banner, where the *amban*, Serengnamjil, delivered a report on his banner and the work of the *khorshiya* (cooperatives).

Just then, the deputy minister of the General Affairs Ministry of the Mongolian government, Sawai Tetsuba, rushed up in a small car. He immediately talked to Ohashi in

a very furtive and secretive manner. Prince Sung and the rest of us realized that something extraordinary was going on. Soon after this conversation with Sawai, Ohashi invited Prince Sung into his yurt. He said to Prince Sung, "My endeavor for the Mongolian nation ends here. I have been forced to submit my resignation to the Japanese government. I hope that you will not be disappointed and that you will continue to press forward. I regret that I have been unable to reach my ambitions."

Prince Sung was the first Mongol to hear the rumors of Ohashi's departure officially confirmed. Prince Sung could do nothing but express his regret to Ohashi. Ohashi's removal had been engineered by the Japanese militarists in Mongolia, and nothing could be done to reverse it. Because of this sudden development, Ohashi cancelled his visits to the Chahar League and rushed back to Kalgan before sunset. He then went directly to the residence of the chairman and delivered his notice of resignation to Prince De. Prince De did not want to accept the resignation, but since it had been forced by the Japanese occupiers, there was no way out. Prince De quickly summoned Wu Heling and conferred with him on the matter. They decided that regardless of the Japanese complicity in Ohashi's departure, they would go to the Japanese military headquarters and express their deep regrets at his resignation. They also decided that if the Japanese rejected these expressions of regret, the issue of abolishing the post of the supreme advisor should be taken up at a later date.

Abolition of the Supreme Advisorship

As Prince De expected, the Japanese rejected his expression of regret at the resignation of Ohashi. They did, however, agree to discuss the issue of the supreme advisorship. In the wake of this conspiracy against him, Ohashi had decided to return to Japan within a week. Prince De appointed Prince Sung as the official departure escort of the Mongolian government and directed him to accompany Ohashi to Beiping and there see him off to Japan. Sawai Tetsuba, vice-minister of the General Affairs Ministry, and Nishijima Shozo, Ohashi's secretary, tendered their resignations together with Ohashi.

As mentioned, Ohashi had a low opinion of the Imperial Japanese Army in Mongolia, and this eventually had led to a direct clash between him and the army. One specific incident, however, which occurred at the Special Service Office of Beile-yin sume, greatly contributed to Ohashi's ouster. Chimedrinchinkhorlowa, the *jasag* of the Muuminggan Banner, Ulanhab League, became acquainted with an Outer Mongolian agent. This *jasag* was later "invited" to the Special Service Office for a "talk" with Asaka Shiro, an assistant of the Office, during which he died. The Japanese claimed that during the talks, Asaka withdrew from the room for a moment just before Chimedrinchinkhorlowa took out a loaded pistol from Asaka's bureau drawer and killed himself.

This incident created anti-Japanese sentiment among the Mongols. Ohashi realized that this was a homicide, not a suicide, and openly urged the Japanese military to investigate it thoroughly. The Japanese military, angry at these statements, suspected that Ohashi was seeking to garner favor with the Mongols by pressing this matter. The Japanese military had launched its own "investigation," which "proved" that the *jasag* of the Minggan Banner had "committed suicide." In the minds of the Japanese militarists in Mongolia, Ohashi's contentions to the contrary clearly proved that he "despised the Japanese Imperial Army." The Japanese military then openly and formally began its campaign against Ohashi.

Since Kanai Shoji had first assumed the position of supreme advisor, this posi-

tion had been the center of the "Mengjiang" regime. After the unification of the three governments, Kanai had explained that he was in a position equal to that of the chairman, Prince De, and that he was not just a guest but a real official. Kanai was the representative of the Mengjiang regime to the Japanese military authorities. As the supreme advisor, the commander of the Japanese Army stationed in Mongolia, and the chief of the Kalgan Branch of the Asian Development Board, Kanai held all three top government posts in Mongolia during the Japanese occupation. When Ohashi arrived, however, he claimed that he was merely a "guest advisor" to the Mongol chairman; but in reality, he was the top figure in the government of Mongolia. As supreme advisor, Ohashi's relationship with the Japanese Army in Mongolia and the Asian Development Board remained the same as it had been during Kanai Shoji's period as supreme advisor.

Prince De and the Mongolian leaders and the Japanese military authorities all felt that the existence of a supreme advisor was awkward and inconvenient. After the departure of Ohashi, the two sides agreed to abolish the position of supreme advisor. The Mongols did not want any man in the government to occupy a position equal to that held by Prince De. The Japanese militarists in Mongolia, for their part, did not want to see any man occupy a position equal to that of their commander-in-chief. It was therefore easy for the Japanese militarists and the Mongols to work out a common program for eliminating this position.

While Kanai Shoji had occupied the post of supreme advisor, he had come into conflict with Sekikuchi Tomatsu, Minister of General Affairs. Since Ohashi was aware of this past conflict, he himself had assumed the position of Minister of General Affairs and gave the real power of this position to his trusted friend, Sawai Tetsuba. After Ohashi's resignation, Prince De and the Japanese army agreed that there should no longer be a supreme advisor position, that the Minister of General Affairs should be the highest Japanese official in the government; and that he should be under the supervision of the chairman and the Political Affairs Department. This change preserved the power and position of the General Affairs Minister while ostensibly keeping his power less than that of the now abolished position of supreme advisor. The beneficiary of this change, Takeuchi Tetsuo, was promoted from Vice-minister of Interior Affairs to the position of Minister of General Affairs. Takeuchi was a very prudent and moderate person who tried his best not to come into conflict with the Mongolian leaders. It was widely believed that the abolition of the office of supreme advisor would make it possible for Prince De and other Mongolian leaders to recover many powers that had previously been taken away by the supreme advisor. This considerably increased the morale of the Mongols.

The Plans of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee

By this time, the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee had been functioning for more than a year. The main task of this committee was the organization of the Mongolian banner construction brigades. After the celebration of its one-year anniversary, the committee developed the following plan of action:

- 1) The period of construction shall be divided into three stages: the first stage shall be four years, and the second and third stages shall be three years each, for a total of ten years.
- 2) During the first period, the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee, together with the league and banner offices, shall organize the Mongolian banner construction brigades to direct and supervise the progress of the new policies in the leagues and banners.
- 3) In each banner, model central villages shall gradually be established. These model

villages shall be placed in the vicinity of the banner offices. Central model villages shall be established at other key locations. [The goal of these measures was to build stationary domiciles for administrative, educational, and medical uses. They were, in fact, to be the first steps in establishing a settled pastoral lifestyle.]

4) These measures shall first be carried out in three locations: the Sunid Right Banner of the Shilingol League, the Dorben Keuked Banner of the Ulanchar League, and the Bordered Yellow Banner of the Chahar League. Suitable locations in other banners shall then be gradually selected for continuation of these measures.

5) A solid financial system shall be established to augment the effectiveness of the banner administrations.

6) Educational endeavors in the banners shall be closely supervised.

7) The temples and monasteries shall be refurbished, and they shall faithfully adhere to their original religious regulations.

8) The *khoshiyas* of the banners shall be strengthened, and their function of importing foodstuffs and exporting domestic animal products shall be improved.

9) Health care facilities shall be widely established, medical checkups of the people in the banners shall be conducted, and modern medical techniques shall be introduced and strengthened.

10) The vaccination of domestic animals shall be actively promoted. After central villages have been established, [plans for] introducing wintering areas [for the animals] should be taken up.

These ten items were the goals for banner construction. Earlier, during the period of the Mongolian Political Council at Beile-yin sume, Wu Heling had already submitted similar objectives, but because of the council's dissolution, there was no possibility to implement Wu's proposals. Later, with the political problems that occurred in the Ujumuchin Left Banner of the Shilingol League, the Kabji Lama had also tried to have his temple underlings convert over to stationary pastoralism. But his bold endeavors were in vain because of the prohibition against lamas participating in political matters. These and other such attempts at reform of the nomadic lifestyle were preludes to the establishment of the construction brigades in the Mongolian banners.

To implement the new policies of stationary pastoralism, Prince Sung designated himself as general superintendent and had Jirgalang and Mugdenbuu assigned as deputy superintendents of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee. He also employed Jodbajab, head of the Chahar League, and Shirabdorji, head of the Ulanchar League, as his assistants. Seven groups were organized, one under each of these people: general affairs, investigation, engineering, civilian affairs, education, industry, and peace preservation. The heads of these groups were also designated as bureau heads in the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee. Wu Heling, head of the Political Affairs Department, took upon himself the duties of supervisor general. He then appointed Kimura Yujiro, Nakajima Manzo, three league councilors of the Shilingol, Ulanchar, Chahar Leagues, and other Japanese advisors to positions. The headquarters of this brigade were established at Dehua. Because of the special circumstances prevailing in the Yekejuu League, plans to convert this area to stationary pastoralism were temporarily set aside.

The Fifth Mongolian Congress

As explained above, the Mongolian Autonomous State had been founded in haste on August 4, 1941, and this haste prevented the Mongolian Congress from being held. After a year, on August 4, 1942, a conference was needed, for the following rea-

sons: (1) a formal, solemn announcement of the founding of the Autonomous State was necessary; (2) the unification of the three political regimes on September 1, 1939 had not been decided upon by the Mongolian congress, but was implemented arbitrarily by the Japanese militarists; and (3) the terms of Chairman Prince De and Vice Chairmen Yü Pinqing and Li Shouxin had all reached their end and arrangements for their subsequent terms needed to be made.

For these reasons, Prince De convened the Fifth Mongolian Congress at the Kalgan City Hall, celebrating the anniversary of the founding of the Autonomous State. The dissolution of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government had been declared at the end of August 1939. This was regarded by many Mongols as a tragic ending to all their efforts for political unity. The unification of the three political regimes and Prince De's assignment as chairman of the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government had not been supported by the Mongolian leagues and banners. It was unilaterally put into effect by the Japanese militarists. Prince De always recognized this as a grievous, shameful insult to himself. He knew it was unseemly to be appointed to a post by aliens, even though he was struggling for the good of his own people. With this knowledge in mind, he convened the Fifth Mongolian Congress, at which he formally and publicly announced the formation of the Autonomous State, and expressed his desire that those in attendance support him as chairman of the state.

This was an attempt to link this Autonomous State, the Mongolian Autonomy Movement of the early 1930s, and the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government into one legitimate system. Acceptance of this union by its component regional and local governments would make him the legitimate leader of the new regime. Persons in attendance at the congress included Prince De, chairman of the Government; Yu Pinqing and Li Shouxin, the two vice chairmen; Wu Heling, head of the Political Affairs Department; Chief Councilor Jodbajab; Ministers and Councilors Prince Sung, Prince Khorjorjab, Du Yunyu, and Ding Qichang; other high-ranking Mongolian and Chinese government officials; the heads and vice-heads of the leagues; Tian Rubi and Chen Yuming, the heads of the two Chinese political bureaus of Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi; the *jasags* and *ambans* of the Mongolian banners; the magistrates of the Chinese cities and *xians*; Wu Guting, chief of staff of the Mongolian Army; Buyandelger and Golminse, the vice-chiefs of staff; the division commanders; and the bureau heads of the Mongolian Army headquarters.

The Japanese in attendance were Takeuchi Tetsuo, his advisors and vice ministers; the councilors of the leagues; and the vice-heads of the two Chinese political bureaus. Other important Japanese in attendance included Shichida Ichiro, the commander of the Japanese army in Mongolia; Imamura Toyojiro, chief of staff; Iwasaki Tamio, chief of the Kalgan branch of the Asian Development Board; Watanabe, the consul-general in Kalgan; Li Yishun, the delegate from Manchukuo; and special guest Badmarabdan, the general director of the Kinggan Bureau of the Manchukuo government.

The main purpose of this congress was to formally announce the formation of the Mongolian Autonomous State and the election of Prince De to the chairmanship and Yü Pinqing and Li Shouxin to the vice-chairmanships. What distinguished this congress from the four that had preceded it was the presence of many Chinese officials, who symbolized the new unification of the three political regimes of Mongolia, Southern Chahar, and Northern Shanxi.

Both high- and low-ranking Japanese officials were involved in the administrative organization of this congress, but they attended only as guests and were present only at the opening and closing ceremonies. One of the goals of the congress was to create the

appearance that the local Mongols could decide on the policies they would follow, that they were not always under the thumbs of the Japanese. The congress was organized with this in mind, and it was hoped that this would create goodwill among the Mongol people. It was not desirable for either side to create the appearance of Japanese manipulation at this congress.

Prince De delivered the opening address, announced the founding of the Mongolian Autonomous State, and expressed his appreciation for Japanese assistance. After his speech, several other speeches were given by the guests of honor. The people attending the congress were greatly interested in Badmarabdan, the envoy from Manchukuo, because of his special position. His speech, however, was nothing but jargon and clichés; it gave no hint of the eastern Inner Mongolian people's view of the foundation of the Mongolian Autonomous State. Wu Heling then delivered his report on administration. The selection of the chairman and the two vice-chairmen occurred in the afternoon. As was fully expected, Prince De, Yu Pinqin, and Li Shouxin were elected.

The Mongolian congress ended smoothly, having accomplished its objectives. It was politically significant to Prince De because it was a symbolic vindication of all his years of political struggle. Despite Badmarabdan's inconsequential speech, his very presence was highly encouraging for the political leaders of western Inner Mongolia. His presence indicated that eastern and western Inner Mongolia were struggling in the same direction, toward a common goal.

I was appointed by the Mongolian government to accompany the delegates from Manchukuo during the conference, and therefore had a great deal of contact with them. During our talks, it appeared that Badmarabdan had a great appreciation for the accomplishments of the western Inner Mongolian leaders. He thought that the future of the Mongolian people was linked with Japan. Without Japanese support, this new government might not have materialized. Consequently, he advocated in his speech that it might be better to adopt the Japanese opinion on some difficult problems. He believed that by so doing, it would be possible to mobilize more of Japan's strength behind a realistic program of nation building. However, because he overstated the need to adopt a pro-Japanese policy, response to him was divided.

On September 1, at the City Hall of Kalgan, a ceremony to celebrate the third anniversary of the Mongolian government took place. At the same time, Prince De, Yu Pinqing, and Li Shouxin officially took their new positions, and Prince De issued the following statement:

At this moment, through the support of the Mongolian Congress, I am selected to be the chairman of the Mongolian Autonomous State. I deeply and sincerely feel that the duties of this post are as delicate as walking on thin ice. The only possibility is not to consider the gains and losses, but rather to exhaust myself in struggling forward; to accomplish the mission of the sessions of the Mongolian Congress, and to satisfy the support and hope of the officials and people. The Great Asian War is a struggle for the liberation of Eastern Asia. Our state has an intimate, inseparable relationship with the Japanese and the Manchu Empires—like the combination of the wheels and the body of a car. And therefore we have to cooperate to accomplish the great enterprise of Asian development, and this will be the obligation of all our officials and people to fulfill. We must strengthen our solid faith and wholeheartedly unify in order to do our best in marching forward to struggle for the stability of the foundation of our state.

Following this, Wu Heling, head of the Political Affairs Department, representing all the officials of the Mongolian government, swore his fealty to the newly elected chairman.

Prince Sung's Visit to Manchukuo

Following these political ceremonies, Kalgan was promoted to the status of a special city, to emphasize the importance of this city as the capital of the Mongolian Autonomous State. At the same time, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of Manchukuo, the Mongolian government appointed Prince Sungjingwangchug, chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee, as the head of the delegation to be sent to Manchukuo. This delegation consisted of Jiang Huiruo, councilor of the government; Golminse, vice-chief of staff of the Mongolian Army; Aminboke, chief of staff of the Seventh Division of the Mongolian Army; myself as Secretary of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee; and approximately twenty others. We all went to Xinjing (Changchun), the capital of Manchukuo, to attend the ceremony.

The reason that Prince Sung was assigned this mission was to reciprocate Badmarabdan's visit to the Fifth Mongolian Congress. Also, both Prince De and Prince Sung desired to take advantage of this opportunity to contact the eastern Inner Mongolian leaders. They wanted to reach a common understanding and establish a personal relationship in preparation for any unexpected change. As for Jiang Huiruo, as mentioned earlier, his attendance was recommended by the Japanese military authorities. The Japanese military hoped that through Jiang, they could make contact with the Muslim leaders in Manchukuo, learn about the situation of the Muslim people in Northwest China, and gain support for Japan's military activities in the Muslim zone.

Prince Sung and his group attended the formal ceremony of the celebration, the military review, and the cocktail party at the Manchu Imperial Palace on September 15 and 16. Afterward, we visited Zhang Jinghui, premier of the Manchukuo government; Yu Shenzheng, minister of Military Affairs (who earlier had represented Manchukuo in a visit to Mongolia); and General Umezu Yoshijiro, commander in chief of the Japanese Guandong Army. All these were ceremonial visits without substance.

Prince Sung's group, with the exception of Jiang Huiruo and some Japanese members, all earnestly desired to visit the Kinggan General Bureau of the Mongolian administration. We wanted to converse further with its chief, Badmarabdan, and other high-ranking Mongolian officials about the future of the Mongolian people. However, after our arrival, we were received only by Badmarabdan; Namkhajjab, a graduate of Beijing Normal University, who was a counselor of the bureau at the time; and Oyundalai, who was assigned by the Manchukuo government to accompany Prince Sung and his group. All of them tried to avoid any discussion on the future of the Mongolian people. Of course they had their own troubles, but it greatly disappointed Prince Sung and his group, who felt that the Mongolian leaders in Manchukuo had become demoralized and no longer had the courage to press forward. Our group openly displayed its disappointment on this matter to Oyundalai.

From Xinjing, Prince Sung and his group went northward to the center of eastern Inner Mongolia, Wangin-sume (Wangyemiao, present day Ulanhot), the capital of the Kinggan General Province (including the three branch provinces of Kinggan, the East, South, and West). The Kinggan Northern Province, because of its importance in the defense against the Soviet Union and in the Lingsheng Incident in the past, had become a separate unit outside the administration of the General Province. The name Wangin-sume means "the temple of the prince," because it was the location of the temple of the princely family of the Khorchin Right Front Banner. At the beginning of the century, after the Boxer Rebellion, Udai, the prince of this banner, had borrowed money from

Tsarist Russia and was punished by the Manchu court for this. He also confronted the Manchu officials about the Han Chinese immigration problem. In 1911, when Outer Mongolia declared its independence from China, Prince Udai quickly responded by leaving his native land for Urga (now Ulaanbaatar).

Because of this historical background, Wangin-sume became a city with special significance, becoming a center of strong Mongolian national spirit. This city contained the office of the Kinggan General Bureau, headed by Buyanmandukhu; the Mongolian Association of Livelihood Improvement, headed by Manibadara; the General Headquarters of the Kinggan (Mongolian) Army; the Kinggan Teacher's College; and the Kinggan Agricultural College. Also located there was the Japanese Special Service Office, headed by Colonel Kanagawa Kosaku, whose nickname was "The Father of Kinggan." Under him was Asao Tatsuo, who had the Mongolian name Maidarjab. He was a civilian official attached to the Japanese Army and a man capable of great eloquence in the Mongolian language. Also in this city were the headquarters of the Japanese Military Police, the core of Japanese control of the area.

Oyundalai was assigned by the Kinggan General Bureau to accompany Prince Sung and his entourage to Wangin-sume. Through him, Prince Sung was able to meet many important eastern Inner Mongolian political, educational, and military leaders, among them Colonel Askhan, considered the model for all young military officers; and Lieutenant Colonel Medeltu, an extreme Mongolian nationalist. Buyanmandukhu had a position second only to that of Badmarabdan. In his early days, he had joined the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party headed by Bai Yunti. After the Manchurian incident, Buyanmandukhu started his political life and became a well-known politician, supported by both Mongols and Japanese. However, he mostly engaged in activities organized by Manibadara.

Manibadara, Khafengga (the leader of the young nationalists), and Buyanmandukhu were all from the Khorchin Left Front Banner, commonly known as the Bingtu Banner. Thus they were called the "Three Talented Ones of Bingtu." Manibadara, also known by his Chinese name, Ma Mingzhou, had been assigned the posts of section head, department head, and bureau head of both the Kinggan southern provincial office and the Kinggan General Bureau. Later, after the establishment of the Mongolian Livelihood Improvement Association, he resigned from his governmental position and became chairman of the board of the association. Khafengga was then the cultural attaché of the Manchu embassy in Tokyo, and therefore we were unable to meet with him. Askhan (also known by his Chinese name, Li Youtong) was from Khorchin Left Central Banner (commonly known as Darkhan Banner).

At the end of the 1920s, Askhan was studying at Beiping's Mongolian-Tibetan Academy. Later, because of his activities in the students' movement, Askhan was expelled. Just then, Sasame Tsuneo arrived in Beiping, took Askhan to Tokyo, and helped him become a cadet at the Japanese Young Officers Academy. After the Manchurian Incident, Askhan, along with Jirgalang and other nationalistic youths, organized a military force to start the movement for Mongolian independence. After Manchukuo was founded and the policy of the Guandong Army was fixed, this group of young Mongolians was dispersed. However, the organizers of the military forces, including Askhan, became the backbone of the Kinggan Army. Later, Askhan was sent to Tokyo for military training. Because of this background, and because he was a relative and close friend of Khafengga, he established a good reputation among the Mongolian military forces. Through Khafengga, Askhan established ties with the People's Revolutionary Party of Outer Mongolia and the Communist International (Comintern). During the period of our

visit, Askhan was known as one of the most influential men in eastern Inner Mongolia.

Perhaps some explanation of the Mongolian Livelihood Improvement Association is necessary. Some of the leaders mentioned earlier seemingly had had the same experience as Prince De. After suffering several setbacks, they realized that the rehabilitation of the Mongol nation had to start with the economy, education, and culture, rather than with politics. The eastern Inner Mongolian leaders realized they could not achieve a political breakthrough in Manchukuo. To assure the very existence and future development of the Mongol people, they had to turn their attention to the economy and education. The most important economic problem was how to regulate or change unfavorable conditions caused by the farms of the Chinese immigrants so as to create a reasonable and profitable situation for pastoralists. In other words, they had to carry out land reform to protect the land rights and benefits of the Mongol people. Yet they also had to recognize the status quo, which did not allow them to return the land cultivated by the Chinese farmers to the Mongolian herdsmen. Moreover, the lifestyle of the great majority of the Mongol people in this region had already changed from pastoral to agricultural.

During the survey they took, the Mongol leaders divided the cultivated land of the Chinese into two categories. The first was called "red land," meaning lands formally bought by the Chinese settlers and registered by them in documents issued by the Mongolian Banner Offices, bearing the official red stamp. Land brought into cultivation illegally or without any documentary evidence was categorized as "white land," meaning the land unaccompanied by documents bearing the official red stamp. The policy was to recognize the right of possession or the right of eternal leasing of "red land." Those who had red lands were to pay fees to obtain a new document of ownership. Lands being leased would have rents assessed at rates deemed reasonable for comparable lands. Tenants on "white land" were charged a reasonable rent payable at set times over a term of twenty-five years. Then the land would revert to the local Mongol banner, or to Mongol people who had evidence to prove their rights to possession of that land. Any land not owned by landlords possessing adequate documentation would be returned to the banners as public land.

These were the principles for the regulation of land problems in eastern Inner Mongolia. However, in the event that the rent money was directly and immediately returned to the original landlords, they might not choose to use it for recapitalization of the land. This would diminish the political significance of the land reform. Consequently, the authorities decided that this money, originally belonging to the Mongol people, had to be used more efficiently. The highest priority was to establish schools and to send students to Japan. These were the factors behind the establishment of the Mongolian Livelihood Improvement Association of the Kinggan Mongol Area and the Mongolian Association for Wealthier Livelihood of the Mongol area outside the Kinggan area.

Just after the founding of Manchukuo, the eight banners of both the Josoto and Juu-uda Leagues had desired to be placed within the Kinggan Mongolian district. But this desire could not be met, since their demands were not fully supported by the banners already part of the district. The district was then placed under the administration of the two provinces of Rehe and Jinzhou. By this time, however, the results of the land regulations in the eight banners outside of the Kinggan district had proved to be economically more beneficial than results in the Kinggan area. As a consequence, the leaders of the eight banners recalled their previous inability to get support from the district and said they were unwilling to let the banners of the Kinggan district draw on their abundant resources. They decided to establish a Mongolian Association for Wealthier Livelihood to manage their income and develop cultural and educational enterprises independently. The

operator of this association was Wu Chunling, a younger brother of Wu Heling. No matter what ill-feelings had arisen between the leaders of the two associations, their goals were identical, and their accomplishments in Mongolian education should not be overlooked. Today, many activists in Inner Mongolia are the beneficiaries of the good works fostered by these two associations.

Prince Sung and his group visited several schools in this area. We witnessed both teachers and students display high morale, and demonstrate their readiness to struggle for the existence of the Mongol people. Greatly moved by this display of loyalty, Prince Sung and his group expressed their belief that the future of the Mongol nation depended on the outcome of these reforms in eastern Inner Mongolia. Prince Sung himself, in order to understand the lifestyle of the common people, visited a family in the vicinity of Wangin-sume and chatted with the family members. He realized that their lifestyle was still quite backward and had not yet really improved, despite the reforms.

At Wangin-sume, Prince Sung and his group were warmly welcomed by the locals. Of course the billboard of the Mongolian Autonomous State and Prince Sung's title of chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee had attracted large audiences. During the banquets and lectures, Prince Sung was very excited and emphasized the direction the Mongol people should take. However, he mostly neglected to talk about the relationship with Japan, except for political formalities. This, of course, caused some of the Japanese to feel somewhat disillusioned. At the banquet put on by Colonel Kanagawa, the commander of the Japanese Military Police told me, just as I finished the translation of Prince Sung's response to the host's speech, "You Mongols who are able to enjoy today's lifestyle should be grateful for Japanese assistance." Before he had finished these words, however, Major Colonel Medeltu stood up and said, "What is Japanese assistance? The Japanese have done many evil things here. I ask you to point out what you Japanese have done here?"

The Japanese military police chief, very indignant, scolded him with a few insulting words. Upon hearing this, Medeltu jumped up and knocked the military police chief to the floor. Witnessing this embarrassing situation, Askhan leaped upon the table and began to sing and dance in an effort to show that everybody was in a state of drunkenness. Thus the banquet ended in laughter, song, and cursing. Although this was a small matter, it demonstrated the Mongols' strong-willed nationalistic views toward the Japanese occupation; more specifically, it underscored Mongol hatred for the Japanese military police. Later, the rumor was spread that this melee was the result of drunkenness; the Japanese authorities chose not to interpret the episode as anti-Japanese.

Before Prince Sung left Wangin-sume, he reached an agreement with Manibadara, stipulating that during the reconstruction of western Inner Mongolia, selected experts from eastern Inner Mongolia would be sent to aid in the effort.

Upheaval in the Government and Prince De's Recovery of Power

The year 1943 was Prince De's year to promote his new policy in Mongolia and regain his power through various changes in the government. Kanai Shoji had earlier expanded his power to control the regime by suppressing the positions of the original Mongolian organization through the unification of three regimes: Mongolia, Southern Chahar, and Northern Shanxi. Prince De recognized this event as a great humiliation perpetrated by Japan. By 1943, the era of Kanai had already passed. The Pacific War, the world situation, and the changing of Japanese strategy all favored the elevation of Prince

De's position and fulfilling the will of the Mongols. Under so auspicious a set of political circumstances, Prince De insisted that the two political bureaus of Southern Chahar and Northern Shanxi be reclassified as provinces, reducing their political status to the level of the leagues. As a result of this struggle, Southern Chahar was changed to Xuanhua Province, moving its offices from Kalgan to Xuanhua; and Chen Yuming, who was then the head of the Southern Chahar Political Bureau, was appointed provincial governor. Meanwhile, Northern Shanxi was renamed Datong Province without moving its offices; while Tian Rubi, the original head of the political bureau, was appointed provincial governor.

Although Kalgan had previously been promoted to the status of a special city, its political organization only began at this time. Li Shusheng was named mayor. The office and the residence of the chairman, originally in the lower castle of Kalgan, moved to the site of the Southern Chahar Political Bureau. This site had served as the office of the Chahar governor general in the early Republican period as well as the office of the Chahar provincial government since 1928. This drastic government reorganization not only elevated the prestige of the Mongolian regime, but also enhanced Prince De's personal impact upon the people.

Following the above changes, all Police Affairs Bureaus of the leagues were renamed Peace Preservation Bureaus, under the pretext that the people disliked troublesome interference by the police. By changing its title, the police administration could also, theoretically, be put under the supervision of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee.

To push forward the new policies, Prince De appointed members of his trusted young cadre to serve as the heads of the League General Affairs Bureaus: Urgungbu was sent to Ulanhab, Kogjintei to Bayantala, Unentei to Chahar, and I to Shilingol. Only in the Yekejuu League, because of its special circumstances, did the new official appointments lack any special political significance.

The Shilingol League was Prince De's power base. The Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government was established there in 1937. To strengthen the administrative efficiency of the league office and to deal with Japanese advisors, Prince De appointed one after the other of his protégés to high office. First his trusted young secretary, Makhashiri, was made head of the Civilian Affairs Bureau. Then he made his most trusted personal advisor, Chogbagatur, and later Mandaltu (Li Danshan), a senior Mongolian politician (a member of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission in Nanjing and head of its Beiping branch) as successive heads of the Civilian Affairs Bureau. However, none of them were able to cooperate sincerely with the leaders of the banners to promote the policies and to reach the goals that Prince De had hoped for. As a result, with the reorganization of the government, I was appointed to that post.

Almost simultaneously, all the leading Japanese consultants to the league offices were replaced. Hisamitsu Masao, who had been the head of the Mongolian Government Office in Tokyo, was assigned to Shilingol; Kimura Yujiro, a trusted Japanese official of Prince Sung, was assigned to Ulanhab; Mori Ichiro was moved from Shilingol to Chahar; and Kangyu Kozaburo was moved from Chahar to Bayantala. Due to the special circumstances of the Yekejuu League, Kurosawa Ryukichi was not replaced. Hisamitsu's and Kimura's exile from the central government to frontier areas severed their contract with the Japanese military authorities in Kalgan.

Prince De had special concern for the Peace Preservation Bureaus of the leagues. He appointed Shonnudongrob, the *jasag* of Abaga Right Banner, who had been his faithful, long-time follower, as the head of the Peace Preservation Bureau of Shilingol

League; Dewagenden, the tusalagchi and the most influential person of the Dorben Keid Bureau, as head of the Peace Preservation Bureau of Ulanhab; Buyan, the *amban* of Pure White Banner, as head of the Peace Preservation Bureau of Chahar League; and Nomundalai, a major general in the Mongolian Army, as head of the Peace Preservation Board of Bayantala. Prince De thought this might shift the power of the police administration away from the hands of the Japanese police officers and return it to the Mongols. Even if they were unable to exercise complete control, they could at least limit the Japanese from acting arbitrarily.

But the Japanese police officers in the Police Affairs Bureaus of the leagues had already become comfortable with their old, bad habits, and were, therefore, difficult to change. Although Prince De and his appointees worked hard, it was still very difficult to reach the new goals. The new appointees to the bureaus were unable to keep abreast of what their Japanese subordinates were doing. One year later, at Prince De's insistence, the Peace Preservation Bureaus (the former Police Affairs Bureaus) were themselves dissolved in a final attempt at their reformation. But this move came too late. The end of Prince De's control in Inner Mongolia was approaching.

Though the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee was said to be the most important organization in the Mongolian government, its budget was too limited. For instance, the total expenditure of the Mongolian Autonomous State Government was 82,841,121 *togrig* (one *togrig* approximately equaled one Japanese *yen*), of which the budget for the committee was a mere 6,271,433 *togrig*,⁸ or no more than 7.5% of the total budget. In terms of the size of its budget, this committee was ranked fifth out of six ministries and committees. These numbers showed that although the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee was the most important organization of the so-called Mongolian Autonomous State Government, its administration could not afford to concentrate on the rehabilitation or reconstruction of the ethnic Mongol lands.

This, of course, was the greatest cause of disappointment among the Mongol leaders at that time. They had always hoped that the original territories of the former Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government would be the core of the Autonomous State. However, this desire had already been disappointed during the unification of the three regimes in 1939. Even with the establishment of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee, its authority could only reach the banners. It was unable to administer the *xians* of either the Chahar or Bayantala Leagues. Since the leagues that had the *xians* had to be administered by both the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee and the Internal Affairs Ministry, it was very difficult to decide which main points of their administration to enhance.

Soon, Prince De and Wu Heling contacted the Japanese authorities. After a long period of discussion, a reformation of the central organizations of the Mongolian Autonomous State Government and personnel appointments became possible. The Bureau of General Affairs (originally a ministry), the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee and the Internal Affairs Ministry remained unchanged. The Ministry of Economics, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Enterprise were established. Selected to serve as the heads of these ministries were respectively Jirgalang, Tian Rubi, and Du Yunyu, with Burinbiligtu and Temurbagatur as the deputy-ministers under the two Chinese heads. Wen Huajun was appointed head of the Judiciary Committee; Mugdengbo as head of the Transportation General Bureau, with Chen Yousheng as vice-head; Chogbagatur as vice-

⁸ See *Moko*, v. 128 (Feb. 1943).

chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee; Saijirakhu as deputy minister of Internal Affairs; Buyandalai, head of Bayantal League, as head of the Supreme Court; Altanochir, as supreme superintendant of investigation; Liu Jiguang, as governor of Xuanhua Province; Li Shusheng, as governor of Datong Province; and Cui Qinglan, as mayor of Kalgan Special City.

The appointee as Minister of Economics, Jirgalang, was a faithful supporter of Prince De. His appointment did, at least, return a part of the administrative power over the economy to the Mongols. Although he was appointed to this new position, he was not allowed to resign from the post of vice chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee. Tian Rubi, who headed the Northern Shanxi Political Bureau succeeding Xia Gong, had always expressed his sincere support for Prince De. His new appointment showed Prince De's good will and served as a reward for his loyalty. Burinbiligtu had once been deputy mayor of Dehua, in the era of the Mongolian military government, and was a good friend of Li Shouxin. Du Yunyu was, from the beginning, hostile toward Prince De and Wu Heling, never becoming intimate with any of the Mongol leaders. Nevertheless, because he had a Japanese wife, Du was always strongly trusted by the Japanese military authorities. His appointment as minister occurred at the insistence of the Japanese military.

Chen Yuming, Kanai Shoji's Chinese confidant, was greatly disappointed with his new appointment as provincial governor of Xuanhua, and he refused to accept it. He submitted his resignation and asked to return to Manchuria. Prince De, of course, made no effort to stop him. Because the province of Xuanhua was important, he appointed Liu Jiguang (then Supreme Superintendant of Investigation and old friend of Li Shouxin) to the post that Chen Yuming had vacated. Through Liu's appointment, the power of the Mongolian government was restored to the Japanese in the area known as "Southern Chahar." Also due to this arrangement, Prince De appointed Altanochir (Jin Yongzhang) to the post of Supreme Superintendent of Investigation. Originally, Altanochir had been a wholehearted supporter of the Japanese. Later, however, after the unification of the three regimes and the decline in his health, he lost interest in politics and turned his attention to Buddhist teachings and Mongolian literature. He tried to reconstruct the original Mongolian language version of *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Because of this change in personality, his relationship with Prince De greatly improved, while his disagreements with Wu Heling also diminished. And that was why he got the chance to occupy this high position.

Buyandalai, a very old intimate of Prince De, was able to get away with making all sorts of unreasonable requests. He always complained about his position as a mere head of a league and requested a much higher position. Prince De had no choice but to propose that he be appointed head of the Supreme Court. However, he was not to resign as head of Bayantala League. This decision—that a high official in administration also become a high judge—made the government a laughing stock. Nevertheless, to satisfy the desire of an old and faithful ally, Prince De chose to ignore his obligation to respect institutional integrity. Although this was a symbol of his faithfulness to his followers, it was bad from the legal standpoint. And of course this aspect of his loyalty to his friends must be recognized as one of Prince De's shortcomings.

The Awakening and Some Real Problems

All in all, the reorganization of the government and the new appointments were

symbols of a gradual recovery of power by Prince De. This inspired the Mongolian leaders; it sparked their desire to do something for the future. However, the world situation was constantly changing. The Japanese expansion had reached its apogee, and the future downward turn was already foreseeable. Under such circumstances, the struggle for the existence of the Mongol people caused Prince De and the leaders to think deeply. But it was such a difficult matter that they could not reach a solution. Another problem was how to guide the people under the administration's jurisdiction without allowing the war to affect their livelihood. Many other questions remained unanswered: how to avoid serious casualties; how to maintain the most basic needs of the people; how to satisfy the Japanese military demands, without damaging the Mongolian pastoral economy; and most of all, how to bring modernization to the Mongol people.

As for the local problems of the leagues, I will use as an example Shilingol, where I myself was an official of the league office. First of all, we had to promote the new policies while dealing with conservative majorities. We had to win people over. Confrontation might boomerang and damage the progress of the new policies. Second, we had to maintain the dignity of the Mongol people as well as the authority of the league office. Another question was how to maintain a balanced attitude in dealing with the Japanese special service office, along with the Japanese officials in the league office.

The head of the special service office in this area, Lieutenant Colonel Makino Masaomi, was a very sharp man dealing with whom was difficult. Even so, he was a rational man who never made outrageous demands. I recall that he once captured a dozen or more people from both the Left and Right Banners of Ujumuchin, who had made contact with Outer Mongolian spies. How to handle these suspects troubled Makino very much. If the punishments were not severe enough, it would not deter people from continuing to make such contacts. However, if the punishments were viewed as Draconian, this could create a lasting antagonism against Japan.

To address this dilemma, Makino invited help from Prince Sung, who was at his league office, for a discussion; I was the interpreter. After explaining the seriousness of the circumstances, Makino said, "These are people under your [the league head's] control. The disposal of this case is up to you. I submit these people along with the evidence of their spying activities to you." Prince Sung then asked, "Are you really submitting them to me to make the decision?" Makino replied, "Yes," to which Prince Sung said, "Since you have me make the decision, I will give these ignorant people a good lesson and then release them. Let them understand the mercy of rebirth and not continue to do evil. Otherwise, you may revoke your words." Since the offer had already been made, Makino was moved by Prince Sung's courageous attitude and said, "It is all up to you."

After returning to the league office, Prince Sung ordered the Bureau of Peace Preservation to receive the suspects. The next day, Prince Sung had me ask the suspects about their deeds and announce Prince Sung's display of good will in releasing them. The relief, emotions, and sincere and heartfelt gratitude expressed by the suspects is something that remains with me even today.

Because of Prince Sung's insistence on cooperation between the bureau heads and other Mongol officials of the league office, the Japanese Special Service was unable to control the league administration at will. If they had any opinions, they had to pass them on to the Japanese officials in the league office in order to influence the leaders of Shilingol. Consequently, during my three years of service in this league, I was not troubled by the Japanese military intelligence agency. However, the Mongol officials of the league office had to be wary of this organization and tried to keep their distance from it. This of course is not to say that the special service office did not pressure the Shilingol

league office. It put especially heavy pressure on the Japanese league officials. There was also a power struggle between the Mongolian and the Japanese officers. Nevertheless, both sides were still able to maintain a degree of courtesy. The chief counselor, Hisamitsu Masao, arrived at the league office at the same time I did. Hisamitsu, though brilliant, was power-hungry by nature.

In Ulanhab League, the situation was similar when Kimura Yujiro was sent there as the top counselor. Despite having a good relationship with the local Mongol leaders, he was forced to resign and returned to Japan as a result of heavy special service office pressure. During this period, the Japanese special service office at Beile-yin sume was headed by Major Yukei Kogan, a Japanese monk, quite moderate by nature. Even so, during this time, as related earlier, the *jasag* of Muuminggan Banner "committed suicide" during his interrogation at the spying center. This event created great instability and sparked anti-Japanese sentiment among the Mongol people.

On the first day that Hisamitsu and I took up our positions, the Japanese clerk purposely listed the top counselor above the vice head of the league and all the Japanese vice bureau heads in front of the bureau heads on all the documents. Of course this was not agreeable to the laws and regulations issued by the Kalgan government. This "error" led to a heated debate between Hisamitsu and me. Eventually, Hisamitsu had to concede the truth of my argument, which was backed by the laws. Although this personal debate harmed our relationship, it did not create further conflict.⁹ A half-year later, Hisamitsu resigned, returned to Japan and was replaced by Ekuchi Yoshinao. This argument of mine also influenced the relations between the banner officials and their Japanese advisors. Similar clashes also occurred in the Ulanhab League.

The Mongolian pastoral economy had become extremely depressed. Establishment of *khoshiyas* in the banners did not much improve the livelihood of the people, especially the herders. Although the workers of the cooperatives were diligent, they had no control over the exchange prices for commodities. Prices were negotiable for the cattle, sheep, and goats exported to northern China, but prices for the cattle, horses, and salt from Dabsun (salt lake) exported to Manchuria were not negotiable.

The prices of these commodities from Mongolia were set by the Manchukuo side at prices much lower than the official prices of their own commodities. Having to buy grain and foodstuffs with these poor terms of trade resulted in great losses to the Mongol people. I personally had been assigned several times as a delegate to the Manchu-Mongolian Land Trade Conference, where I always raised this as the main issue and demanded a change. Although the conference was unable to reach any conclusions, it reduced the quantity of domestic animals demanded by the Manchukuo side and raised the salt price a little to ease the unfair terms of trade. The Manchukuo delegation always maintained, falsely, that these exchanges were the results of generosity on their part toward Mongolia. In reality, they were acts of extortion against the Mongol herders. Because I persistently pointed this out, some Japanese officials, both in the Mongolian government and the Manchukuo government, said this was not only a trade problem, but also implied lack of Mongol support for the "Great Asian War" because of the Mongols' insistent haggling. All in all, Shilingol was always in a non-competitive position, and the handling of the exported animals always a problem.

⁹ The early bureau heads dispatched by Prince De, including Makhshiri, Chogbagatur, and Mandultu, all failed to carry out their assignments. They even allowed the management of the routine league office work to fall into the hands of their Japanese colleagues.

Soon the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee decided to separate the administration of husbandry enterprise from the management of the Civilian Affairs Bureau of the league offices of Shilingol, Chahar, and Ulanhab. These three leagues established a Bureau of Industrial Enterprises. In addition to heading the General Affairs Bureau, I also had to head the new bureau. I had my colleagues survey the domestic animals of the leagues, estimated the expected annual increase in their number, the number of animals devoted to consumption, and the quantity lost to illness and misadventure each year. These statistics helped us estimate the quantity we might prudently set aside for the support of Japanese military needs and Manchu-Mongol trade. Once we could estimate the number of animals available for exchange, then, on the basis of the figures for the circulating capital of the *khoshiyas* and the estimated demand by the Chinese merchants, the distribution of the remaining animals to be used for exchange could take place.

The *khoshiyas*' share of the banner's resources was fifty percent, while the other half belonged to the people of the banner. This was clear from the documents. The Chinese merchants usually issued false reports of the amount of their capital in order to avoid paying more taxes. Because of this, they were now rationed to fewer domestic animals to match their underestimated capital stock. This became a serious problem for the Japanese Daimo Company. It had great amounts of capital yet was unable to compete with the Mongolian *khoshiyas* because the Japanese merchants depended on the Chinese to handle their trade. With fewer animals at their disposal, the Chinese merchants lost interest in dealing with the Japanese company. This forced the Daimo Company to fore-sake this profitable business. Both the Chinese merchants and the Daimo Company were the chief losers. This especially embarrassed those Japanese officials who had been expensively entertained by the company. Both the head and the vice-head of the league backed the proposal of the Bureau of Industrial Enterprises of the Shilingol League office, and so the *khoshiyas* and the herdsmen were protected.

The Chinese merchants at Pandita-Gegeen *keid* (Beizimiao), along with all the Chinese merchants in western Inner Mongolia, were in the same situation as those in Ulaanbaatar. They were divided into two groups: Beiping and Shanxi. The Beiping group mainly exchanged silk, satin, and other luxury commodities for animals, wool, leather, and fur. The Beiping style of doing business involved establishing intimate contact with the banner princes and officials by being active in relations with Mongol officialdom. Nevertheless, their capital was limited. Their counterparts, the Shanxi group, developed their business more slowly but steadily. Unlike the Beiping group, they had great amounts of capital. The commodities they imported were mainly grain and foodstuffs, brick-tea, tobacco leaves, and other relatively cheap everyday necessities to exchange for Mongolian products. The Beiping group gathered about a mile southwest of the *keid* (monastery) and was known collectively as the Western Shops. The Shanxi group, centered three miles southeast of the monastery, was known as the Southern Shops.

Before the founding of Manchukuo, these shops were the centers for supplementing the food supplies of eastern Shilingol and provided good service. However, after Manchukuo placed strict controls on exports of grain and foodstuffs, these merchants were unable to ship them, and therefore exchange declined greatly, and the import of food into the banners became a political problem. This was the reason why the Manchu-Mongol land trade had to be carried out under such unfavorable conditions; the *khoshiyas* were obligated to engage in trade with Manchukuo in order to import foodstuffs. The Daimo Company was able to manage this difficult trade with the Manchukuo authorities more easily than the Shanxi merchants could. Nevertheless, complete dependence on the Daimo Company would eventually allow this Japanese firm to take control over the

economy of eastern Shilingol. Because of these political factors, even though the task was difficult, the *khoshiya* had to take the responsibility for importing foodstuffs. The promotion and supervision of their work became one of the important businesses of the league office. The banners of western Shilingol and Ulanhab League had no such problems, since they could obtain necessary food supplies from territory under the Mongol government.

The development of education was one of Prince De's main goals. Thus he decided to earmark twenty-five percent of the banner income for this purpose. All children of both sexes, unless handicapped, were obligated to attend school. The banners had to supply dormitories, food, textbooks, and other necessities. If the budget proved insufficient, it was to be supplemented by the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee. Although money was a problem, a teacher shortage and a lack of initiative on the part of the banner officials, especially the extreme conservatives, were greater problems. Consequently, the league office had to monitor the program and push it forward.

Examination of the lamas was also a difficult task to accomplish. Although the original monastic regulations were perfectly just, they had not been fully carried out for many years, and they were quite difficult to enforce all at once. In particular, to send back to lay life the monks who failed their examinations was considered a sin against ancient traditions. So it was difficult to have the officials of the leagues and banners fulfill their obligations. Nevertheless, this reform had to be carried out, and the ones who were assigned the task had to perform it rigorously. On the other hand, it also had to be carried out tactfully, without embarrassing the leaders and the high authorities of the monasteries, for this might cause dissatisfaction among the common people.

Another main project for Prince De was to reinforce the Mongolian Army, and make it the force behind national rehabilitation. However, to reach this goal, conscription had to be carried out in the ethnic Mongol territories. This not only contradicted the policy of increasing the population, but it might also have created a labor shortage that could have set back the increase the number of and degree of development of husbandry enterprises. From the middle period of Manchu rule, because of the influence of Buddhism and the neglect of military duties, the conscription system had become defunct. Having able-bodied men serve in the military of one's own banner was agreeable to the people, but stationing them afar was another matter. It was difficult to convince the people to accept this new policy.

Moreover, from the time of the founding of the Mongolian military government, many confrontations had occurred over conscription. In 1936, an anti-conscription riot broke out in Ujumuchin Right Banner. The Mongolian leaders had to strengthen their national military forces without placing the youths of the leagues and banners in Chinese districts, in areas where Mongols and Chinese were mixed together, or in areas where skirmishes between Mongols and Chinese tended to easily break out. They did not want to have these youths sacrificed for nothing. They wanted to train them as able warriors but keep them within the ethnic Mongol zones in anticipation of future needs. These considerations finally became important factors in the formation of the Guard Divisions of the leagues.

The duties of the league office now included how to carry out conscription reasonably, fairly, and comfortably. For instance, these conscripted soldiers from the ethnic Mongol pastoral zones were accustomed to eating mostly meat and milk, but the ordinary food of the Mongolian Army primarily consisted of cereals and vegetables. To maintain their health and strength, each meal should have included meat. But budget limitations imposed on the General Headquarters of the Mongolian Army made this impossible. The

military authorities demanded that the leagues supply beef and mutton at the official price which was below market price. But the league offices refused to do so because this would have decreased the income of the herding people. This sort of deadlock led Budabala, vice-head of Shilingol League, and me to negotiate with the Mongolian Army authorities on many occasions, mostly without a satisfactory conclusion.

Confrontations between Mongol Leaders and Japanese Advisors

Carrying out new policies usually met with difficulties. For instance, Prince Rinchinwangdud, the former head of Shilingol League and the *jasag* of Sunid Left Banner, was one of the conservative princes of that time who were always trying to hinder the progress of the new policies. To give him a warning, during a tour of inspection I fired Neren, the *tusalagchi* of his banner, because of the failure of the banners to implement the new policies. Of course, in the feudalistic tradition, this was a very extraordinary punishment for a high ranking official of a banner. Even though it hurt Prince Rin's dignity, I had no choice but to promote the new policies.

Among the Japanese advisors, many were university graduates with good training and fine personalities. Others acted as if they were the overlords of the territories under Japanese military influence. Some were unable to control their emotions and often acted violently because of their isolation and loneliness. For instance, the Japanese advisor of Prince Rin's banner was notorious. He was known by his nickname, *Ulan-galju*, meaning "Red Lunatic." Even today, I do not recall his real name. He did not think an advisor should confine himself to giving advice, but rather did whatever pleased him whenever he wanted to do it. That was how he earned his nickname.

Seeing his high ranking official discharged, Prince Rin angrily told me, "You are a high ranking official of the League Office. Now you have discharged my *tusalagchi*. I think you have heard of the activities of our advisor, but I don't know whether you can move him or not." This provoked me to say, "Yes, I will try my best." Later, I reported this problem to Prince De. Fortunately, he realized the seriousness of this problem and ordered the government officials to remove this unreasonable Japanese advisor to some other position. Prince De's decision not only saved the reputation of the League Office but it also removed a major hindrance to introduction of new policies.¹⁰

The New Banner Institution

In 1943, the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee decided to carry out construction work in the central villages and model villages. Besides the work done by the Mongolian Construction Brigade, as in the Khauchid Left Banner and the Abkhanar Left Banner, work was also done in the Darkhan Banner of the Ulanchar League and the Shangdu Banner of Chahar League. The heads and vice heads of the leagues, the heads of

¹⁰ In the Chahar League, because of Jodbajab's neglect and failure to maintain the authority of the league head, the Japanese advisors of the banners possessed more power than in the ethnically Mongol districts, Shilinghol and Ulanchar. Nevertheless, there had been considerable progress in the promotion of the new policies. Although the four Chahar Right Flank Banners in Bayantala League were similar to the banners of Chahar League, only the Tumed Banner, due to its sinicization, was different from all the other league banners. Because Yekejuu's jurisdiction did not reach the whole area, the situation there was entirely different from those mentioned above.

the General Affairs Bureaus, and the Japanese counselors of the league offices were all assigned to service as brigade members to manage the construction at these localities.

The Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee also passed preliminary banner tax regulations.¹¹ These tax rates were quite low, not even approaching one percent of value. In the purely pastoral areas the herders valued only silver dollars and disdained paper currency as *chaas*, or "paper." To have the people submit the tax in paper money would not only increase trust in this currency, but also reduce the people's complaints over their tax burdens. Whether these low tax revenues would be sufficient to meet the budget was another question. The leaders needed to reduce the tax burden and increase the wealth of the herders, so they had to get further revenue from the central government's budget to meet the needs of the banners. Of course, this was a measure to use the wealth of the non-Mongolian districts to meet the needs of the Mongolian territory.

It was also in 1943 that the Mongolian government finally promulgated the official form of banner organization that had been delayed for years. The following were the main points:

- 1) The banners should be divided into two categories—*jasag* and *amban*, as under the existing system.

- 2) In banners with *jasags*, the position of the *jasag* should be decided by law. *Tusalagchi*, *jakirugchi*, and *meren janggi* are third-ranking officials; while clerks, supervisor of education, and technicians are fourth rank officials.

- 3) In banners with *ambans*, the third rank *amban* includes *jalan jangi*, vice-*jalan*, and *janggi*; clerks, supervisors of education, and technicians are fourth rank officials.

- 4) The *jasag* or *amban*, under the direction and supervision of the head of the league, should enforce the laws and ordinances as well as administer the banner.

- 5) The *jasag* or *amban* should direct and supervise their subordinate officials by promotion and demotion, and by reporting to the head of the league.

- 6) A third-rank advisor should be designated for each banner to give advice on important banner affairs.

- 7) If the *jasag* or *amban* is unable to perform his duties, the *tusalagchi* and the *jalan janggi* shall take up the responsibility for doing so.

- 8) Sections should be established in the banner office. The regulation of the sections should be authorized by the chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee and be decided by the head of the league.

These regulations were promulgated on July 1, 1943. The reason for the long delay in their promulgation was quite complicated. On the one hand, Mongolia had to carry out reform for it to survive. How could it maintain the feudalistic institutions created by the Manchu rulers, which split up Mongolia and hindered the progress of the Mongols? On the other hand, the conservatives of the banners were still in power. They believed that an autonomous or independent Mongolia should strive to protect the old Mongolian tradition. How then could they support independence if that would destroy their tradition? The conflicts between the two positions were very difficult to resolve.

After eastern Inner Mongolia fell under Japanese occupation, a new banner system was immediately promulgated. The old feudalistic institutions were abolished. In

¹¹ The tax on domestic animals three years or older was as follows: horse—maximum of two *tugrigns*; cattle—maximum of two *tugrigns*; camel—maximum of three *tugrigns*; and sheep and goat—1/4 *tugrig*. If someone had only two horses, three cattle, twenty sheep and goats, the tax was reduced by half (see *Moko*, 136, Oct. 1943). This rate was a function of the price of livestock at the time.

addition to Japanese control of the appointment of the banner heads, Japanese counselors and other Japanese officials were also appointed and assigned to the banner offices. Consequently, the Japanese held the real power of the administration in their hands. In western Inner Mongolia, because the old institutions were maintained, the Japanese could not establish any legal pretext for penetrating the old feudalistic institutions. The only way for them to interfere was to go beyond the nominal powers of an advisor. If police forces were organized in the banners, Japanese directors might be assigned to run them, but the police were outside the framework of ordinary banner institutions.

To protect their existing power, Prince De, Wu Heling, Prince Sung, and the great majority of the new cadre had to exercise great prudence when dealing with the situation. Issuance of banner regulations was repeatedly delayed. Even when finally promulgated, old feudalistic elements were preserved in order to minimize Japanese interference: the position of *jasag* was not abolished, and it was announced that appointment to that position should be according to law, but no further explanation was provided. This of course satisfied the hopes of the conservatives, but the lack of protection of the traditional privileges of the *ambans* also offended a group of the conservatives in Chahar territory. As for the *tusulagchi*, the term *taiji* (nobles)—a title that had been attached to this rank—was deleted. This was to show that the position of the *tusulagchi* was open to both the Chinggisids and the common people. As for the *jasags*, though their position was mentioned without a clear explanation, the old words for the ranks were not mentioned at all. This obviously was a result of compromise between the old and new groups.

Problems of the Mongolian Army

To win the goodwill of the Mongolian Army, the Japanese authorities delivered a first degree *Zuiho* Medal to Li Shouxin, who had already received the second degree medal. At the same time, several medals and badges were presented to other high ranking officers. In reality, most Mongolian Army officers knew that Japan would lose the war; therefore, presenting medals and badges did not win the goodwill that Japan had hoped for. Nevertheless, Li Shouxin assumed that the Japanese wanted to maintain his position as equal to Prince De's so as to increase the checks and balances between the two. The Japanese authorities, out of consideration for Prince De's feelings, presented him a silver plate from the Japanese Emperor. Because he had already received the first degree *Asahi* Medal, no higher medal could be presented.

As discussed in earlier chapters, the original establishment of the Mongol Army was accompanied by internal contradictions and conflicts. The troops of Li Shouxin were originally Chinese. Their only interest was personal gain; they had no interest in Mongolian independence or nation building. Prince De and other Mongol leaders could not rely on these forces. They were also under suspicion by the Japanese. Eventually, the Japanese reorganized them into police forces and took power from the Chinese division heads. Although the top ranking members of these units were given high positions (Ding Qichang was assigned as Minister of the Interior, Liu Jiguang as governor of Xuanhua; Li Shusheng as governor of Datong; Cui Qinglan as mayor of Kalgan), most were disappointed. Those who remained in the headquarters of the Mongolian Army were also disillusioned. For instance, Wang Zhenhua, the commander of the original Third Division, committed suicide, while Yin Baoshan, the commander of the original Second Division, and Chen Sheng, who later replaced Yin, were arrested and tortured by the Japanese

Military Police because of rumors that they had contacts with Chinese anti-Japanese forces. Although Li Shouxin negotiated the release of both Yin and Chen, this could not ease the dissatisfaction of Li's former followers. When Yin Baoshan died, this had a further negative impact on these already dissatisfied people.

In spite of these political hindrances, the Mongolian Army continued to become ever more nationalistic. Even though their common goal was the liberation of the Mongol people, the inclinations of the leaders were quite mixed and complicated. The number of pro-Japanese officers was, in reality, quite limited. As the Pacific War became prolonged, those leaders who had been trained in Outer Mongolia, such as Oljeiochir, commander of the ninth division, and others, made a plan to establish contact with Outer Mongolian agents. The division commanders Sangduureng, Nomundalai, and other middle and upper ranking officers also held to this view and participated in these activities. However, Prince De had already discovered what was happening.

Bayar, head of the Bureau of Tax Administration of the Finance Ministry, because of his personal entanglements, suddenly decided to reveal this conspiracy to the Japanese. When Bayar's intent was leaked to Prince De, he summoned Bayar to his residence. To prevent the leaking of such a secret, Prince De sent Bayar to Khorgan sume in the Sunid Right Banner and secretly imprisoned him there, thereby thoroughly covering up this potential crisis. From that point on, no news of Bayar was ever heard again.

At the same time, something else happened. Delgerchogtu, a young man from Jerim League sent to Japan to study, failed to graduate and returned to Mongolia. He was hot-blooded and deeply hated the feudalistic system that had created incurable problems for the Mongols. Admiring the success of Hitler in Germany, he decided to use Hitler as his model. He tried to organize a political party, but no one responded. To stimulate a response, he falsely claimed some prominent people had joined his organization. When the Mongols heard of this, they merely laughed, but the Japanese responded with anger, and made a mountain out of a molehill. Even Watanabe, the Japanese consul-general, sent a report to the Japanese Foreign Ministry that read, "The Mongolian Youth Allied Party aims for Mongolian Independence."¹²

Delgerchogtu was arrested by the Japanese military police, but they could not find any reliable evidence to convict him. He was released through the mediation of Matsuzaki Yo, an advisor to the Mongolian Army who was acquainted with Delgerchogtu. This case seemed to have some connection with the case of Bayar. However, for lack of evidence, it was difficult to link the two. Fearing that this young man might create further problems, Prince De sent him off to be a teacher at a primary school in the Sunid Right Banner, where he worked until the invasion of the Soviet-Mongol forces during the summer of 1945.

The Mongolian Army Officer Academy

After a long series of debates and consultations, the Mongolian Army Officer Academy was finally established at Hohhot on June 1, 1943 and Nomundalai was appointed as its head. The cadets of the first class were drawn from the ranks of young army officers and graduates of the Mongolian Army Youth School in Sunid Right Banner. Be-

¹² See Terajima Eimei, "Kindai Nai-Mongoni okeru fudatsu-no seito: Chukoku kyosanto to Moko-seinen-ketsumeito." [Two parties in modern Inner Mongolia—the Chinese Communist Party and Mongolian Youth Allied Party] *Toyoshirun*, 3 (June 1982).

fore the formation of this academy, the headquarters of the Mongolian Army usually selected its candidate officers and sent them to the Kinggan Army Officers Academy in Manchuria for further training. After this academy was founded, there was no longer any need to send young officers to Manchuria for training. Instead, a select group was sent to Japan for further training.

In terms of education and training, the formation of this academy should have presented no problems. But because of its special political significance, the plan was repeatedly discussed. Prince De had long since intended to create a military force under his own direction and management. Nevertheless, right after the Mongolian Army was formed, it came under the shadow of Li Shouxin and his followers. Therefore, along with the army, a dual control system was created behind the scenes. The intervention of the Japanese army made it impossible for Prince De to achieve his goal. At the insistence of the Japanese Army stationed in Mongolia the power to control the army was taken from Prince De and put under the nominal control of Li Shouxin, the commander-in-chief. Of course in reality, control of this force was in the hands of the Japanese supreme military advisor and his group. Though the Mongolian Army was completely severed from Prince De's control, the prince never gave up his attempts to intervene in its management, even when under pressure from the Japanese militarists. Nationalistic Mongol officers always remained under his influence.

Earlier, Prince De had established the Mongolian Army Youth School in the vicinity of his own residence. He sincerely desired to educate youths who would serve as the cadre from which the entire army could eventually grow. He strongly preached Mongolian nationalism and established deep personal relationships with the students. He visited the school and gave talks to increase their nationalistic aspirations. He believed that through this youth school, it would be possible to elevate Mongol nationalistic aspirations. He even ordered sinicized Tumed Banner leaders to send their students to this school, where they might be re-Mongolianized. As a result of this atmosphere, the youth educated there became radical Mongol nationalists. To send the graduates of this school to the newly established military academy would naturally propagate strong nationalism throughout the army. Although sending young officers to Kinggan Army Officer Academy would also increase their nationalistic aspirations, it would not match the strong political indoctrination at the academy reflecting the direct influence of Prince De himself. This was the main reason Prince De and other Mongol leaders earnestly struggled to create this academy.

Naturally, the Japanese Army strove to block such intervention by Prince De. It separated the Mongolian Army's headquarters from the government even though this created many unnecessary inconveniences for the Mongolian Army. However, the world situation was changing rapidly, and the attitude of the Japanese army toward Prince De eventually had to be reconsidered. After long consideration, the Mongolian Army Liaison Office was established under the jurisdiction of the General Affairs Bureau of the Political Affairs Department of the government. At first, Arbijkhu was assigned to head the office, but Tobgereltu soon replaced him. This made it easier for the Mongolian Army to contact relevant branches of the government. From the point of view of Prince De and Wu Heling, this would be the first step in their recovery of military power. In the following year, the Military Affairs Ministry was established to further this aim. Nevertheless, these changes evoked still other political confrontations, which eventually caused Wu Heling to step down from his post.

Beside open interference in Mongolian military and political affairs, the Japanese Army also carried out spying and intelligence activities from within. There were

probably Japanese agents almost everywhere in Inner Mongolia whose duties were to gather intelligence on Outer Mongolia, the Soviet Union, Chungking, and the Chinese Communists, as well as to supervise all members of the Mongolian political and military establishment. As mentioned earlier, the people despised the police, and the antagonism of the Mongolian leagues and banners toward the Japanese local intelligence bureaus grew. The heads of the staffs of the Japanese Army stationed in Mongolia were the backbone of these intelligence organizations. For the purpose of training hard-core intelligence agents, the Japanese established a special station, *Jitsugetsu Ryo*, Sun Moon Dormitory, just outside the Great Wall in the mountains north of Kalgan. It could be seen from the road between Kalgan and Shilingol, and hatred filled the hearts of those who saw it. It was rumored that in this "dormitory," special training was carried out for those who might deal with Mongolia (both Inner and Outer), the Islamic region of northwest China, and the Soviet Union. Beside the knowledge and techniques needed for intelligence, the language and customs of targeted peoples were especially emphasized. The members trained here, of course, were mostly Japanese; very few Mongols and Muslims participated.

Formation of the *Lama-yin Tamaga*

By the turn of the century, the new Mongolian intellectuals had already altered their attitudes toward religion. They especially opposed the interference of religious leaders in politics. Prince De, Prince Sung, Wu Heling, and others felt that the issue of religious interference had to be addressed without delay or hesitation. As a result of long discussion, they decided to adopt a conservative attitude, reinforcing control without creating any new institutions. This was to avoid Japanese intervention. They also decided to convene a religious conference. Through a formal agreement with the monasteries and temples, a *lama-yin tamaga* (lama office) was established to manage the religious administration and unify the hitherto separate monasteries and temples under a common leadership.

The Conference for the Restoration of Mongolian Buddhism took place from May 11 to 13, 1943 in Kalgan. The main officials who attended the conference were Prince Sung, chairman of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee; Jirgalang, vice-chairman of the M.R.C.; Togtokhu, head of the Bureau of Education of the M.R.C.; the heads of the leagues; and the chief Japanese counselors of the leagues. The religious leaders included the *Chagan Gegeen*, of the Obootu Monastery of Sunid Left Banner; the *Kanjurwa Khutugtu*, of Dooloonor; the *Mergen Gegeen*, of the Mergen Monastery of Urad Front Banner; and the *Kabji Lama*, of the Kabji Monastery of Ujumuchin Left Banner. In addition, the leading lamas of the great monasteries were in attendance, including Badgar, Beile-yin sume, Shiramoron sume, Shireentu-juu of Hohhot, Pandita-Gegeen Keid, Lama-Kuriyee of Ujumuchin Right Banner, and those of the monasteries and temples of Dooloonor. The Japanese military and other institutions also sent their delegates, including Lieutenant Colonel Yukei Kogan, to the opening ceremonies. I also attended the conference as the delegate of the Shilingol League Office.

A similar, less formal conference had already convened one year before, in 1942. At this formal second conference in 1943, Prince Sung delivered the opening speech, in which he asked for the cooperation of the leaders of the monasteries while explaining the main issues. In reality, the goal of this conference was to formalize a decision already reached: to authorize regulations to establish the *Lama-yin tamaga*, and to

decide on the officers of that organization. During the discussion, the lamas from the monasteries repeatedly emphasized the importance of the traditional religious law and did not object to the nominations of the top officers of the new organizations. However, they had very different ideas to whether (1) to use Mongolian scriptures as the main text for training and Tibetan scripture as a supplement, (2) to establish a lama school in every monastery to teach the young monks Mongolian literature and other subjects suggested by common sense, (3) to establish handicraft training centers at every monastery, (4) to carry out each year an examination on scriptures. Those monks who failed their exams would be sent back to lay life. The conference delegates sincerely and honestly discussed the pros and cons of each issue without inhibition. They even jumped up and clapped their hands, as they would in a temple scripture debate. The discussion became so heated at times that the faces of some became completely flushed. In any case, the proposal of the government side was made acceptable to a majority, and the *Tamaga* was formally established.

In the office of the *Lama-yin Tamaga*, a *da-lama*, two deputy *da-lamas*, four *demchis*, several clerks and scribes, and one (Japanese) advisor were established. As recommended by Prince Sung, Chagaan-gegeen was made the *da-lama*, Kanjurwa Khutugtu and Mergen Gegeen were appointed as deputy *da-lamas*, and Kabji Lama and three others occupied the positions of *demchis*. Soon after its establishment, the *Lama-yin Tamaga* invited Lieutenant Colonel Yukei Kogan, a Japanese Buddhist monk and head of Jabsar Special Service Center, to be its advisor.

Lama-yin Tamaga had been created during the period of Manchu rule of Mongolia in both Beiping and Dooloonor. The Beiping *Tamaga* was located in the Imperial Lamaist Temple, Yonghe Gong. The *Tamaga Da-lama*, officially titled *Jasag Lama*, was traditionally sent by the Dalai Lama from Tibet to fill the post of abbot of Yonghe Gong. The head of the *Tamaga* in Dooloonor was usually assigned to be JanggiyaKhutugtu. Because the establishment of this new *Lama-yin Tamaga* followed in the footsteps of its predecessors, it naturally diminished the resistance and opposition of the lamas and the conservatives. Moreover, all the important posts of the *Tamaga* were assigned to lamas. This, of course, was done to eliminate most of the Japanese interference. Even so, to reduce suspicion by the Japanese military, Lieutenant Colonel Yukei Kogan was included. His invitation owed to his status as a Japanese monk, not to his position as a head of a Japanese local intelligence bureau.

The Chagaan Gegeen, Jamyanglegshidjamtsu (1886-1957), from the Sunid Left Banner, was the abbot of the great monastery of Chagan-obao, located along the furthest border between Inner and Outer Mongolia. He was a person without any political interests, but was very famous for his profound knowledge of Buddhism and meditation. Later, after the Chinese Communist regime was established, he was made chairman of the China Buddhist Association and died just before the Great Leap. The Kanjurwa Khutugtu was the only high lama who possessed the rank of *khutugtu* under the jurisdiction of the Mongolian Autonomous State. The religious leader, Mergen Gegeen, the abbot of Mergen-juu, had enthusiastically supported the Inner Mongolian Autonomy Movement of 1933, and was a very trusted friend of Prince De. The story of Kabji Lama has already been mentioned in an earlier chapter. He was an ambitious young religious leader who tried to carry out reforms in Ujumuchin Left Banner, where his temple was located. However, at that moment, because both Prince De and Prince Sung strictly enforced the policy of lama noninterference in politics, his reform activities were put to an end. Both Prince De and Prince Sung not only recognized his enthusiasm and capabilities, but were also willing to give him the opportunity to realize this potential. Of course

this lama willingly accepted his new assignment in the *Tamaga*. In doing so, the Mongolian leaders solved an age-old problem of religious administration and put it on the right track.

Japan, the "Allied Nation"

The Mongols under the jurisdiction of Manchukuo decided to recall their glorious past and establish a monument to Chingghis Khan, but there were several different opinions on the appropriate style for the building. Someone suggested that it had to be agreeable to the historical tradition of the *Naiman chagan ger* (eight white yurts). Another suggested that everything about the monument must be purely Mongolian. Others insisted that this monument not be built in the style of a Buddhist temple. Of course, many feared that the Japanese would suggest it be like a Japanese Shintoist shrine. A group headed by Manibadara was sent to Kalgan to receive the advice of Prince De and other Mongolian leaders, and to collect some contributions from the Mongolian government.

Besides the talks on the building of the monument, Manibadara also discussed with Prince De and other Mongolian leaders Mongolia's problems in the midst of a changing world situation. Both sides recognized that Japan's defeat was merely a matter of time. As for Mongol preparations to meet this great change, both sides realized that the Mongolian government had already established a measure of political prestige. However, the real strength of Inner Mongolia was to be gained in the East. How to come together and carry out a unified policy would be the most important matter for the future. Under the leadership of Prince De, the power center would gradually move east, while that of the Mongol-Kinggan area would move westward. Nevertheless, the challenge remained in finding a way to break through the barriers separating the two. But these were only private talks, and there was no way to reach a formal agreement committing both sides to act in harmony. Beside Prince De and Manibadara, Prince Sung, Chogbadarakhu (Prince De's secretary), and I all attended these talks.

From the beginning of the Pacific War, Japan upheld the slogan of "The Establishment of the Greater East Asia Circle for Common Prosperity," usually less literally translated as "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" (*Daitoa Kyo-eiken*) and placed Japan at the center of this "Great Asian" entity. For this purpose, the Japanese cabinet changed the Board for Asian Development to the Great East Asian Ministry, assigning Aoki to be the minister at the end of August of that year. Aoki was sent to Nanjing and Kalgan, via Beiping, to meet with Prince De. Although their talks did not reach any concrete conclusion, Prince De told him of the age-old Mongolian hope of independence. It was also at this moment that the Japanese government, in order to win the good will of the Chinese people, declared its willingness to abrogate Japan's special privilege of extraterritoriality in China. Although this was not a demand of the Mongol government, the territory under its jurisdiction would also be freed of extraterritoriality. Before the arrival of Aoki, the Japanese Legation in Kalgan issued a statement that the Japanese power of taxation in this area would also be removed and that the Japanese would submit to taxation by the Mongol government, according to the law issued by the Mongol authorities.

As a response to Japan's call, Prince De also issued two documents concerning "Asian development." The first was issued in January 1942; the second appeared in January 1943. Ostensibly, the contents of the documents merely expressed support of Japan's activities, and they were thoroughly ignored by the Mongols. However, these documents

were really quite significant. After Puyi's second visit to Japan and his return to Manchuria, he had issued an "imperial decree" in which he referred to Japan as *oya kuni* in Japanese and *chin-bang* in Chinese, both meaning "the father nation." This implied that Manchukuo was a "son nation" of Japan. The Japanese usually thought that the relation between Japan and Manchukuo was as intimate as *oyako*, father and son. This was a reference to a most shameful event in Chinese history. In the tenth century, Shi Jingtang, the founder of the Latter Jin Dynasty (936-944), called himself a "son," entitling his foreign supporter and overlord, the Khitan Khan Yelu Deguang, the "father." The Japanese at Kalgan repeatedly insisted that Prince De adopt the term *oya kuni* as the title of Japan in his documents, but he sternly rejected this idea. In his two documents on "Asian development," The prince labeled the Mongols' relationship with Japan as an alliance. Therefore, Japan would have the Mongolian title *anda ulus*, and the corresponding Chinese title *meng-bang*, which means "a nation in alliance." This event soured the relationship between Prince De and the Japanese for quite a long time.

The Yekejuu Incident of March 26, 1943

In this year, a brutal incident involving bloodshed occurred between Mongol nationalists and the Chinese local warlords in Yekejuu League, into which the Japanese had not intruded. From the beginning of the 1933 Mongolian Autonomy Movement and the subsequent clash between Prince De and Fu Zuoyi, all the setbacks that Prince De suffered had become victories for Fu. After the Anti-Japanese War, Fu was made commander of the 12th War Zone that defended the northwest region of China. He cleverly took advantage of the relationship between Yan Xishan's clique and the central government of Chiang Kai-shek to establish a very favorable situation for himself. Fu Zuoyi's situation became still more favorable as Japan's expansion began to recede from its peak, allowing him to become a great hero in the struggle against Japan. Consequently, the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council, operating under Fu's shadow, dared not resist any of his proposals, even when that incident involving Mongol-Chinese bloodshed broke out on March 26, 1943.

This incident was not entirely unexpected. It was created by a series of contradictions between the Mongols and Fu Zuoyi, even as early as the establishment of the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council. According to a letter from an anonymous youth in Yekejuu League to me, the situation that led to the incident was as follows:

The Yekejuu incident, which broke out on March 26, 1943, was caused by the New 26th Division and the 7th Cavalry Division, both headed by Chen Changjie, a subordinate of Fu Zuoyi, who was unwisely stationed in Yekejuu. The men of these two divisions forcefully occupied and cultivated Mongol land and collected domestic animals and foodstuff. The reasons for the clash should be analyzed as follows:

1) Forced Cultivation: The Mongolian lifestyle was traditionally pastoral. The steppes are their lifeline by which their livelihood is maintained. If the steppes are cultivated, the Mongols would, of course, fall into poverty, having no way to make a living. Therefore, the Mongols feel that cultivation is a mortal wound that may take away their lives. It is an extortion of their right to existence endowed by Heaven, and therefore they absolutely oppose cultivation. As a result of this confrontation, Fu Zuoyi, as always, used violent measures and a policy of threats to cultivate the pastoral lands to the extent that even Ejen-khoroo, the location of the shrine of Chingghis Khan, our ancestor, was included. And thus it stimulated the Mongols to resist, causing this bloodshed.

2) Forceful Animal Collection: Since the Mongols' lifestyle is pastoralism, taking

away their livestock is the same as putting an end to their lives. Both Fu Zuoyi and Chen Changjie, in order to achieve their goal of exterminating the Mongols, purposely planned to collect by force 7,347 camels with saddles and other equipment, 200 men to look after these camels, 9,724 horses, 13,560 cattle, and 35,730 sheep. These losses will bring about economic bankruptcy, making it impossible for the Mongols to maintain even the lowest standard of living. Because their property would be plundered and their lives disrupted, the Mongols had to carry out mass resistance. This struggle for their existence led to the bloodshed.

3) Forceful Collection of Foodstuffs: Mongols traditionally follow the lifestyle of nomadic pastoralism and do not engage in agriculture. Their non-animal foodstuffs are all received from outside in exchange for animals. Therefore, the forceful collection of 725,835 Suiyuan *tan* (a *tan* being ten Suiyuan bushels) and 420 tons of hay placed a tremendous burden on the backs of the Mongol people. Even should the Mongols sell out their entire property, this burden would still be too heavy for them, and they were unable to meet the demands made on them. Their protest was ignored, and this resulted in bloodshed.

The original purpose of the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council was to break the national unity of the Mongols and to serve as a puppet organization directed by Yan Xishan and Fu Zuoyi. Of course, Fu was not willing to release the council from his personal control. Moreover, he would have liked to make it an instrument for his own purposes. Nevertheless, the chairman of this council, Prince Shagdurjab, head of Yekejuu League, was a Mongol. Although he had opinions different from those of Prince De, he still wished to protect the right of existence of the Mongol people. On this point, his position was no different from that of Prince De and other Mongol leaders in the Autonomy Movement. Consequently, the conflict between Fu and Prince Sha, although not obvious, clearly existed.

Fu was very clever and did not always desire to irritate the Mongols personally, but instead sent his confidant Chen Changjie to Yekejuu League to carry out his instructions. By so doing, he was able to direct the wrath of the Mongols toward Chen, remove himself from the fray, and then step in as mediator. At the same time, in order to strengthen his control over the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council from the inside, beside placing some agents nearby, he also bought off a few Mongols to respond to his call. Among those he bribed was Bai Yincang, a Han Chinese from Beiping. Because of the poverty of his family, Bai was sent to Yonghe-Gong to be a lama under the tutorship of Yeshijalsan. Because Yeshijalsan was also known as Bai Lama, Bai later took the Mongolian name Bayansang, and acted as a Mongol. Yeshijalsan was a very intimate friend of Prince Sha. As a result, Bai was introduced by his tutor to Prince Sha and became his personal interpreter. When the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council was established, Prince Sha made him a section head. Through his personal relationship with Prince Sha, chairman of the council, he was able to establish his personal influence in the council. Thus, Bai became a target of Fu, who made him persuade the Mongols to agree to his plan for cultivation.

This time, however, the plan was targeted on the territory of Ordos Left Central Banner, near the location of the Shrine of Chingghis Khan. Another target was Ordos Right Last Banner, commonly known as Jasag Banner, the banner of Prince Sha himself. As the head of the league, Prince Sha repeatedly objected, but these protests were bluntly ignored by Chen Changjie, who carried out the policy of cultivation of pasture lands through military coercion. These illegal activities greatly irritated the people and officials of Prince Sha's banner, who realized that there was no way to tolerate this without giving up everything. The only way to struggle for life was through death and bloodshed.

In the summer of 1976, in Taiwan, I met with Mr. Liu Lianke (a Kharachin Mongol and the minister of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Committee after the KMT government moved to Taiwan), who acted as one of the main mediators between the Mongols and the Chinese authorities. He related the following to me:

At that time, Chen Changjie was commander of the Chinese troops in Yekejuu's defense and was under the command of Fu Zuoyi. Fu's headquarters were at Shanba, while Chen's headquarters were at Torom (Taolimin). Chen, under the pretext that the soldiers had to have something to do rather than merely sit idly, greatly promoted cultivation of the land by soldiers. His site for this project was a plain near Prince Sha's ancestral tombs, and this became the direct cause of the military clash between the Mongols and the Chinese. At that moment, the forces under Chen were said to consist of three divisions. At the same time, the neighboring banner of Ordos Right Front, commonly known as Uusin, had already been penetrated by the Chinese Communists, who then started their activities. Some subordinates of Prince Sha were somewhat influenced by them.

At the time, Ochirkhuyagtu, the eldest son of Prince Sha, had already been appointed *jasag* of the banner. The third son of Prince Sha, a lama known as the *Tayin Lama* ("the honorable monk—most Chinese called him the *San Lama*, which means "the third lama") was greatly antagonized by Chen Changjie's high-handed policy against the Mongols and became somewhat pro-Communist. Prince Sha himself, beside occupying the positions of the chairman of the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council and the head of Yekejuu League, also assumed the post of commander of the Peace Preservation Troops of Yekejuu League. Under his direct command was a battalion headed by Loroi, a capable young soldier.

In Prince Sha's banner were two assistants, the younger one of them a brave man. It seems that the *Tayin Lama*, Loroi, and this young assistant instigated the violent Mongolian uprising. On March 26, the people and their followers killed more than one hundred Chinese subordinates of Fu Zuoyi and Chen Changjie. At the same time, they killed ten Mongols who were recognized as pro-Fu and pro-Chen traitors. They also killed Bai Yincang, who had just returned from his liaison work with Teng Baoshan, the commander of Chinese KMT forces stationed at Yulin area in Northern Shansi. He Qishou, a Tumed Mongolian graduate of Beiping Normal University, who was so sinicized that he was unable to speak Mongolian, was also killed.

The second step of the group was to carry out guerrilla warfare against Chen Changjie's forces. They successfully annihilated the three divisions under Chen in the desert, then organized all of the Mongols of the banner and carried out a decisive resistance. As a result, the great winner was the *Juun* (left-hand side) *tusulagchi*, an elderly and highly regarded person of the banner who maintained order among the Mongols, carried out the final engagements of this uprising, and organized the people to quietly continue guerrilla warfare.

After the outbreak of the uprising, Prince Sha and his family took refuge at Arlin sume, a temple of the neighboring Uusin Banner in the desert, under the shadow of the Chinese Communists. At that moment, Fu Zuoyi, Teng Baoshan, and Ma Hongkui, governor of Ningxia Province, all lost contact with Prince Sha. Even Bai Haifeng, a Mongolian commander of the Cavalry Division of the KMT forces and director of the Suiyuan Mongolian Banner KMT Headquarters, could not locate Prince Sha.

Just then, I arrived at Shanba, where Fu Zuoyi's headquarters was located, not far from the great monastery of Labrang, the Tibetan Buddhist center of Gansu and Kokonor Provinces. I reported all the news I had collected in Shanba to the General Headquarters of the KMT in Chungking and requested that this be relayed to the party general director, Chiang Kai-shek. Soon Chiang appointed me to take over Bai Haifeng's position as the party director of that area and to escort Prince Sha back. I ventured to Arlin sume and had a secret talk with Prince Sha, receiving his approval to draft a telegram in his name to send to Generalissimo Chiang in which he would explain the clash and petition for forgiveness. Soon the Generalissimo telegraphed Prince Sha to comfort him. Through this response, the bloody uprising caused by forceful cultivation of Mongol land reached a temporary end.

Fu Zuoyi, however, desired not to allow the Mongols to "rebel." He dared not send his troops to avenge Chen Changjie's defeat because overplaying the importance of the event might lead to additional severe nationalistic confrontations as well as provide opportunities for Japanese military intervention. Moreover, the Chinese Communists at this moment had already strengthened their power in northern Shanxi, and the southern part of Yekejuu League had been already penetrated by communistic influences. If severe oppression was laid upon the anti-Chen Mongols, it might cause them to throw themselves onto the Communist side and create still larger problems. Thus, Fu had his army well-prepared but did not move, waiting for the command of the central authority.

Prince Sha also realized that disaster had already begun. It would not end so easily. A peaceful solution would be better. In order to release himself and the Mongols from further embarrassment, Prince Sha wanted me, who was sent from the Central Headquarters of the KMT, to find a solution to this serious crisis.

After receiving very different reports from Fu Zuoyi and Prince Sha, the Chinese government in Chungking also faced difficulties in resolving the matter. First, this unfortunate event could not be allowed to continue and create a greater rift between the Mongols and the Chinese, which in turn might facilitate intervention from Japan and the Chinese Communists. Second, a high-handed policy should not be carried out against the Mongols, for that might create still more anti-Han Chinese sentiment and push them into the camp of Prince De, Japan, or the Chinese Communists. On the other hand, the Mongolian antagonism toward Fu Zuoyi should be ended because of the strategic geographical position he held. Because of these entanglements, the Chinese central government could not make a final decision until the fall. Finally, Yao Zong, head of the Secretary's Office of the Generalissimo, was dispatched as a special commissioner with complete authority to put an official end to this revolt.

According to my conversation with Mr. Liu Lianke, Yao Zong declared that Chen Changjie was to be stripped of all his official posts, never to be reappointed by the government. On the other hand, Yao also desired to carry out severe measures to discourage the Mongols from repeating similar uprisings. He wanted to put the leaders, the *San Lama*, the *Baruun tusalagchi*, and Loroï to death. But realizing the seriousness of the situation and fearing that the crisis would get worse, he decided to execute only Loroï. In other words, this uprising again ended with the spilling of Mongol blood.

Meanwhile, the Chinese Communists also sent an agent by the name of Zhao Kaixian to visit Prince Sha and exhort him to turn toward Yan'an. Zhao's persuasion finally failed due to the objections of the elderly *Juun Tusalagchi*, who was at that time the actual leader of the resistance behind the scenes.

Transportation and communications in the southwestern part of Yekejuu League were poor because of its isolation from the rest of the Mongolian areas. Even when a revolt broke out, the Mongolian government in Kalgan did not receive any information about it. Eventually, the news arrived through Altanochir, head of Yekejuu League at Baotou, but by then the time to act had already passed. Moreover, at that moment, Japan could not carry out any further military expansion. Of course, the Mongolian Army under the control of its Japanese advisors could not move either. Nevertheless, the existence of this great military power had checked Fu Zuoyi and rendered him unable to provide military support to his subordinate, Chen Changjie.

Mongol Youth Activities in Kalgan

In 1944, the balance in the Pacific War seemed to be becoming increasingly unfavorable for Japan. In particular, the changing situation in Europe clearly had a nega-

tive impact upon Japan. High-ranking Mongol leaders already felt the coming of the storm that would accompany Japan's defeat. The young intellectuals searched actively for some outlet to assure the future of Inner Mongolia. For instance, a group including Budabala, vice-head of Shilingol; Ruiyong, head of the Bureau of Industry of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee; Chogbadarakhu, Prince De's secretary; and I, with a few others occasionally joining us, gathered many times in the guestroom of Prince De's residence to engage in secret discussions. We all recognized that a great change was coming, and that the time allotted to the existing Mongol regime was running out. If the people were not organized and no political goal proclaimed, it would be impossible to confront the coming crises. Consequently, how to organize the existing strengths and promote an attractive political goal were important topics of discussion. We also discussed financial arrangements, because when the existing regime dissolved, we would need financial support for any independence movement. We also felt it very important to strengthen internal unity as well as establish foreign contacts outside of Japan. The more we talked, the stronger we felt about the need for prompt action.

We also advised Prince De of our ideas and awaited his decision. His attitude toward us was very serious because of his love for the young. He said, "According to the most experienced hunters, wounded wolves are the most difficult to handle. The present situation of Japan is like that of a wounded wolf. If the Japanese discover your organization, they will arrest all of you like birds in a trap. Then Mongolia will suffer an immeasurable loss. You must be very, very careful, and for the sake of security, you'd better not organize any visible political body. Economic or financial power should be fostered, but wealth is also capable of sinking people and creating many problems. You must be very, very careful."

At that time, Ruiyong was head of the Bureau of Industry and had authority to control export of domestic animals to northern China. He was able to gather some money and accumulate it in Beiping and Tianjin. Significantly, Prince De absolutely refused to utilize the great income that might be gathered from the opium trade. He feared that the accumulation of money from more innocent sources might cause rumors to circulate and damage the future of his beloved young supporters, so he stopped us. He agreed only to publicize several political objectives. In the end, he accepted four objectives which I drafted: 1) to support our brilliant leader to lead the entire nation toward self-government; 2) to unify all our Mongol people so as to seek our common goal; 3) to preserve our Mongolian traditions but also accept the new currents of the world; 4) to cooperate wholeheartedly with allied nations.

These slogans could be uttered publicly without evoking Japanese suspicion. However, reading between the lines would reveal their additional significance. The first objective pointed to the leader but did not make it clear who that leader should be, though it undoubtedly designated Prince De. The second objective developed from traditional Pan-Mongolianism and emphasized the unification of the entire nation. It also meant that we had not forsaken the Mongolian territory then under the control of Manchukuo. The third article clearly was an ideological contradiction. It aimed to unify the two conflicting parties of conservatives and revolutionary reformists in order to struggle for the great goal. The fourth article merely mentioned the allied nations (*anda ulus*), but did not explicitly refer to Japan. Ostensibly, it represented support by Prince De for Japan and a pledge to continue the intimate relationship with Japan, but the actual meaning was that we Mongols would like to cooperate with *any* nation that could help us. In Mongolian grammar, no suffix is needed to make a word plural, so *ulus* (nation) could very well be plural. In order to impress these objectives on the minds of the people, they were put into

a song written by a young nationalistic poet, Saichungga, who was then a secretary to Prince De.

The Problem of the Queue

In the summer of 1944, Prince De summoned Budabala, vice head of the Shilingol League, and me to his residence in Sunid. Prince De did not have any definite topic to discuss, but merely intended to chat. While we were there, we accompanied Prince De on a visit to the girls' school, the Mongolian Army Youth School, and other new establishments. Because there was plenty of time, we were able to tell Prince De that the Mongol government had to tell the people that additional reforms were needed, because times were changing and we could not cling to past conservatism.

We advised that the queues Mongolian men were still wearing in the countryside all be cut off. The people should also be told that the queue was not the hairstyle of Chinggis Khan's era, but a much later symbol of subjugation to aliens after the Manchu takeover. Why, we felt, should this shameful symbol remain on the heads of the Mongols, who were struggling for liberation and independence? We suggested that the people be ordered to cut their hair on August 4, the second anniversary of the establishment of the Mongolian Autonomous State, to make it clear that we were shaking off all bonds and marching forward for freedom and reform. Prince De hesitated but finally accepted our proposal conditionally. He said, "In your ten banners of Shilingol League, the head of the league may issue an order to tell the people to cut the queue on the Fourth of August, but in Ulanhab, it should be carried out only after I explain it to them personally. As for myself, I will keep this shameful symbol on my head until the day Mongolia really achieves independence."

In reality, in the 1940s, outside of Shilingol, Ulanhab, and a small portion of Yekejuu, the men in most areas of Inner Mongolia had already cut off their queues. So this decision would not have had any special influence in places other than these three leagues. Nevertheless, the act was a symbol of Prince De's commitment to reform and was thus politically significant. The order to cut the queues off did meet with some opposition in Shilingol, especially among the elderly, who believed this was a destruction of a good Mongolian tradition. Nevertheless, the great majority finally began to realize that times were indeed changing.

In the Ulanhab League, the vice-head, Rinchinsengge, had already tired of the queue some time earlier. Hearing that both the nobles and the commoners of Shilingol had removed their braids, he did likewise. At the time of the autumn meeting of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee, he had come to Kalgan and visited Prince De and was unexpectedly rebuked. Prince De had asked him who authorized him to cut off his queue and demanded that he make an open apology for his transgression. Thus, Rinchinsengge had no other choice but to apologize. But this unpleasant event greatly damaged his personal relationship with Prince De. Prince Babudorji, the father of Rinchinsengge and former head of Ulanhab League, was greatly angered, finding Prince De's actions to be a great personal insult, and ordered his son to resign from the post of vice-head of the league. After Fu Zuoyi heard this news, he immediately sent agents to the residence of Babudorji in Urad Central Banner to drive a still wider wedge between Babudorji and Prince De. Finally, as part of this plot, Prince Babudorji and his family deserted his homeland and took refuge at Fu Zuoyi's headquarters in Shanba. Thus a split was created in the unification effort through the cutting off of a queue. The escape of Babudorji and

his son, Rinchinsengge, was carried out through a disguised attack on their home by Fu Zuoyi's troops, who "captured" the entire family.

After this event, the Mongolian Army dispatched a contingent from its seventh division in order to protect this district. But this time they encountered a real attack from Chinese guerilla forces under the command of E Yousan, a subordinate of Fu Zuoyi. On this occasion, the Chinese guerillas successfully captured Aminboke, the chief of staff of the Mongolian Army seventh division, and a younger brother of Wu Guting who was chief of staff of the Mongolian Army. Following his usual political strategy, Fu Zuoyi later released Aminboke. Aminboke's return aroused deep suspicion among the Japanese that he might be spying for Fu; he became one of the factors in Wu Guting's resignation from his important position in the Mongol Army.

Political Crisis and Disharmony Among Mongol Leaders

As mentioned earlier, both Prince De and Wu Heling desired to wrest control of the Mongolian Army from the hands of the Japanese. The creation of the Mongolian Army Liaison Office in the government was a step in that direction. The establishment of the Liaison Office itself also showed the need to solve an old problem with a new measure. Wu Heling drafted a plan to establish a Military Affairs Ministry in the Political Affairs Department to carry out military administration, but he left the direction and control of the work of the staffs to the General Headquarters. Of course this was not an easy task. First, these matters had to be approved by Li Shouxin. Second, they had to be authorized by the Japanese Army stationed in Mongolia and the Japanese advisors of the Mongolian Army. Prince De repeatedly negotiated with Major General Yano Masao, chief of staff of the Japanese Army in Mongolia, and Lieutenant Colonel Nakagawa, a staff member of the Japanese Army, and was finally able to reach an agreement with them. However, as this Military Affairs Ministry was being established, a political crisis broke out, not because of institutional problems but because of a personality clash among the Mongol leaders, which was arbitrated by the Japanese military.

Among the important Japanese military and political authorities in Mongolia were the new legation minister, Lieutenant General Yasato Tomomichi, and Major General Yano Masao, chief of staff of the Japanese Army stationed in Mongolia. Both Yasato and Yano were prudent and careful people, who had no prejudices against Prince De or the other Mongol leaders, and they desired to avoid confrontations with local people. However, the senior staff member of the Japanese Army, Lieutenant Colonel Okamura Seichi (who was soon promoted to full colonel), was a strong-willed, capable, and keen military analyst, and he created many problems for the Mongolian government.

Wu Heling desired that a lieutenant general of the Mongolian Army fill the post of Minister of the Military Affairs Ministry. Perhaps he feared that Li Shouxin, a full general, would become minister without giving up his position as commander in chief. This would mix the military administration with field command of forces and block reformation of the old situation. This separation of powers was, of course, not welcomed by Li Shouxin. Li, feeling that Wu Heling was undermining his position, looked for an opportunity for revenge.

Long before this political struggle started, the Japanese Military Police discovered that some officers of the Mongolian Army were involved in opium smuggling. The claim was that Aminboke, a younger brother of Wu Guting, was the organizer of this trade. As a matter of fact, during that period, a number of high-ranking officials of the

Mongolian Army were indeed involved in this illegal trade. In particular, Li Shouxin himself was a partner of He Bingwen, the head of the *tuyao zuhe* (opium monopoly), which was engaged in smuggling great amounts of opium—a matter openly known. Nevertheless, Aminboke's case provided a good pretext for Okamura Seichi to attack Wu Guting. All these conditions provided Li Shouxin the opportunity to oust Wu Guting from the Mongolian Army.

The personnel conflict within the Mongolian Army also provided an opportunity for Okamura Seichi to carry out his plan. He stated publicly that Wu Heling, Wu Guting, their relatives, and their cliques should no longer be allowed within the Mongolian military and political circles of power. This demarche from a staff officer of the Japanese Army aroused the old and new enemies of Wu Heling, including Li Shouxin, Buyandalai, Togtakhu, and Du Yunyu (a Chinese antagonized by Mongol domination of the old *Mengjiang* area) to attack him. They described Wu as a man of ambition who had no loyalty to Japan. Some of them accused Wu of being corrupt because of the mischief he made in handling the *khoshiyas*. This they reported to Yasato Tomomichi, the Japanese minister in Kalgan, and to Yano Masao, the chief of staff of the Japanese Army in Mongolia. Of course they also delivered their accusations to Prince De, who ignored them.

The autumn meeting of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee took place about this time, so the leaders of the leagues and banners were all gathered in Kalgan. They were disturbed by the ongoing political confrontation and by the interference of the Japanese Army. They were also disappointed because the above-mentioned opponents of Wu had agitated for Japanese interference. They displayed their dissatisfaction to Prince De and were especially disgusted by Buyandalai's conspiracy to take over Wu Heling's post as head of the Political Department.

To show the Japanese military authorities that this confusion was created only by a small group and was opposed by the vast majority of the leadership, Prince De had Prince Sungjingwangchug, Budabala, Shirabdorji, Altanochir, Serengnamjil, and the heads and vice-heads of Shilingol, Ulanhab, Yekejuu, and Chahar, go to the General Headquarters of the Japanese Army in Mongolia and to the Japanese Legation to express their support of Wu Heling. I was appointed interpreter of the group. When we arrived at the Japanese Army Headquarters, Colonel Okamura Seichi came out to receive the visitors. Though it was my first visit with this Japanese colonel, he said to me, "I know you well, and I also know of your eloquence in Japanese, but today I do not want you to interpret. I have my own interpreter. I don't trust you." However, his interpreter, with only a limited knowledge of Mongolian, was unable to interpret the conversation. This embarrassed Okamura, who then turned to me and asked me to translate. Before beginning, I asked him, "Do you trust my words now?" and then took up my unpleasant task. Prince Sung started the conversation, and the other delegates reinforced what he said. After Okamura Seichi sternly expressed the view that he could not support the desires of his guests, Yano Masao, chief of staff and Okamura's superior, came out to welcome his guests and ended the conversation without any actual conclusion having been reached.

Prince Sung and I had just arrived in Kalgan from Shilingol and therefore were not yet able to understand the situation fully. Only after this conversation and later talks with other friends were we able to look into the problem more deeply. Okamura not only wished to push Wu Heling and Wu Guting from the center of military and political power, but he also planned to move Chogbadarakhu, chief secretary of Prince De; Ruiyong, head of the Bureau of Industry in the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee; Urgungbu, head of Ulanhab League General Affairs Bureau; and me, then head of Shilingol League General Affairs Bureau, from our active posts to lesser positions. When

Okamura came to visit with Prince De, he always rejected Chogbadarakhu as the interpreter, saying that he did not want his bias in interpreting to influence the prince. But neither Yano Masao, chief of staff of the Japanese Army, nor Yasato Tomomichi, Japanese minister at Kalgan, agreed with Okamura. To ease the tension and to appease us, they arranged a dinner party at a Japanese restaurant, where they told us, "No matter what Okamura said, please do not worry. You should continue to work as usual for the friendship between Japan and Mongolia, as well as for the future of your people." This conversation persuaded us that the crisis was completely of Okamura's making.

On the other hand, Buyandalai and Togtakhu joined in support of Li Shouxin and sought to have Buyandalai take over for Wu Heling as head of the Political Affairs Department. Of course their plot failed. Prince De always favored his old friends and followers, but for such an important post, he had to be very prudent and not give to Buyandalai the post of head of the Political Affairs Department.

The open attack on Wu Heling occurred because of his unfounded trust in Luo Lipu and Dai Zhongyuan, both of whom were notorious among both Mongols and Chinese in Kalgan for being shrewd and covetous men. Through their handling, the Mongolian Livelihood Improvement Association and the banner *khorshiyas* had become corrupt. Because of these rumors, the Japanese military authorities demanded a thorough check of *khorshiya* management. To wash himself clean, Wu Heling recommended that the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee and the delegates of the banners investigate this matter. Investigations did not uncover any wrongdoing in the books of the Mongolian Livelihood Association under Wu's leadership, and he was cleared. Nevertheless, Wu eventually stepped down from his post as head of the Political Affairs Department under heavy pressure from the Japanese Army. Now, Buyandalai and Li Shouxin struggled to obtain Wu's former post. In the midst of this delicate situation, Prince De felt that the only way to solve the problem was to take the post himself. In particular, he worried that since this post had been recovered only after the downfall of Kanai Shoji, it should not be lost to an undeserving person. Also, due to the changing war situation, the Japanese military needed to win Prince De's good will and so had to defer to him. This move by the prince finally resolved the crisis. Afterward, some people wrongly criticized this as a deliberately planned power struggle orchestrated by Prince De.

Personnel Rearrangements After the Crisis

After Wu Heling's departure from the post of head of the Political Affairs Department, the Mongolian Livelihood Improvement Association, which had dealt with animal exports and commodities imports, also ceased to function. To solve this problem, its members and the banner delegates who were summoned to a meeting of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee decided to establish the headquarters of the Alliance of *Khorshiyas* to fill the role of the defunct association. During these talks, Prince De, Prince Sung, Jirgalang, and others recommended Oljeitu, former head of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee General Affairs Bureau and then deputy minister of the General Affairs Bureau, who was widely known as an honest man, to direct this organization. Their recommendation was unanimously accepted by those in attendance. The Japanese had requested that one Japanese advisor be invited, and this was a difficult demand to reject. Consequently, the headquarters of the Alliance of *Khorshiyas* had to suffer the intervention of a Japanese advisor, although this position was not officially recognized by the government and the advisor was not dispatched by the government, but rather was

invited by the headquarters. The advisor was thus assigned only to serve as a bridge between the headquarters of the *Khoshiyas* and the Japanese officials in the Mongolian government and was not expected to interfere with the internal dealings of the headquarters.

Because the new organization of the *khoshiyas* and the new appointment of Oljeitu, Colonel Okamura Seichi again "advised" the Mongolian government that the General Affairs Bureau was an important office, and that a capable Mongol, eloquent in Japanese, be assigned to Oljeitu's former post. He also recommended Ruiyong, head of the Bureau of Industry of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee, as the most qualified person under consideration. Okamura hinted that it was time that Ruiyong be promoted. In reality, Okamura wanted to move Ruiyong from a post with real power to a higher post without power. Nevertheless, Prince De recognized that to have Ruiyong occupy the post of deputy minister of the General Affairs Bureau would at least facilitate looking into that office and seeing what the Japanese were doing. Prince De agreed to Ruiyong's appointment and then appointed Chogtumanglai, then secretary of the Mongolian Delegation to Japan in Tokyo, to fill the post vacated by Ruiyong. Although Chogbadarakhu, Urgunbu and I were targeted by Okamura, our positions were not affected, thanks to the influence and protection of both Prince De and Prince Sung.

While these personnel rearrangements were taking place, something similar was also happening within the Mongolian Army. Wu Guting resigned from the post of chief of staff, and a well-known yes-man, Buyandelger, was assigned to the position. By so doing, Li Shouxin hoped to put an end to opposition from his chief of staff. Prince De also believed that the new chief of staff would be more obedient to his own instructions. In fact, they were both mistaken. Because of his superficial obedience, neither Prince De nor Li Shouxin had yet discovered Buyandelger's truly obstinate personality. As a result, by the end of the Second World War, both Prince De and Li were no longer able to move the Mongolian Army and had lost their basic power base, making it impossible for them to coordinate another uprising. The promotion of Buyandelger also created dissatisfaction among the division commanders and officers who had stronger Mongolian nationalistic aspirations. This would be another factor behind the disintegration of the unity of the Mongolian Army after the defeat of Japan.

Reorganization of the Mongolian Military Forces

Prince De tried very hard to succeed with the Political Affairs Department, and both the Mongols and the Chinese under him were greatly inspired by his leadership. But time was not on his side. The changing world situation worked against him. After these crises, Prince De had to be very prudent in the establishment of the Military Affairs Ministry, the ministry which had caused Wu Heling's downfall. He lifted the limitation that the position of minister be given only to a person with the rank of lieutenant general and appointed Li Shouxin as minister.

Li never interfered in small matters, but insisted on handling large and important matters according to what he took to be the Japanese policy. He believed that if the Japanese supported him, no one could do anything to remove him. After he became minister of Military Affairs in the Political Affairs Department, he still officially remained in residence at the headquarters of the Mongolian Army at Hohhot. Even when he was in Kalgan, he rarely came to the office of the ministry. Yamashita Yoshiji completely controlled this newly established ministry. Because Prince De trusted Tobgereltu, he ap-

pointed Tobgereltu as his military aide. The original commander of the Chairman's Guard, Khatanbatur, became chief aide-de-camp of the Mongolian Army's Headquarters. Namsereng, a Mongolian Army officer who had attended the Japanese Imperial Military Academy, was made the new commander of the Guards.

As Japan retreated in the Pacific, the possibility of combat in China now greatly attracted the attention of Prince De and other Mongol leaders. Especially concerned about the ethnic Mongol troops in the Mongol Army, they tried to station them in safer locations to avoid meaningless sacrifices. They had begun to implement this plan even before the downfall of Wu Heling and Wu Guting. The key to the plan was to put the ethnic Chinese troops in the old Mongolian Army, which had been reorganized into police forces, back into the regular Mongol Army. These forces were reorganized into four divisions. The first division, under the command of Meng Jisan, was stationed in the area of Wuchuan, the second division, under Guo Guangju, at Baotou, the third division, under Song Wanli, at Pingdiquan, and the fourth, under Zhu Wenwu, at Xuanhua. The ethnic Mongol forces were organized into two divisions: the seventh division, under Damrinsurung, and the ninth division, under Jachingjab who, soon after his death, was succeeded by Oljeiochir. The rest of the Mongol forces were reorganized into defensive divisions stationed in the leagues, with the heads and vice-heads of the leagues serving as the commanders and vice-commanders of the divisions, along with professional military officers acting as the chiefs of staff.

This arrangement also aimed at boosting the morale of the Chinese forces of the old Mongolian Army. They had considered their reorganization into police forces a demotion, and by regaining military status hoped to increase their morale. Stationing these Chinese troops on the front lines and in the Chinese districts saved Mongolian manpower and avoided Mongolian losses. And since these troops were Chinese, they would find it easier to cooperate with the locals. To move most of the ethnic Mongolian forces to the leagues was thought to increase the armed strength of the leagues, but the main objective was to move the Mongol troops to a safer second front. The feeling that they were protecting their homeland would also make them more eager to train and would increase their strength and their morale.

As for supplying the Chinese troops, there were already set regulations in the Mongolian Army Headquarters, and no new problems would be created because of the new arrangements. The army headquarters itself remained responsible for transporting the food supplies of the troops sent to be stationed in the leagues. Hence the burden on the local people was not increased. Though the delivery of these supplies was carried out, the meat supply became a problem. Prince De and other Mongolian leaders wished to give four ounces of meat to each soldier every day. Though headquarters did not oppose this, they demanded that the leagues supply the needed beef and mutton at low prices. The leagues refused to do this, to avoid burdening the people. They hoped the newly established Military Affairs Ministry would purchase the animals at market prices. This posed a problem until the last day of the Mongolian government.

Defense of the border areas of Ulanhab League near the Chinese district was threatened by the increase in Fu Zuoyi's power. The balance of military power also gradually changed because of the decaying fortunes of Japan in the Pacific War. E You-san's guerilla forces, under Fu's instructions, unceasingly attacked the district.

By the end of the Manchu dynasty, the Dorben-Keud Banner in Ulanhab League, following the lead of the Boxers, had joined in activities against foreign missionaries. Therefore, following the Boxer Protocol of 1901, the banner had to cede the land of Ulanhua to the Catholic Church as compensation. Because no Mongol believers joined

the church, it collected poor Chinese settlers to cultivate its land, and a Chinese village was created under the influence of the church. E Yousan was a man from this district. During the Japanese occupation, these Chinese Catholics were the victims of discrimination that even surpassed what other Chinese experienced. Using the antagonism this evoked, E organized Catholics, together with Mongol forces, into a guerilla force against Japan. While the Ninth Division of the Mongol Army was stationed at Liuheyingsi, a village between Wuquan and Batukhaalag (Bailingmiao), its headquarters was attacked by E Yousan's troops, and the division commander, Jachingjab, was killed. To fill his post, Prince De, Li Shouxin, and the Japanese authorities all agreed to appoint Oljeiochir, a Kharachin Mongol trained in Ulaanbaatar. He was able to influence Inner Mongolian politics through the military power acquired with this appointment.

The Yalta Agreement and its Impact

In the latter part of July, 1944, the Japanese government under Tojo Hideki collapsed, and a new cabinet was established under Koiso Kuniaki. By this time, Japan was no longer capable of mobilizing its full strength to continue the war. At the end of 1944, Wang Jingwei died in Japan, and Chen Gongbo was made chairman of the Nanjing regime. In the early part of February, 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin gathered at Yalta to discuss the conditions under which the Soviets would join the war against Japan. Stalin agreed to do so under the conditions that North Korea be restored to the Russian sphere of influence and that Manchuria be returned to its 1904 status, i.e. its status before the Russo-Japanese War. At the same time, they decided to have Roosevelt persuade the Chinese government in Chungking to accept Outer Mongolian independence with its current boundaries.

These decisions all greatly affected Inner Mongolia. Prince De, realizing that Japan had already lost its ability to deal with the problems of Mongolian independence and nation building, made no further effort to discuss the problem with Japan. But Japan did want to ease tensions with Prince De, and the prince, in the twilight of his regime, was thus able to carry out some reforms on behalf of both the Mongolian and Chinese people. The most important task that concerned him was the elimination of disturbances by police and intelligence agents, especially in the Chinese districts. Prince De also sought to diminish the gap between the Chinese locals and officials of his government, and to collect the locals' opinions as the basis for his reforms—a policy that helped restore the reputation of the government. In the spring of 1945, he summoned a conference of the heads of the Mongolian leagues and the Chinese provinces under his jurisdiction. In his speech at the opening session, he openly and sincerely expressed his feelings and hopes as follows:

The stability of the people's livelihood and the handling of the people's hearts are based on the understanding of their will and dissatisfaction. We must remove the bitterness of the people and establish better order. Only then will people be able to enjoy their livelihood and endeavor to carry out their work. Of course, during the war, it has been impossible to avoid the difficulties around us. We have to make the people realize that great understanding and patience are necessary to overcome the difficulties we face. The three main points—the stability of the people's livelihood, the handling of people's hearts, and the enhancement of the people's strengths—are the central topics of our administration. No politics can be discussed without [participation by] the masses of the people. A government separated from the hearts of the people is no different from a building founded in air. As an

early sage stated, "The people are the foundation of a state." As for order and stability in the people's livelihood, it is important to win the hearts of the people. Only when order is well-established can the people enjoy a stable life; then the hearts of the people are won. The police, in the name of order, have galloped into the mountains and the wilderness, exposing themselves to wind and rain, and attacked the people's enemies. Even so, most of the people still harbor fear and antagonism toward the police because of laxness of discipline and consequent mistreatment of the people. Moreover, the wrongdoings of agents, the establishment of gambling clubs, and the rise of hoodlumism threaten the livelihoods of the people. These movements have been strictly prohibited, in order to restore public order. . . .

In order to increase military strength, political acumen, and administrative authority, officials and clerks must enforce the law. In time of war, some officials and clerks may use the need to establish control as a pretext to satisfy their personal desires. They may neglect the suffering of the people, delay government processes, or feign obedience [to law]. All [these malpractices] must be strictly and thoroughly eliminated. Even before any attacks by the enemy we may crumble all on our own. Therefore, in order to assure the well-being of the people and our potential to wage war, an investigative institution will be established to monitor government functions and discipline civil servants. And for us leaders, we must be lawful and upright. If all officials and clerks can do this, the future and development of our Mongolian Autonomous State will be limitless. Finally, I hope that all of you attending this conference will fearlessly and without hesitation resolve to alter and reform local government so as to strengthen the central state. I hope all of us will openly discuss this matter and reach a hopeful conclusion to the conference.

Prince De's Desires for the Future of Mongolia

Before this conference, the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee had conducted its spring session as usual. Aside from ordinary discussions, the most important item that attracted my attention was the coming conference on Manchukuo-Mongolia overland trade, to be held at the Shilingol League office. This conference would deal with the important challenge of how to meet the material needs of the Shilingol people in times of scarcity. The excessive demands by Manchukuo for animal products was another important issue for the conference. Most Japanese officials in the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee and the Ministry of Economics of the Mongolian government believed that meeting the needs of the Japanese Guandong Army would require supplies for Manchukuo. Because I was representing the Shilingol League, I insisted that the exchange either be carried out with equal amounts of commodities in exchange or that Manchukuo buy the domestic animals it needed at regular market prices. It soon became apparent that neither side in this conflict would yield; the possibility for compromise virtually vanished. But the overland trade conference still had to be held on schedule, so I returned to Shilingol to prepare for the conference.

On April 5, 1945, the day before I left Kalgan, Stalin announced the abrogation of the Russo-Japanese Friendship Pact. On the same day, the Japanese cabinet under Koiso Kuniyaki collapsed, and that night Japanese army authorities notified Prince De of this event. Just before this notification, I went to Prince De's residence and asked whether he had any instructions. We talked about the Manchukuo-Mongolian conference on overland trade, and of course he agreed with my views. But after hearing of the political situation in Japan, he telephoned me at 3:00 the following morning and asked me to come to his residence. Because martial law was in effect, he sent his own car for me.

When he saw me he said:

You are going back to the Shilingol League this morning. Yesterday you came and asked for my instructions. Now the world situation has undergone a serious change. Stalin has abrogated the Russo-Japanese Friendship Pact. The Soviet Union may carry out military action at any moment. Since Japan has been defeated, Stalin feels compelled to seize an opportunity rather than wait and risk losing it.

After you return, report on this situation secretly to Prince Sung, Prince Budabala, and other trustworthy leaders. Tell them that invasion by Soviet and Outer Mongolian forces seems inevitable. Since we are unable to resist, we must move our real power to the desert of Tenggeri-yin elesu to the south of Shilingol in Chahar; then we will see what kind of contact we can make with the eastern part of Inner Mongolia. We must cooperate to take advantage of this opportunity to create a breakthrough for the people. Fu Zuoyi's invasion from the west is certain. Our military force can stop him. He is not as powerful as the Soviet Union. I myself feel that the independence of Mongolia must be recognized by the Chinese legitimate government that has sovereignty over it. That is to say, Mongolia's independence and nation-building must be recognized by the Chinese government.

Therefore, I must go to Chungking personally to discuss this problem with Chiang Kai-shek. Whether Mongolia can achieve independence still depends on his decision. The Japanese will assume all responsibility for the defeat, and they will probably try to persuade me to flee to Japan. I am a Mongol; I have struggled for Mongolian self-rule and independence. The Mongol people have recognized me as their leader. How could I, in this time of disaster, flee to a foreign country? No matter how the Japanese may attempt to persuade me, I will not go. I would rather they kill me. I will not flee with them. This I do out of respect for the dignity of the Mongol people. If I die, you must know that I have been killed by the Japanese. I will not commit suicide. We did not invite the Japanese here; when they came, they said they would help the Mongol people achieve independence. But whether they helped or oppressed us, we were unable to resist them, and so we accepted their "assistance." Now they are defeated. We should certainly not take advantage of their current calamity and attempt to kill them. That would be unbecoming of us, the Mongol people. This I want to emphasize. You must faithfully carry out my will.

I felt as if I was listening to the prince's last will and testament.

After dawn, several Shilingol League officials and I departed from Kalgan. Because the summer days were long, we were able to arrive at the Sunid Right Banner before sunset. I was treated well by Dugursurung, the eldest son of Prince De, and of course I immediately conveyed to him his father's words. Upon hearing me, he changed his expression; he refused to confront the imminent great change until a measure for dealing with this change had first been agreed upon. At this time, several Mongol youths educated in Japan had been assigned as teachers in the girls' middle school and primary school. Among their number were Urgunge Onon, who later taught at Leeds University in England, Delgerchogtu, and Burinsain; all felt it necessary to do something before it was too late. But we did not come up with any solutions in our talks. It was perhaps because of this failure to settle on a plan that soon after the Soviet-Mongolian forces invaded his banner Dugursurung went to Ulaanbaatar, where he eventually died.

The Failure to Achieve Common Measures

Soon after I returned to the Shilingol League Office, both the Mongol delegates and the Manchukuo delegates arrived for the conference on overland trade. Because Manchukuo recognized this conference as significant, it dispatched a large number of delegates, including the vice governor of Kinggan General Province, Shirahama Yoshiharu, and the counselor of the provincial government, Khafengga, as the chief and deputy

delegates. On the first day of the conference, the Manchukuo delegation submitted its demands for our goods to the Mongolian representatives. The demands turned out to be several times larger than the demands of previous years. In addition, the quantity of food-stuffs offered us in exchange did not increase at all. Endless argument resulted. By this time, even the Japanese officials of the Mongolian government who in the past had approved Manchukuo demands now realized that the Manchukuo demands were clearly unreasonable and unacceptable.

Nevertheless, the next day, Shirahama demanded that Shilingol submit to Manchukuo's demands, and as justification he spoke of the need to support the Great East Asian War. However, Budabala, the vice-league head, and I, head of the Bureau of Industry of the League Office, insisted that trade was trade and that the topic of the conference was trade. There was no need to touch on political or military matters. The chief delegate and deputy delegate from the Shilingol League agreed with my contention. We told them that in supporting Japan, Mongolia would contribute directly to the Japanese army and would not go through Manchukuo as an intermediary. We rejected their unreasonable and excessive demands, and the conference ended in failure.

Because of this failure, Lt. Col. Takehara Kiyoshi, head of the Japanese local intelligence bureau in Shilingol, acted as a mediator and had the two sides agree that before a new agreement could be reached, the amount of exchange should be fixed according to former arrangements. Shirahama assumed that his position in the Mongolian administration in Manchukuo would enable him to overshadow the Japanese officials of the Mongolian government. He did not realize that his demands would be completely rejected, not by the Japanese officials, but by the Mongols. This made him very angry and embarrassed; he even refused to attend the welcoming party hosted for him by the Shilingol League office.

During this conference, Khafengga spoke not one word except for his translation of Shirahama's speech into Mongolian. He nevertheless accepted my invitation to lecture at the Shilingol Middle School. He also spoke secretly with me, warning me that I would have to be very careful not to make speeches or engage in activities that might embarrass the Japanese. He also said that all the Japanese in the Manchukuo Delegation had placed on me the blame for the failure of this conference.

The main topic of our talk was the changing world situation. We all agreed that the Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan was inevitable. Japan had no power to resist the Soviets; its defeat was sealed. What should the Mongols do in the face of such a situation? Khafengga said that his visit to Shilingol was not for the purpose of participating in the conferences, but for discussing these matters. He said, "Your Mongolian government has the name 'The Mongolian Government.' Politically, you have more prestige than we eastern Inner Mongols. But the actual power of Mongolia is on our side. In light of future world changes, both our sides should combine our strength; your designation as 'The Mongolian Government' and our strength can combine to engage in a great endeavor for our nation. If Outer Mongolia joins the war effort, then the unification of Inner Mongolia, which is the general hope of all the Mongol peoples, can perhaps be accomplished. If Outer Mongolia remains neutral in the war effort, then the external power will come from the south. In this case, your side will have to assume heavier responsibilities."

Because he sounded so sincere, I told him that Prince De intended to concentrate forces under his leadership in the desert areas between Chahar and Shilingol. Khafengga was quite pleased with this idea, saying, "When you do so, please do not allow your strength to diminish. We will try to join up with you; then we can act together." We agreed that our two sides would use wireless telegraphs in Shilingol and eastern Inner

Mongolia to communicate with each other.

At that moment, the leaders of eastern Inner Mongolia, Prince De, and the leaders of western Inner Mongolia clearly all shared the same ideas and recognized that some measures must be taken. Regrettably, however, they did not realize that a great change would occur so suddenly with the surrender of Japan in August. Other factors also worked against the two sides' combining their efforts into one coherent program of action. Each side eventually and unfortunately pursued its own separate goal.

The End of the War

Following the collapse of the Koiso cabinet in Japan, Suzuki Kantaro organized another cabinet. Many people thought this would be the cabinet that would deal with Japan's problems after its defeat. Prince De recognized that times were tense and that something had to be done. He discussed this problem with Jirgalang and Ruiyong, who decided that they would contact the leaders of the leagues and banners and transfer human, financial, material, and domestic animal resources to areas difficult to reach by automobile, and also to areas far from important military routes. Such places included the southern desert areas of southern Shilingol and northern Chahar. Prince De decided that after this was done, he would leave Kalgan and join them.

It was important to join with eastern Inner Mongolian leaders to face the great change looming on the horizon. Jirgalang, with this purpose in mind, stayed at the home of Mukdenbo, the *amban* of the Bordered Yellow Banner of Chahar, on the pretext of taking a vacation. Ruiyong went to the Minggan Banner of the Chahar League on the pretext of supervising the Mongolian construction brigades and their activities. Prince De soon dispatched Tegshibuyan, the Mongolian delegate to Japan who had just arrived from Tokyo, to Sunid to get Prince De's wife and children and to contact Prince Sung and inform him that there would be a gathering in Kalgan. But all of these plans were one step too late. The Soviet-Mongolian Allied Forces had already begun military action.

On July 26, 1945, Truman, Churchill, and Stalin joined at Potsdam and demanded that Japan surrender unconditionally. On August 6, the Americans dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The Soviet Union took immediate advantage of the ensuing atmosphere of imminent Japanese defeat and declared war on Japan on August 8, ostensibly to fulfill promises it had made in Yalta. This cynical and opportunistic move by the Soviets evidently stemmed from Stalin's concern that if Japan surrendered to the United States and Great Britain alone, the Soviet Union would lose its share of war booty.

After the war, it was learned that, since the middle of July, Japan had been making secret contacts with the Soviet Union and was asking that it act as a mediator to end the war and achieve peace. The Soviets kept these communications a well-guarded secret, disregarding them completely after August 6, when it became apparent that they would be able to get something for nothing. On August 9, the second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, and on August 14, the Japanese government announced its acceptance of the Potsdam declaration and offered to surrender unconditionally. The next day, the Emperor of Japan issued his decree to end the war. Thus it was that on August 15, the Pacific War, the Second World War, and the Second Sino-Japanese War all came to a close. Since the end of the nineteenth century, Japan had been constantly making every attempt to exploit Mongolia and Manchuria and interfere in Manchu-Mongolian affairs. This exploitation and interference ceased with the end of the war.

Conflicting Paths for the Future of Post-War Mongolia

To deal with this momentous change, Prince De and the Mongol leaders made plans to establish a general command headquarters of the leagues and banners and to unify the leagues and banners as a base for further activities. But these plans were not implemented because of the Soviet army's southward advance. When the Japanese surrendered, Li Shouxin was in Kalgan. Wu Heling and Wu Guting came to Kalgan immediately from Beiping. Prince Sung, Buyandalai, and Jodbajab were all in their homes in Shilingol and Chahar at this time and were unable to come.

After the Japanese Emperor surrendered, Neimoto Hiroshi, commander of the Japanese Army in Mongolia, personally called on Prince De and officially informed him that the war was over. From that hour on, all the affairs of the government were to be decided upon by Prince De himself. It was also at about this time that Anan Tadaki, the Japanese minister of the army, telegraphed Prince De that an airplane had been sent to Kalgan to bring him to Japan, and that arrangements were being made for his exile there. Prince De politely declined these Japanese offers. He was resolved to remain in Kalgan and work for a breakthrough for his Mongol people.

Because a general command headquarters could not be established, Prince De established a defense headquarters at Kalgan in order to deal with the remaining forces. He made himself the commander in chief of this organization, with Li Shouxin as vice commander, Ding Qichang as chief of staff, and Aminboke as the vice-chief of staff. They planned to concentrate the Mongolian and Chinese forces to maintain order in the local districts and to protect Kalgan. At the same time, they appointed Kangi Masaichi, the minister of the former Mongolian Government General Affairs Bureau, as an advisor and employed him as their contact with Japanese military headquarters. Prince De, as always, was occupying himself with attempts to achieve a breakthrough for his own people.

It was at this time that Prince De's camp split into two factions. One camp advocated contacting the Soviet Union and trying to unify with Outer Mongolia. This group wanted to struggle for the unification and independence of *all* of Mongolia; its members did not occupy themselves with personal concerns. With its emphasis on nationalism, this group was easily the more popular of the two groups, and it enjoyed the support of almost all the intellectuals. But it was unaware of the secret Yalta agreement, which stated that Outer and Inner Mongolia would not be reunited. The other camp argued that, before the withdrawal of the Japanese forces and the arrival of the Chinese Communists, it was necessary to contact the Chinese government in Chungking in order to restore the prewar relationship between Inner Mongolia and the central government. This group, headed by Wu Heling, Chogbagatur, and others, advocated the implementation of "realistic" policies. These two camps argued continually with one another and could not agree on a common course of action.

Disintegration of the Mongol Army

For Fu Zuoyi, the declaration of Japan's unconditional surrender presented an extremely good opportunity to move eastward. But the Chinese Communist forces took the first step and drew close to Hohhot. Both sides had dispatched their agents to deal with the Mongolian Army Headquarters. As mentioned earlier, Prince De and Li Shouxin had both telegraphed orders to Buyandelger, chief of staff of the Mongol Army, to con-

concentrate all his divisions and proceed to Kalgan. But Buyandelger, who had always previously been obedient to his superiors, this time chose not to follow their orders. He thought he could use these troops as bargaining chips in negotiating with Fu Zuoyi for a military post. He secured Hohhot before Fu's arrival so that this "merit" might give him honor in Fu's eyes. Although Buyandelger ordered all military units to concentrate in Hohhot, many of the more nationalistic generals and officers in the army did not approve of his orders and motives. Rather than carry out the orders, many of them surrendered directly to the Soviet-Mongolian Allied Forces.

When the Communist forces arrived outside the city of Hohhot, Buyandelger refused them entrance into the city. When the Chinese First Division of the Mongol Army, under the command of Meng Jisan, arrived in the vicinity of Wuchuan, pressed the Chinese Communist forces into retreat, and lifted the siege of the city, Fu was able to enter the city and announce a "glorious reconquest." But the rewards for Buyandelger were insignificant. While the city was under siege by the Communists, Buyandelger had ordered the cadets of the Mongolian Military Academy to join the war against the Communists. But Sangduureng, president of the academy, viewed the struggle with the Communists as an internal Han Chinese civil war that did not require the participation of the Mongol nationality. He therefore disregarded Buyandelger's orders. After Fu's army entered the city, the Chinese authorities condemned Sangduureng's collaboration with the Communists and attempted to arrest or capture him. This angered the cadets, who resolved to use their weapons if necessary to protect themselves. Fu's army mobilized one brigade against the academy but could not take it over. In the ensuing struggle, there were deaths among the cadets, but Fu's forces suffered more casualties. Negotiations were quickly carried out, and Fu's army lifted its siege. The cadets, under the leadership of Sangduureng, marched northward and joined with the Outer Mongolian forces.

The newly established defense forces of the leagues proved useless because they did not accept any instructions from their superiors and also because the Soviet mechanized forces passed them by, not regarding them as viable military units. As a result, most of the league forces disbanded and returned to their home areas. Only the forces of the Chahar League stayed together; under the leadership of the extreme Mongol nationalist Golminse, they joined up with the Outer Mongolian forces. Damrinsurung, the commander of the seventh division, who had always favored the unification of Inner and Outer Mongolia, disarmed himself and surrendered to the Soviet forces. He also encouraged his troops to go over to the Outer Mongolian side and cooperate with that group. Oljeiochir, commander of the ninth division, crossed over to the Chinese Communist side and became a liaison officer of the Chinese Communist forces. Oljeiochir had always believed that all Communist parties were members of one great family and that no significant difference existed between Chinese Communists and Mongolian Communists. He also supported the concept of cooperation with Outer Mongolia so as to liberate Inner Mongolia and speed the progress of the social revolution. Consequently, his division did not disband, and it soon became a military contingent of the Chinese Communist forces in Inner Mongolia. Most of the Mongolian divisions chose not to defer to Chinese Communist forces. Rather, they chose their courses of action because of nationalistic aspirations and because they were heartened by the appearance of Outer Mongolian forces in their homeland.

The Last Hours of the Mongolian Government in Kalgan

By this time, the only military forces still obedient to the commands of Prince De and Li Shouxin were portions of Prince De's bodyguard and some of Li Shouxin's old Chinese forces stationed in the vicinity of Kalgan. Of course, so minor a core of loyal troops could not resist the onslaughts of Fu Zuoyi and the Chinese Communist forces. The Japanese forces had originally planned to resist the advance of the Soviet Red Army along the mountain ranges outside of Kalgan, but because of Japan's unconditional surrender, they were unable to do so.

External pressure and internal disintegration led the followers of Prince De to discuss the situation, as a consequence of which they decided to dispatch liaison officers to Outer Mongolia and see what resulted from that before making any further plans. At this time, Jirgalang (who had been dispatched to Shilingol), Tegshibuyan, and Ruiyong had all been cut off from communication with Prince De. Even wireless telegraph machines proved useless in trying to establish contact with them. For this reason, other delegates were dispatched northward to contact the Soviet-Mongolian forces. After assessing the will of those present at this discussion, Mergenbagatur, an old follower of Prince De from the days of the 1933 Autonomy Movement and later a bureau head of the Ulanbatar League; Chogbadarakhu, Prince De's chief secretary; and Temurdoshi, a clerk of Prince De's library and a Christian, who since his early years had been able to speak some English, volunteered to proceed north as delegates. Accepting their offer, Prince De furnished them with his own automobile. But when this contingent of delegates passed the mountains north of Kalgan near the city of Zhangbei, they were stopped by Soviet-Mongolian forces, who not only refused to recognize them as delegates, but even arrested them. The Soviet-Mongolian forces eventually released Mergenbagatur and sent him back to Kalgan. Chogbadarakhu and Temurdoshi were sent to Ulaanbaatar.

Chogbadarakhu, one of the intellectuals most trusted by Prince De, was ideologically disposed toward socialism. He recognized, however, that the road to Moscow was a dead end for the future of Mongolia. Perhaps the exigencies of the moment and the desperate atmosphere permeating the discussion with Prince De had compelled him to disregard his misgivings about Soviet-style socialism and undertake the difficult task of proceeding north for negotiations with the People's Republic of Mongolia and the Soviet Union. He never returned from Ulaanbaatar.

After Chogbadarakhu failed to return, Prince De attempted to dispatch another of his old followers, his secretary Chogbagatur, to proceed to Chungking. Chogbagatur had always considered himself an agent of the KMT and was opposed in principle to contacting the Mongolian People's Republic. He had urged Prince De to drop this plan and to contact Chungking immediately. Acting on Chogbagatur's suggestion, Prince De sent a telegram to Chiang Kai-shek in Chungking on August 18. In this telegram, Prince De congratulated Chiang Kai-shek for his victory over Japan and inquired whether Chungking could possibly settle the Mongols' problems and give them a higher degree of autonomy.

By this time, Kalgan had fallen into confusion. The Japanese military asked Prince De to send some cars to the warehouse of the Opium Monopoly (*Tuyao zuhe*), take possession of the opium stored there, and use it as capital for dealing with the changing situation. Prince De realized that this opium represented a great amount of wealth, but he also knew that it was public property and that no one person was qualified to take possession of it. Although he was informed that two government officials had already appropri-

ated a portion of the opium, he decided it would be best not to touch it. Opium was a poison that could create many problems. Prince De decided to send it back and not become implicated in this shady affair. This decision is, of course, a tribute to Prince De's integrity. While the opium was being returned, a portion of it was taken by several officials.

Marshal Choibalsan, the MPR strongman and commander of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army, followed the Soviet Red Army and entered Inner Mongolia. The Soviet-Mongolian forces occupied Zhangbei and pressed onward toward the mountains near Kalgan, where they stopped. But they did have several airplanes circle above Kalgan. When Prince De's envoys to the north were captured, fear began to enter the hearts of the people, and Soviet planes began to appear above Kalgan, dropping a few small bombs but inflicting no major damage. Along with these bombs they dropped a large number of propaganda leaflets, which condemned Prince De as a "thief" who had "swindled the Mongol people and sold them out to Japan, the tail of the fascists." These leaflets were a great disappointment to Prince De and those who wished to establish contacts with the north. They also had the effect of shifting support to the realists under the leadership of Wu Heling, who advocated closer ties with Chungking.

Prince De, soon realized that he had no way to contact the banners and leagues, and so had no choice but to restore ties with Chungking. With the support of the Japanese military, Li Shouxin, and others, he reluctantly boarded the last train from Kalgan to Beijing at dusk on August 20, 1945. This marked the complete collapse of the Mongolian Autonomous State, which had existed for four years. The Mongolian Defense Headquarters, of course, also collapsed at this time.

Inner Mongolia had been occupied by the Japanese military and administered by Prince De for almost ten years.