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INNER MONGOLIA AFTER THE JAPANESE DEFEAT AUGUST 1945 - JANUARY 1946

Prince De Moves from Kalgan to Beiping and Chungking

On the night of August 20, 1945, Prince De left Kalgan for Beiping. When his train arrived at the Xuanhua station, it was learned that the railroad tracks ahead had been destroyed. Just then, Liu Jiguang, governor of Xuanhua Province, who was suspected to be Chungking's liaison, arrived with a document for the Prince. The document was from Chiang Kai-shek, Chairman of the Military Committee of the Chinese government, and it appointed Prince De as commander of the Advance Mongolian Forces. Li Shouxin was named commander of the Jehol and Chahar Forces. Since the document said nothing about the future of Mongolia, Prince De made no definite reply concerning the appointments. Instead, he sent Beiping a request to carry out further negotiations upon his arrival. Because they had lost control over the Mongol Army, it was difficult for Prince De and Li to give a definite answer to the Chungking side.

When Prince De arrived in Beiping, he stayed at the residence of Ajia Khutugtu in the great monastery of Yonghegong, while Li Shouxin stayed in his own house. The followers of Prince De were accommodated at both Yonghegong and another Buddhist monastery, Songzhusi. In an atmosphere of uncertainty and distress, the Mongols in Beiping discovered in the newspaper that on August 24, Chiang Kai-shek, in response to his acceptance of the Yalta Agreement and the independence of Outer Mongolia, had lectured on "The Fulfillment of Nationalism and Maintenance of World Peace." This news greatly elevated Mongol spirits. Mongols could now believe that the Chinese government, following the victory over Japan, would faithfully implement the teachings of Sun Yat-sen as follows: "The government should help weaker and smaller nationalities inside the country carry out self-determination and self-rule." The Mongols hoped that since the independence of Outer Mongolia was now recognized, the problems of Inner Mongolia would also be solved. Even Prince De, as he read this important news, was overcome by optimism, but even he failed to analyze the situation objectively.

The Mongols did not know the Chinese leaders' attitude toward the Yalta Agreement. Full of optimism, Prince De was anxious to go to Chungking and resolve Inner Mongolia's problems in direct negotiations with the authorities of the KMT government. In fact, however, Chiang's important lecture clearly pointed out the contradictory nature of the government's policies toward Inner Mongolia. The original text reads:

Today I represent all the comrades of the Party, which is based on the teachings of the National Father, and I will explain the policy as it now exists for the fulfillment of nationalism and the maintenance of world peace. This policy favors our nation very much. I should first explain that the national problems of Outer Mongolia and Tibet are the result of their own long histories. When our Chinese Kuomintang reorganized in the 13th year of the Republic [1924], Outer Mongolia immediately dispatched its delegates to celebrate. On that occasion, our National Father recognized them as a fraternal state and treated the delegates

as honored guests. All these principles were recorded in [his] remaining teachings and were recognized by the world. All my fellow countrymen must know that if we neglect the desire for national equality and freedom and suppress the development of independence and self-rule, it would contradict the spirit of our National Revolution. It would also increase the conflict between the nationalities in our country and damage the hundred year grand plan for building our nation. Finally, the stability of world peace would be affected.

From the eleventh year of the Republic [1922] in the Beijing government period, Outer Mongolia competed for its right to independence. Now, 25 [sic] years since the resumption of world conflict, it is proper that we once again cultivate our old, good friendship. We must follow the principles of our National Revolution in order to act consistently with this priority. We must make our decisions decisively and legally, recognizing the independence of Outer Mongolia, so that we may establish a strong friendship and bring about a satisfactory solution to our problems. An absence of friendship between China and Outer Mongolia would greatly affect our inner stability and world peace.

The nationalities not under the administration of the provinces and who are not capable of self-rule, who yet wish for independence, may in time reach a point at which they are able to achieve political and economic independence. We hope that our country, in the spirit of love and friendliness, can foster such independence and freedom while treating them as equal fraternal nations and not create ill feeling or prejudice against them because of their separation from the mother country. And all nationalities should hold a friendly and fraternal attitude toward their mother country as they pursue their legal goals; they should not carry out any kind of revolutionary activities against the mother country. Large and small nationalities within the territories of the provinces should be treated equally—politically and legally. Their freedom of belief and economy should be respected in order for us all to accomplish the goal of sincere unification and cultivate mutual love and respect among all subnationalities.

On August 25, the government ratified the Sino-Soviet Friendship Pact and designated Outer Mongolia as an independent nation. On August 28, through the mediation of Ambassador Hurley, Mao Zedong was brought from Yan'an to Chungking to meet with Chiang Kai-shek and start the "Political Consultation Conference," which was to focus on creating another period of cooperation between the KMT and the Chinese Communists.

In Japan, after the suicide of Anan Tadaki, minister of the army, the commander of Japanese Forces in North China was appointed to replace him in his post; the commander of Japanese forces in Mongolia, Nemoto Hiroshi, was made commander of Japanese forces in North China. Earlier, at the time of the Japanese surrender, Nemoto had expressed his regret that Japan was not able to provide full support for Mongolian independence. Now, after Prince De's arrival in Beiping, Nemoto sent Nakajima Manzo, the former general affairs section head of the General Affairs Ministry in the Mongolian government, to the Prince. Nakajima brought the Prince thirty thousand silver dollars and three hundred million dollars of paper money issued by the Mengjiang Bank. The Prince accepted the silver dollars and handed over the three hundred million dollars in Mengjiang Bank notes to Oljeitu, a man of known integrity among the Mongols, to distribute fairly among all those followers who came to Beiping with him to help settle their families. Soon after, Nemoto invited Prince De, Li Shouxin, Wu Heling, and Kanki Masaichi and other Japanese officials above the rank of deputy minister to a meeting. Both sides delivered speeches on past cooperation and expressed their distress over the goals they were unable to accomplish. The Japanese regretted their negligence in support of the Mongols, but it was now too late. From this point on, Prince De held no further talks with Japanese authorities.

During his stay in Beiping, Prince De tried to contact Chungking so as to reestablish the former relationship and to talk with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek about the future of Mongolia face to face in Chungking. However, the prince's agents in Beiping, perhaps because of their low rank, were unable to contact the top KMT leaders, and Prince De received no clear response to his initiative. Even He Qigong, Mayor of Beiping at that time, who had been head of Chungking's secret agents in areas under Japanese occupation, expressed a sincere hope that the visit could be carried out, but there was no airplane under his control that could be dispatched. During this deadlock, Aminboke was in Beiping, and through his personal contacts, he introduced his older brothers Wu Guting and Wu Heling to agents of General Hu Zongnan, commander of the First War Zone, who was assigned to block the movements of Chinese Communists in Northern Shaanxi. Aminboke and his friends were able to convey the wishes of Prince De to General Hu. Hu immediately responded, expressing his welcome to the Prince, and inviting him to visit Xi'an and then Chungking. Soon after, Hu Zongnan asked Xiao Zhengyi, a professor at Yenching University, and Sun Jian to deliver personal letters to Prince De, Li Shouxin, Wu Heling and Wu Guting, inviting each of them to Xi'an. Hu and Xiao visited Prince De and arranged for the Prince, Li Shouxin, Wu Heling, Wu Guting, and their secretaries, Chogbaatar, Urgungbu, and Gombojab to go to Xi'an on an American military plane.

Before Prince De left Beiping, a conflict arose among his followers. First, Chogbagatur and Togtakhu persuaded the Prince not to have Wu Heling accompany him. Their excuse was that "Wu is a practical man. He might sell out the future of Mongolia for a low price. Since we demand a higher degree of autonomy, it would be better not to allow him to go." Prince De also intended to leave Wu in Beiping so he could tie up any loose ends there. But Wu Heling insisted on going, saying, "Mongolia is the Mongolia of all of us. It is not just your Mongolia. Everybody has his own obligation to assure the future of Mongolia. Moreover, there is the personal invitation from Hu Zongnan. In January 1936, when I returned from Nanjing to Mongolia, I was dispatched by Generalissimo Chiang. Why shouldn't I go?!" After this speech, Prince De did not insist on stopping him.

The next conflict broke out between Chogbaatar and Togtakhu, who also struggled to accompany the Prince to Chungking. Although Chogbaatar was an old follower of the Prince, his behavior and support in the period of the Mongolian government had been weak, and he fell out of favor. Still, he knew better than the others the political tactics of the KMT and therefore was much more qualified than Togtakhu, who had always been a "running dog" of the Japanese militarists. After consideration, the prince decided that Chogbagatur should also accompany him.

Upon his arrival in Xi'an, Prince De accepted a friendly welcome from General Hu. After a two-day stay, the Prince and his entourage were sent southward to Baoji on a military plane, and from Baoji to Chungking by the China Air Navigation Company. Prince De and his men were welcomed by Ma Hansan, the head of intelligence work for North China, and other high ranking military intelligence people. Because Ma had had very intimate secret contact with Prince De and Li Shouxin during the period of Japanese occupation, he came to meet them at the airport. Ma and his organization provided Shulu as a temporary guest house for the Prince and his group.

As Urgungbu told me, Shulu was not normally used as a guest house, but a place for high ranking "criminals" to be held hostage. Of course, this was not known by Prince De and his entourage at the time; because of the bad reputation of the place, no Mongol in Chungking came for a visit. Every day, Prince De stared sadly from the upper story

upon the courtyard and watched the flag-raising ceremony. Perhaps he recalled past ceremonies carried out in Kalgan. Of course, no one asked him what he was thinking, fearing to increase his unhappy state of mind. Later, Shang Zhen, chief of the military unit guarding the chairman, was heard to say, "Earlier, when Japan's defeat was certain, a high-ranking conference discussed the future of those local leaders involved with the Japanese in Nanjing, North China, and Mongolia. The Generalissimo said, 'When the time comes, Prince De will come to see me. I know him very well.' Now that the Prince and you gentlemen have come, the Generalissimo is very pleased. Hearing that Prince De was accommodated at the Shulu, the Generalissimo added, 'How could you have him stay there? Tell the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission to arrange immediately a proper place and treat him hospitably.'" The head of the commission, Luo Liangjian, invited the Mongols to stay at the guest house of the commission; only then did the Mongols in Chungking dare visit the prince.

During this period, Prince De met with many important military and political figures.¹ They discussed the situation in general: the future of the Mongolian problem, the hopes of the Mongols, and the activities of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communists in both Inner and Outer Mongolia. Responses from the Chinese side were both positive and negative, but these talks were merely private conversations, leading to no conclusions for policy.

Mongols in Chungking

Among the Mongols in Chungking who came to discuss the future of Mongolia with Prince De were Bai Yunti, a senior member of the KMT who had visited Sunid and then returned to Chungking; Wu Yunpeng, who became head of the Nanjing Office of the Mongolian Leagues, Tribes, and Banners Delegates; Bai Rui, a member of the Control Yuan; Li Yongxin, head of the Border Areas Party Affairs Bureau of the KMT central headquarters; Rong Zhao, Chin Zhichao, and Rashidondug, the Mongol members of the People's Political Council; and Dugur (Li Shoushan), head of the Nanjing office of the Janggiya Khutugtu. Many of these visitors criticized the Prince's political tone as too idealistic and impractical.

By this time, the Mongols in Chungking were mainly divided into two factions—one headed by Bai Yunti and Wu Yunpeng, the other by Li Yongxin. In the first group, Bai, its nominal leader, was manipulated by Wu Yunpeng, who enjoyed the support of the Mongolian delegates in Nanjing. Wu was a member of the political clique of Zhu Jiahua, the current minister of education, but he had been squeezed out of real power in the party by the clique of Chen Guofu and Chen Lifu (then known as the C.C. Clique). The other group, led by Li Yongxin, was supported by the Border Area Party Affairs Bureau and other Mongol members who were working in party headquarters. And of course he was a member of the C.C. Clique. Wu Yunpeng, an Aukhan man, had been sent as a

¹ Dai Li, head of military intelligence; Shang Zhen, chief of the military entourage of the chairman of the Chinese government; He Guoguang, secretary-general of the military committee; He Yingqin, commander in chief of the army; Chen Cheng, the minister of military affairs; Lo Liangjian, chairman of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission; Yu Youren, head of the Control Yuan; Wu Tiesheng, secretary general of the Kuomintang Central Committee; Chen Lifu, head of the Organization Department of the KMT; and Li Zongren, who was assigned to be head of the Military Committee, Beijing branch.

delegate of Juu-uda League to Nanjing in 1929, and he worked under Wu Heling in the Nanjing Office of the Mongolian Leagues, Tribes, and Banners Delegates. He therefore was very close to Wu Heling.

Li Yongxin, a man from Kharachin Left Banner of Josutu League, had graduated from the Mongolian-Tibetan Academy. In his early years, he was a member of the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, under the leadership of Bai Yunti. During China's civil war of 1925, Li and a group of party members retreated to the northwest corner of Inner Mongolia, and later, most of the members formally joined the KMT. From then on, Li became a devoted member of the party. In 1928, Wu Heling and his Mongolian delegation arrived in Nanjing and formed the Nanjing Office of Mongolian Leagues, Tribes, and Banners Delegates. Li always contrasted his own revolutionary attitude with the position of Wu Heling, whom he condemned as a counterrevolutionary.

In the group of Li Yongxin, the most capable member was Liu Lianke, who had helped the government resolve the March 26 Incident at Yekejuu League. Second in ability to Liu was Pai Haifeng, who at the time was commander of the Independent Cavalry Brigade. He had deserted Prince De in 1936 from Beile-yin Sume. In addition, He Zhaolin was known as Li's personal advisor. Because both Li and He were thoroughly sinicized and unable to speak Mongolian, this group was conspicuously less Mongolian in cultural style. Moreover, because the main cadres in this group were all from Kharachin Left Banner, they were boycotted by the clique of Western Inner Mongolians, headed by the leaders of both the Chahar and Tumed areas.

Li Yongxin set out to strengthen the KMT in Mongolia, using as a pretext the need to struggle against the expansion of Chinese Communists. He was supported by the powerful C.C. Clique. To reinforce party power, Li Yongxin organized several party branches within the border provinces. He appointed Zhao Chengbi (Oyundalai from Chahar) as the head of the KMT headquarters of the Mongol Banners in Suiyuan, Yu Dechun in Chahar, Xue Xingru in Rehe, Jin Chongwei in Liaobei, and Xu Zhankui in Heilongjiang. Then he appointed He Zhaolin to be the special director of party affairs in Inner Mongolia to supervise the entire organization.

Li Yongxin aimed to establish the Mongolian KMT headquarters in the province at the same level as the Chinese KMT party headquarters in the provinces, a move which he hoped would help rehabilitate the Mongolian banners. From Prince De's viewpoint, all these activities concerned only the KMT. He had no interest in them. Moreover, these party headquarters were named after the border provinces, which ran the risk of creating the impression that the Mongolian administrations would be placed under the control of Chinese provincial governments. Prince De cautioned Li Yongxin against adopting these names.

Prince De's Visit with Chiang Kai-shek

During the eight years of the anti-Japanese war, the connection between the central government and most of Inner Mongolia had been broken, with the exception of the areas of the Yekejuu League and Alashan and Ejine Banners. The Kokonor Mongol Banners were under the domination of the Islamic warlords; the Mongolian territory in Xinjiang was governed under special political rules. The Chinese government was not permitted by the KMT to intervene. Despite the fact that some government resolutions were being made on behalf of the Mongols, the resolutions were ineffectual and were neglected by powerful Chinese officials at the regional level. As for education in these

ethnic Mongol territories, only one middle school was established in Yekejuu League, and some funding was given to several primary schools.

Although the central government appointed several Mongols to the People's Political Council, most were simply political tokens and without influence. This should not be attributed to incapability of the Mongols in Chungking, but rather to political interference by the Mongolian Affairs Bureau and the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Committee. All the objectives of the Mongols, even including some policies of the central government, were usually blocked by these organizations after "careful study." Chu Mingshan, then head of the Mongolian Affairs Bureau, was the man who procrastinated in these matters. His method was to make light of serious issues. He usually said, "Let's give them some money to play with for a while, and the issue will pass." This was also the attitude of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission. The chairman of the commission, Luo Liangjian, having no political influence, dared not go to his superiors. His policy was to avoid mistakes by refusing to act. Prince De did not accept him as a leader capable of discussing Mongolian matters, choosing instead to negotiate directly with Chiang Kai-shek, chairman of the Chinese government.

The Communists opposed Prince De strongly, no matter what proposals he offered. They made a severe attack on him in the *New China Daily* (*Xinhua ribao*), and also mobilized several members of the People's Political Council to call for Prince De's punishment as a collaborator with the Japanese. Although this was not a serious threat, it did hinder the government in discussion of the Mongolian problem with the prince.

Prince De stayed in Chungking for almost two more months, during which he made two visits to Chiang Kai-shek. The first visit was at the end of September, the second at the end of November. In his first visit, Prince De was accompanied by Li Shouxin and had supper with the Generalissimo. Prince De reported on the situation in Mongolia and praised the principle enunciated in Chiang's lecture in which Chiang had recognized the independence of Outer Mongolia. Concerning Inner Mongolia, the Prince called for a higher degree of autonomy, offering the relationship between England and members of the British Commonwealth as a model.

Chiang did not directly reject this idea, but he politely shifted the discussion to personal matters and then asked De to work with him to gain power for the Mongols. "Do not allow *them* to get any advantage," Chiang said. This was said during the third round of talks on KMT-Communist cooperation, so Chiang avoided using "Chinese Communist," referring to them only as "them." As for the Inner Mongolian problem, Chiang emphasized that once the overall situation was normalized, a reasonable solution could be achieved. Then he urged Prince De to wait patiently for the right moment. The visit concluded with a friendly and warm personal talk between Chiang Kai-shek and Prince De. Though the prince had longed for this meeting for many years, nevertheless, this talk did not offer any solutions to the Inner Mongolian problem. After discussing his visit with the Mongol elite in Chungking, Prince De affirmed and clarified their discussion by presenting a written document to Chiang Kai-shek through Xiong Bin. The main points are as follows:

The viewpoint that I carefully and secretly advocate is as follows: Currently, 80-90% of the land in Inner Mongolia is occupied by the Soviet-Outer Mongolian forces. If they withdraw their troops immediately, this would suffice. But if Outer Mongolian troops . . . stay there, refusing to withdraw, or if they retreat from the agricultural areas and do not move northward from the pastoral areas, the greater part of Inner Mongolia will still be occupied by Outer Mongolia. This is the first worry.

Migration . . . in the pastoral zones is very convenient. There are many records historically of the migrations of the masses. Now, . . . they might seize all the population and domestic animals, the yurts and other properties, and move them during their retreat. . . . This is the second worry.

Even if the Soviet Union and Outer Mongolia do not carry out these measures but during . . . their . . . occupation . . . will . . . spread their communistic activities . . . or collaborate with the Eighth Route Army and create some kind of unreasonable de facto institutions. [They] may be impossible to deal with in the future. This is the third worry.

All in all, the present situation in Inner Mongolia is extremely dangerous, and I therefore dare to ask your permission to carry out the following three proposals to relieve the tense situation and to diminish the danger.

1. The central government should urge the Soviet Union and Outer Mongolia to quickly withdraw. . . . This will prevent the traditionally anti-Communist Inner Mongolia from being turned into a communist state.

2. The central government should dispatch important members to organize a Mongolian Guidance Committee, . . . to negotiate with the Soviets and rehabilitate the leagues and banners, and to raise the morale of the Mongolian armies, officials, and people. This organization should enter Mongolia immediately to carry out its work. . . .

3. The central government should again proclaim its goodwill, allowing Inner Mongolia to establish a high degree of autonomy. [The central government should] dispatch a special envoy to establish a preliminary committee to achieve a higher degree of Mongolian autonomy. This must be carried out positively so as to soothe Inner Mongolian anxiety and to block the temptations and propaganda introduced by Outer Mongolia.

4. I sincerely await your instructions as to whether these items can or cannot be carried out.

P.S. As for the higher degree of autonomy, it has no definite precedent; yet in order to act against the conspiracy of the Soviet Union and Outer Mongolia and to reinforce the present Inner Mongolian situation, it seems better to follow the model of Canada and Australia under British sovereignty. Unless the name of Mongolia is made noble, we will not be able to win the hearts of the people. It is not necessary to be autonomous in national defense, foreign affairs, and other important matters; these can be aligned with [the policies of] and supervised by the central government. The people generally both support the unification of Inner Mongolia and hope for guidance from the central government. The reason we wish to achieve autonomous dominion is to prevent Inner Mongolia from being absorbed. If this recommendation receives your sympathy, I hope that when the higher degree of autonomy is declared, that Inner Mongolia would clearly become a separate domain of China. Then your excellency's great desire to foster nationalities in this country would be greatly admired by the world. Of course, it will also immeasurably stabilize Inner Mongolia.

After Chiang Kai-shek read this document, he ordered the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Military Affairs, together with the Mongolian-Tibetan Commission, to find successful resolutions of the issues it raised. The following are their responses:

1. The first concern was to hasten Soviet and Outer Mongolian withdrawal from Inner Mongolia. . . . This was carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the time of the Japanese surrender, by the establishment of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Pact.

2. The second demand was that the central government dispatch an important member to organize a Mongolian Guidance Committee to pacify the Mongol people and to win their hearts. This . . . concern . . . has already been addressed by the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission . . . [with its proposal] to organize the "Mongolian Consolidating and Guiding Mission." . . . Now that this mission is in the planning stage, there seems to be no need to appoint a second important minister to handle the matter.

3. As for the suggestion that the central government should promise Inner Mongolia a

higher degree of autonomy and organize a preliminary committee for Inner Mongolian autonomy, the sixth congress of the [KMT] has established the party political outline, and that policy calls for a higher degree of autonomy for the Mongols, Tibetans, and other nationalities.² An earlier Mongolian-Tibetan Committee drafted a plan for local autonomy of the border areas and the Mongol banners. This plan has been studied by the Interior Ministry and other related institutions and has been presented to the Executive Yuan for ratification. This plan contains a systematic policy for achieving Inner Mongolian autonomy for which Prince De and the other Mongols in Chungking have all expressed their appreciation. Therefore, it seems unnecessary to organize a preliminary committee to work toward a higher-degree of Inner Mongolian autonomy as requested.

Judging from the second point, it is clear that all the hopes of Prince De were thoroughly negated. Later, it was heard that this document was originally drafted by Chu Mingshan, head of the Mongolian Affairs Bureau of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission. The result was similar to what was done with those Mongol proposals that had historically been presented to the Manchu court. For instance, by the end of the Qing Dynasty, Prince Gungsangnorbu of Kharachin had submitted two important memos to the Imperial Court. These were all blocked by the court officials after "sincere study." This approach to Mongolian politics on the part of KMT officials continued, not only in the period of the Beijing government, but also by the KMT authorities in the 1940s. As for the plan of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission to grant local autonomy to the Mongol Banners, it was nothing but a lie. Prince De had never agreed to such a proposal. Interestingly, in this conspiracy by the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, nobody tried to discover the truth. The commission only approved Prince De's proposal to create a Mongolian Consolidating and Guidance Mission—and that only for superficial purposes.

In addition to Prince De and Li Shouxin, both Wu Heling and Wu Guting were summoned by the generalissimo. In his report, Wu Heling emphasized that his return to Mongolia was specifically authorized by the Generalissimo. Wu had realized that Prince De's demand for a higher degree of autonomy would not be accepted. He explained that, during the struggle between the KMT and the Chinese Communists, Mongolian banners should be rehabilitated as soon as possible to accelerate the expansion of the influence of the Chinese government in Mongolian lands. Subsequently, Wu's proposal was accepted by Chiang Kai-shek, and at the same time, the Generalissimo spoke approvingly of Wu's actions during the Japanese occupation. Chiang ordered Wu Guting to return to Inner Mongolia to reunify the Mongolian military forces. Soon after, Li Shouxin was appointed commander of the Tenth Route Army. Chogbagatur also took advantage of his visit to establish a tie with the intelligence group under the Generalissimo. All in all, the visit of Prince De and his group to Chungking was successful, except that his desire for a resolution to the Mongolian problem remained unfulfilled. The personal aims of Li Shouxin, Wu Heling, Wu Kuting, and even Chogbagatur were all settled.

After his proposal was accepted by Chiang Kai-shek, Wu Heling immediately made contact with the military committee and started to organize the group for the rehabilitation of the Mongolian banners under his leadership. He called the group the Mon-

² The resolutions made by the sixth congress of the KMT, May 17, 1945 were (1) to provide a higher degree of autonomy to Outer Mongolia and to Tibet, (2) to rehabilitate the Mongolian Local Autonomous Political Affairs Council, and (3) to clearly divide the power between the Mongolian banners and the Chinese provinces and *xians*.

golian Consolidating and Rehabilitating Group [*Menggu xuantaotuan*]. Wu Heling's purpose was twofold. (1) During the occupation, the Inner Mongolian leagues and banners had been separated from the central government for a prolonged period. After the victory over Japan, leaders found it impossible to resolve immediately all of their problems because rehabilitation of the Chinese provinces and *xians* would have hindered the rehabilitation of the leagues and banners. Therefore, to strengthen the base of Mongol power, it would be better to rehabilitate the leagues and banners first. This would be more practical than to demand only a higher degree of autonomy. (2) He realized that the work of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission was just for show, and that the so-called Mongolian Consolidating and Guiding Mission was ineffective. Moreover, the leader of the mission, Bai Yunti, was an old political foe of Wu who needed to do something to promote his own recovery of power.

After receiving his appointment, Wu Guting was recruited by General He Zhu-guo, head of the military committee's northeast branch. He also gave Wu Guting the rank of major general and had him recruit Mongol forces from places that had earlier been under Japanese occupation. Chogbagatur was made counselor of the second bureau (intelligence) of the National Defense Ministry to serve Prince De and to report on the activities of the Mongols.

As already mentioned, Li Yongxin and his Bureau of Border Region Party Affairs of the KMT Central Headquarters also operated in Inner Mongolia. His followers (He Zhaolin, Xue Xingru, and others) were dispatched to Beijing to recruit capable persons from the former Mongolian government and to organize the KMT party headquarters in the Mongolian banner areas. The Mongolian Consolidating and Guiding Mission advanced to Beijing with its head, Bai Yunti, and members Wu Yunpeng, Rong Zhao, Hang Jiexiang (Damrindorji), and Chu Mingshan, its advisor. Rong Zhao, a Tumed man, had graduated from the Mongolian-Tibetan Academy. In the mid-1920s, he had joined the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and was sent to the Soviet Union for further education. In the early 1940s, he became a member of the People's Political Council in Chungking. Damrindorji was a Chahar delegate in Chungking. After their arrival in Beijing, Chu Mingshan told Wu Heling (according to what Wu later told me), "This mission is nothing more than an excuse to provide them with money and to have them play and enjoy themselves in Beijing as a reward for the hardship they had endured and for following the Chungking government." Apparently, the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission was not designed to accomplish anything for the Mongolian banners.

In the early part of October 1945, the military committee prepared an airplane to bring Prince De and his group back to Beijing. But when he received no answer from Chiang Kai-shek, Prince De decided to stay in Chungking for a second visit. Therefore, only Li Shouxin, Wu Heling, Wu Guting, and Urgunbu returned to Beijing on that plane. After waiting for a month, Prince De had a second opportunity to meet with Chiang Kai-shek face to face, but this time too he failed to reach an understanding with the generalissimo. Instead, Prince De later told me he had told Chiang, "Outer Mongolia is able to achieve its independence because of the promise of Your Excellency, the chairman. The best way to solve the Inner Mongolian problems is to follow Dr. Sun Yat-sen's promise of self-determination and self-rule for the weak and small nationalities in the country, and to follow the path of the British Commonwealth by the provision of an autonomous region to carry out this self-rule. This is what is needed to successfully win the hearts of the Mongolian people."

Chiang answered neither yes nor no to this statement, but said, "A reasonable solution for Mongolia should be achieved after the situation has settled down. But for the

time being, it would be better for you to be more patient. As for your personal matters, no matter what the problem, you can approach me and I will make the proper arrangements to see that it is taken care of." When the conversation reached this point, Prince De felt it was not the time to pursue other issues. He thanked Chiang and indicated that it was time to leave.

In the latter part of November, Prince De, accompanied by Chogbagatur and Gombojab, returned to Beiping from Chungking; at about the same time, I arrived in Beiping from the Shilingol League. I met the Prince at the Nanyuan Airport. It was an emotional reunion. The next day, I went to the Prince's temporary residence on the Sixth Lane of Dongsipailou Street. I reported to the Prince the situation in Shilingol after the occupation by the Soviet-Mongolian Allied forces. While the Prince listened, he sighed deeply, comforting me again and again. The Prince, although deeply distressed, smiled and tried to hide his bitterness.

My Personal Recollections of the Soviet Occupation of Shilingol

Something strange was going on along the northern border of Shilingol League in early August of 1945. Not only were many warnings given, there were also tracks of Soviet soldiers. The guards of Ujumuchin and Abaga Banners arrested a few Russians, probably parachutists sent to spy. Because these matters were extraordinary, the people of these two banners hid the evidence and did not report the event to the Japanese.

On August 8, the Soviet Union formally declared war against Japan. At dawn of that day, Soviet planes appeared on the horizon of Pandita-Gegeen-keid. The Japanese special service office phoned Oguro, the top Japanese official in the league office, and said, "The Red Army of the Soviet Union is already across the border and is moving southward. Prepare immediately for the worst. Prepare all members for resistance." By then, the league head, Prince Sungjingwangchug, was in his own residence in the Khauchid Left Banner; Deputy head Budabala was at his home in Abaga Left Banner. The higher officials in the league office were myself, head of the General Affairs Bureau, and Balgunsurung, head of the Civilian Affairs Bureau.

We immediately began to prepare. We wanted to telegraph Prince Sung, but the radio in Khauchid was out of commission. So we sent a radio telegraph message to the deputy head and told him not to go north to Pandita Gegeen-keid, but to wait for a second report. Just then, Wang Shouben, the schoolmaster of the Shilingol Middle School, telephoned me and said, "The special service office has ordered all students to dress up in uniforms, and will give them guns and other weapons for the protection of Pandita-Gegeen-keid region. What shall we do?" I answered, "Have all the students remove their uniforms immediately, change into ordinary clothing, and dismiss them as soon as possible. Tell them to hide in the temple or to take refuge in the people's yurts in the vicinity, or to go home, making their own way." The principal agreed with me. He quickly dismissed the students without consulting with the special service office.

Then I again telephoned the local brigade commander, Wang Zhushu. I told Wang about the crisis and asked him whether he had received instructions from his superiors. The answer was no. Wang also inquired about what he should do. I said, "It would be impossible to confront the forces of the Soviet Union with only one brigade; it would be better not to sacrifice the lives of your troops for nothing. Nevertheless, this is a matter for military action. Please use your own judgment." Later, it was heard that Wang also dismissed his troops. They disbanded without incident.

As for the matter of the league office, I warned Oguro and told him to not wait for further instructions from the special service office. "We must destroy all the documents and close the office immediately. All the Japanese members can use the trucks of the league office and retreat into the border region of Manchukuo. As for the Mongol members, I will make arrangements for them." Oguro agreed with me. Then at eight o'clock, the hour for flag raising, I gathered all members of the office and carried out the ritual as usual. I then reported the news of the Soviet attack and ordered the abandonment of the office. I also had the cash and guns divided evenly. Half of them were given to the Japanese members for their personal protection and transportation. The other half was distributed to the Mongol members. Oguro and other Japanese realized that for lack of fuel, only two trucks were available. These we gave to them. So Oguro asked me to go with them, but I rejected this kindness by arguing that a Mongol should remain in Mongolia with other Mongols. In any case, even at that moment, it was difficult to trust any Japanese. I saw them off, then stayed with the other Mongol members and their families. Only after everyone had left the office did I leave.

By this time, Balgunsurung had already prepared horses for me and my company to retreat to Balgunsurung's home, about twenty kilometers south of the league office. Upon our arrival, we saw black smoke in the north over the special service office. The first thing Balgunsurung and I did was to toast with kumis, pointing toward the smoke, in celebration of the end of Japanese oppression. Afterward, more calm feelings settled upon us. We began to realize that as Mongols we could not escape from our national responsibilities. Nevertheless, we were unsure how to confront this new situation and turn it in a beneficial direction for Inner Mongolia. Indeed it was very difficult to project any outcome.

During this crisis, Lieutenant Colonial Takehara Kiyoshi, head of the special service office in Shilingol, who spoke Mongolian and was experienced in intelligence work, was summoned by the Guandong Army to Xinjing and the special service office at Abaga, which was under the leadership of the young and inexperienced Major Kimura Koichi. Kimura was unable to control either the situation or his subordinates. Finally, before they retreated, they killed all the Outer Mongolian spies they had imprisoned. In order to cover up their cruel deed, they burned the entire quarter.

Balgunsurung and I hastened to the Yangdu monastery in the southernmost region of Abaga, where Budabala and his family were attending a Buddhist ceremony. Our bad news shocked everyone. Because we could not contact the league head, Sungchingwangchug, we hurriedly decided in the name of the deputy head of Shilingol League, Budabala, and in my name, to write two letters to the commander of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army, who we thought was collaborating with the Soviet forces. The letters explained that Budabala and I wanted to contact them and help restore order in that area. We wished to avoid disaster and losses to the local Mongol people that might follow the Japanese withdrawal. Both sides were brothers through blood, the letter continued, and we sincerely hoped both sides would be able to peacefully join as one to struggle for a unified Mongol nation.

These two letters were delivered by Sainjiya, who had volunteered for the task. Sainjiya was a section head of Shilingol League Office and a relative of Ulanfu. However, after Sainjiya arrived at the Soviet forces camp, he was arrested, all his possessions were confiscated, and he was stripped to his undergarments. The Russians then sent him back, ignoring the letters. Upon his return, Sainjiya reported to Budabala and me: "I didn't see even the shadow of a Mongol. The Russians are extremely unreasonable. There was no way to fulfill my mission." His experience was similar to that of Mergenbator and

Chogbagatur, who were sent by Prince De via Kalgan to the invading Russian forces. Ironically, not long after, the two letters were published in *Unen*, the Outer Mongolian *Pravda*, under the topic of hope for the liberation of Inner Mongolia.

Following Sainjiya's return, a messenger hurried to Yangdu from Balgunsurung's home banner of Abkhanar with a grisly report from the monastery of Pandita-Gegeen. Russian officers had asked all the lama officials to gather together in front of the monastery. One hundred or more were brought together in front of the main hall. Crowded around were many who came out of curiosity to hear what would be said. But no announcements were made by the Soviet officers; instead, they ordered the soldiers to fire machine guns, slaughtering the innocent lamas without warning. This barbaric and inhumane act caused all the people at Yangdu, including the monks and the officials of the league office, to have no other choice but to cross the desert and head south. It was at this time that I left the Shilingol League and my colleagues Budabala, Balgunsurung, and others, with whom I had wholeheartedly worked for three years.

On my way south, I arrived at the house of Ochir, *amban* of Chahar, Gul-koke Banner, following an earlier instruction from Prince De. "At a time of great change," he had told me, "it is important to gather together in the desert between Shilingol and Chahar and wait to make a second move." But the people of Gul-koke Banner knew nothing about Prince De and the situation of Kalgan. Soon we heard reports that after the occupation of the Yangdu monastery, the Soviet Red Army had killed eight lamas without reason. Magadburin Haltud, who was educated in Japan and later became an instructor of Mongolian literature at the University of Bonn, was at this time a clerk of the *khorshiya* (cooperative) of the Gul-koke Banner. Magadburin volunteered to represent the banner and contact the army officers of the Outer Mongolian forces. On his way, however, he met the Soviet forces, whose commander not only refused to listen but also stole his clothes and possessions. This was the second failure to contact the Outer Mongolian side.

The Soviet Red Army did not pass through the territory of Gul-koke Banner but instead turned toward Doloonnor. Then, after plundering, stealing, and destroying all the monasteries of that famous historical religious center, the main forces marched toward Chengde, the capital city of Rehe. Only then did the Outer Mongolian forces enter Inner Mongolia and take responsibility for keeping order in areas Soviet troops had occupied.

A second detachment of Soviets crossed the border, entered Ujumuchin, and marched south. On their way, they plundered the rich monastery of Lama-Kuriye. Tusangga. The top official of Ujumuchin Right Banner, together with several officials, advanced north to welcome the Soviet command. This act of good will was disregarded; the Soviets captured Tusangga and looted the Prince's residence of that banner. The Soviets then marched into the territory of Manchukuo and stationed themselves in the area of Biruu (Jingpeng) and Linxi.

Now a split developed within the Ujumuchin Left Banner. A group under the leadership of Dorji, the former *jasag* of the banner, expressed a willingness to support Outer Mongolia and the Soviet Union. They gathered about half of the banner's population and moved northward into the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic. At the same time, Dorji accused Dobdan, the designated *jasag* in charge of the banner, of being a collaborator with the Japanese. The Soviet and Mongolian authorities then arrested Dobdan's whole family, together with Kabji Lama, another of Dorji's political opponents. This created chaos throughout the banner.

Another contingent of Soviet forces passed through the area of Khauchid Left Banner. After looting and devastating the Prince's residence, they captured Prince Sungjingwangchug, who was then the Shilingol League head. This abduction was not for po-

litical reasons, but because they needed someone to take care of the horses they had stolen. After several days, they released the prince. The Khauchid Right Banner was not disturbed by any invading troops. Nevertheless, most of the people in this banner, under the leadership of their young *jasag*, voluntarily moved northward and asked for citizenship in the Mongolian People's Republic.

In the 1920s, a group of Buriyad Mongols living in the vicinity of Lake Baikal had deserted their homeland because of their anti-Communist sentiments and moved to the Hulunbuir area. Under the leadership of Rinchindorji, some of them had moved westward into Shilingol and settled on the plateau of Modong-yin-shili in the Banner of Right Khauchid. After the occupation by the Soviet Red Army, the Soviets became determined to bring these Buriyad Mongols back. They executed some Buriyad youth who had been educated in Japan and those who had had any close relationship with the Japanese special service office, then forced the rest of the Buriyads to return to their old homeland. However, they could not capture Rinchindorji, who took refuge in the desert with a group of Buriyads who refused to go back.

The home of Budabala was destroyed and looted by the Soviets, but Budabala and his father, Prince Yangsang, who was then eighty years old, together with their family, hid in the desert and avoided capture. The Abaga Right Flank Banner was occupied by Soviet troops, and the *jasag* Shonnudongrob was captured and tortured. He was finally released after the arrival of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army. Soon after, Major General Duingkhorjab, head of the Interior Defense Bureau (intelligence) of the Mongolian People's Republic, arrived in Shilingol to establish an intelligence network. Duingkhorjab issued secret identifications to Shonnudongrob and Urgungge, senior officials of Abaga Left Banner, instructing them to carry out tasks he would designate from time to time. In addition to these two men, many others were similarly instructed.

The great monastery of Changan-obao sune along the northern border of Sunid Left Banner received no damage. Though the Soviet Red Army passed through, the residence of the prince was only slightly damaged. Prince Rinchinwangdud, the former head of Shilingol League, was also left undisturbed. But when the same troops arrived at Prince Khorjurjab's palace, they captured Khorjurjab and brought him to Rehe, where they left him. He was captured for the same reason as Prince Sung: they merely needed him to look after the military horses.

The Sunid Right Banner was the home banner of Prince De. Due to unpreparedness, Prince De's residence was heavily looted and destroyed. Fortunately, Prince De's family escaped harm. To protect the safety of the whole banner, the eldest son of Prince De, Dugursurung, who was then the *jasag* of the banner, together with Altanochir's assistant, went to meet with the commanders of the Soviet-Mongolian Allied forces. He expressed his willingness to see unification of Inner and Outer Mongolia and said he wished to go to Ulaanbaatar. Together with them was Delgerchogtu, who was earlier under suspicion by the Japanese military police because of his ambition and attempts to organize the Mongol Youth Party. Dugursurung's action had probably been instigated by Delgerchogtu. Later, both Altanochir and Delgerchogtu returned to Inner Mongolia, but Dugursurung would never be able to return to his homeland. Because of the *jasag*'s "voluntary exile," this banner fell into chaos. Soon Namdag, who had been promoted by Prince De to be a battalion commander of the Mongolian Army, organized a preliminary "revolutionary" organization.

At the same time, the officers and students of the Mongolian Preparatory School for the Mongolian Military Academy in Sunid were ordered by Buyandelger, head of staff of the Inner Mongolian Army, to move southward and advance to Hohhot. In the

middle of the journey, however, the entire student body, realizing that this was a good opportunity for the unification of Inner and Outer Mongolia, refused to move southward. They disbanded, and the majority moved north to join the Outer Mongols.

The Ulanhab League was also disturbed, but the damage was not as great as at Shilingol. Soviet and Mongol forces did not enter the three Urad Banners or Muu-minggan in the western part of the league. Only the banners of Dorben-keud and Khalkha (Darkhan) were penetrated; the Shira-muren monastery, the residence of Prince Yon, together with the monastery of Beile-yin sume, were looted and devastated. Shirabdorji, head of the league, escaped from this disaster and arrived in Hohhot. Soon Fu Zuoyi, the Chinese warlord, occupied the city. Because Shirabdorji had been a faithful supporter of Prince De and the Inner Mongolian Autonomy Movement, Fu's attitude towards Shirabdorji was hostile. Soon after, Shirabdorji had a heart attack and died.

As noted, a contingent of the Soviet Mongol forces marched toward Dorloonnor through the border of Gul-koke Banner. Another group of Soviets marched from Sunid southward through Shangdu Banner and the counties of Dehua and Zhangbei. The damage was not serious. The fall of Zhangbei caused the collapse of the Chahar League Office, but Jodbajab, the league head, then in retreat at his summer house in Minggan Banner, was not threatened. The defense division of the Inner Mongolian army stationed in the Chahar region, headed by the chief of staff, Major General Golminse, decided to march north and voluntarily join the ranks of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary army. In this division there was a Japanese advisor named Shimokawa who opposed the decision of the troops. Shimokawa was shot by a Mongolian soldier, thus becoming, perhaps, the only Japanese deliberately killed in this turmoil.

Mongol Activities Immediately after Soviet Occupation

In the Minggan Banner, a lama named Narwa proclaimed himself master of Tantric magic. Now he enlisted as an agent for Ulaanbaatar in Inner Mongolia, saying he would organize Inner Mongolia into a political regime ready for unification with Outer Mongolia. Formerly a chanter of tarani and sutra, Narwa now began shouting Marxist and Leninist slogans. His plan for political reorganization was similar to the organization of the Outer Mongolian regime. Ruiyong, who was sent to Minggan Banner by Prince De from Kalgan as a special envoy, also felt Narwa lama must have some special assignment. Soon after, Ruiyong realized that I was in Gul-koke and sent a man to ask me to come to Minggan and join with him to prepare for the second phase. When I arrived, Narwa had already established his organization. Both Ruiyong and I had to confess all our past history to Narwa, and we then were assigned to work for the organization. Both sides remained suspicious of each other.

Soon it was heard that Marshal Choibalsan, the leader of the Mongolian People's Republic, had arrived in Doloonnor to strengthen the morale of the Soviet-Mongolian allied forces. Narwa demanded that the newly established organization elect a representative to go with him to Doloonnor to meet with the Marshal. Ruiyong was elected as a delegate. At the same time, it was reported that Jirgalang was sent by Prince De to Bordered Yellow Banner. Jirgalang was to discuss the present situation with the Banner *amban*, Mugdenbuu, and organize the Mongols, in expectation of a subsequent move. Ruiyong discussed the matter with me and decided that he himself had to go to Doloonnor and meet with Choibalsan, and he selected me to go to Bordered Yellow Banner and meet with Jirgalang.

After Ruiyong arrived in Doloonnor, he was not able to meet with the Marshal; Narwa lama was arrested by the Outer Mongolian forces as a deserter from his home country and was sent to Ulaanbaatar for punishment. Afterward, Ruiyong returned to Minggan Banner, where he found that the organization established by Narwa had already collapsed. Most of the members had left for Sunid to try again to establish an organization. Soon it was heard that Jodbajab, head of Chahar League, had been arrested by Outer Mongolian forces and sent to Ulaanbaatar. Several years later, it was heard that he was accused of antirevolutionary activities and executed. He had been tried on the basis of his opposition to Outer Mongolian independence three decades previously. Discouraged, Ruiyong returned to his home in the valley of the Nonni River.

Arriving at the banner office of Kubegtu-shira, I met with both Jirgalang and Mugdenbuu. Jirgalang explained why Prince De had sent him there. The prince had said, "The Chinese Communists have already entered Kalgan. Now the people dispatched from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army are stationed in the Sunid Right Banner. It is thought that they have agreed to establish some sort of a political organization. Perhaps it would be better for us to go there and see." Moreover, Prince De added, "No matter the situation, the present strengths should not be dispersed." The next day both Jirgalang and I, together with Mugdenbuu and others from Minggan Banner, climbed aboard the only truck at Mugdenbuu's Banner office that would run and drove to Sunid.

In the Sunid Right Banner, Yidamsereng, Gombo, and several students who had been sent earlier to Japan by Prince De were working at this time in an office under the leadership of Namdag. Everything was in a mess. The doors and windows in the Prince's residence were broken, and the building was uninhabitable. The temporary office was located in a temple which Prince De had built for the Panchen Lama about two kilometers from the Prince's residence. This temple had also been looted, but because the houses were not damaged it became a temporary center for the Sunid Right Banner.

By then there was in Sunid a Soviet lieutenant colonel named Ivanov, probably a member of the GRU, the Soviet military intelligence organization. With him was a Mongol lieutenant colonel of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army named Lubsang, also a member of the intelligence organization, the Internal Defense Bureau. There was also a Buriyad Mongol military officer, their interpreter, but he could not interpret. These were the people who possessed the ultimate power of life or death. They made all decisions in that area.

Just before the invasion, Prince De had sent Tegshibuyan to Sunid to take his wife and children to Kalgan. After the sudden invasion, Tegshibuyan was unable to fulfill this mission and remained in the temple. At the same time, Buyandalai, head of the Bayantala League, who was then vacationing at his home in Chahar, also rushed to Sunid. Almost at the same time, Oljeiochir, former commander of the ninth division of the Mongol Army, also arrived. With him was a tall Chinese, said to be an agent of the Chinese Communists. Oljeiochir did not behave as a commander of the former Mongol forces, but as a revolutionary who had contact with Chinese Communists. Namdag, who had been a battalion commander of the Ninth Division under Oljeiochir, now became the leader of the Sunid area.

Then those who called themselves "revolutionaries" gathered with those who were accused as "counter-revolutionaries" to discuss how to concentrate their various strengths in confronting the changing situation and to try to realize their goal to unify Inner and Outer Mongolia into one Mongol state. Regarding these issues, Ivanov and Lobsung did not offer their support. They said, "These are your own matters. You do not need permission from us." In reality, they showed some appearance of agreement at the

start of the political movement. Ivanov and Lobsung did reveal their intentions to Namdag. They meant to hold a mandatory meeting to propagate the liberation that the great Soviet Union offered to the people of Inner Mongolia. At the same time, they hoped the Inner Mongolian people would express acknowledgment and gratitude to the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic for their liberation.

At this meeting, Ivanov delivered a speech, but most of his speech, because of the incompetence of the interpreter, did not get across. After his long speech, the masses under the leadership of Lubsang shouted slogans of thanks and goodwill from the Inner Mongolian people toward the USSR and the MPR. First, Lubsang shouted, "Long live the great Soviet Union. Long live the Mongolian People's Republic. Long live the great hero comrade Marshal Stalin. Long live the great hero comrade Marshal Choibalsan." The Mongols expressed in these slogans acceptance of their position as subordinates of the "Big Brother."

I was at the mass meeting, and it struck me that the slogans were similar to the *banzai* first shouted to the great Japanese Empire, to the Emperor, then to the Mongolian Autonomous State, and to Prince De under the Japanese occupation of Mongolia. Although the names were now different, the political situation remained the same. "Since we opposed imperialistic Japan," I thought to myself, "how can we accept the imperialism of the Soviet Union? Although one is capitalistic and militant, and the other socialistic and Communist, both demand of the Mongols exactly the same thing." The shouting of the slogans interrupted my reflections. I decided just to watch the continuation of this drama, which had begun long before with the Japanese occupation. This was an impossible situation; I felt discouraged over the outcome.

The People's Delegate Conference of the Inner Mongolian Leagues and Banners

The Soviet-Outer Mongolian "liberators" confiscated and destroyed all the instruments of Inner Mongolian communications, and they refused to give any news to their fraternal Inner Mongolian brothers, whom they had claimed to "liberate." To manipulate them, they isolated the Inner Mongolians from the entire outside world. At this moment, Jirgalang, Tegshibuyan, Mugdenbuu, and I found that Prince De and a group of Mongols had gone to Beiping. When I heard this, I thought of the Prince's last words to me in Kalgan. I had anticipated that the Prince would go to Chungking to meet with the leader of the Chinese government and propose a new solution to the Mongolian problem. Because the Mongolian leaders in Sunid also desired a breakthrough, we asked permission of Ivanov and Lubsang to convene a conference of the people's delegates of the leagues and banners and organize a political movement to renew our nation-building movement. They decided the name of the conference should be "The Conference of the People's Delegates of the Inner Mongolian Leagues and Banners." After a period of preparation, this conference was held on the ninth of September 1945 at a primary school located on the west side of the residence of the Sunid Right Banner's Prince.

The conference was attended by the delegates of the ten banners of Shilingol League, the eight banners of Chahar League, and the delegates of four banners of Chahar Right Flank (the former Bayantala League), the delegates of the Dorben-ke'ud Banner of Ulanhab League, and several officials from the Ulanhab League Office, as well as other Mongol elites from various banners. Among the more influential participants were Jirgalang, Tegshibuyan, Buyandalai, Damringsurung, Oljeiochir, Mugdenbuu, and I.

At this conference, the name of the conference was formally accepted, mainly because we could no longer continue to use the title of "Mongolian Congress," as in the past. Additionally, many delegates were formally sent by the banners, but there also were those not appointed as formal representatives of banners. These were called "people's delegates." Third, the term "Inner Mongolia" was officially adopted, to show that this conference had no association with Outer Mongolia and that it could include any delegates from Eastern Mongolia who were not represented by Outer Mongolia. Jirgalang was elected secretary-general of the conference, and I was elected vice secretary-general and was assigned to propose the organization of the new regime and draft a policy outline.

The officers from the Soviet Union and Outer Mongolia were different from their Japanese predecessors in that they did not attend the conference, even though they were invited as guests. They declined, saying, "This is your affair, and there is no need for us to join in." It was understood that they officially desired the Inner Mongolians to make decisions without outside influence. On the other hand, it was evident that they would not share responsibility for further problems thereby created.

After the conference was convened, Lubsang and some of his soldiers arrived with machine guns to offer "protection." But the mouths of the guns were pointed from four directions into the hall where the conference was being held. When I asked Lubsang what the guns were for, he answered, "An important conference like this must have security. How can we be sure there are no bad elements inside the conference?" This showed the lack of trust among officers of the Soviet-Mongolian Allied forces regarding this conference. Participants in this conference openly discussed how to reorganize Inner Mongolia and how to unify the Inner and Outer Mongolian brothers. This had been their desire for years.

As for the name of the organization, all pointed either to accepting "Mongolian Government" or "Inner Mongolian Government." I was among several elected people asked to submit proposals for a name. After secretly discussing the question with Jirgalang, I told the gathering, "Prince De has arrived in Beiping. Undoubtedly, he will promote the Mongolian autonomy movement to the Chinese government. There is no way for us to know the situation in Beiping; we must propose a way to make it possible for Prince De to return. To establish a government and elect a chairman would cancel any chance for him to return. To leave this option open, it would be better to name the new governing body the 'Inner Mongolian Liberation Committee.'" Jirgalang said, "We don't know if this type of arrangement will be acceptable to Ivanov and Lubsang." The next day, after a long discussion, this name was chosen.

As for the form of organization, both Jirgalang and I proposed to adopt a committee without a chairman. This was proposed so as to allow the possible return of Prince De. However, Buyandalai insisted that a chairmanship be established because he wanted the position himself. Finally, the conference accepted Jirgalang's and my proposal, choosing to establish several departments under the committee. Then the conference elected the members of the committee and the heads and deputy heads of the departments. The elected members of the committee were Jirgalang, Buyandalai, Oljeiochir, Tegshibuyan, Damrinsurung, Golminse, Khorchinbilig, and I. At the same time, the participants elected Jirgalang as head of the General Affairs Department, and me as deputy head.

Among the many items discussed was how to express thanks to the Soviet-Mongolian Allied Forces for liberating the Inner Mongolian people from the oppression of Japanese imperialism. The conference decided to elect delegates to go to Ulaanbaatar

to express appreciation to Marshal Choibolsan and try to promote the unification of Inner and Outer Mongolia. This proposal was unanimously supported. Jirgalang, Damrinsurung, Khorchinbilig, Burinsain, and I were elected as delegates, with Mugdenbuu as an alternate. As mentioned earlier, I felt disappointed at the slogan. I also found offensive the machine guns pointing toward us in the hall, and I had no interest now in going to Ulaanbaatar. But Mugdenbuu was very eager to express his zeal for the "revolution" and establish more influence in the new political regime. Realizing this, I used the excuse that it would be inconvenient for both the head and the deputy head of the General Affairs Department to leave at the same time. Since the committee had just been established, it would be better for me to stay and have Mugdenbuu go instead. The conference reluctantly accepted my proposal, and Mugdenbuu was appointed to go.

The most "progressive" person at the conference was Oljeiochir, who argued that it was not necessary for the conference to decide anything on its own; he favored meeting the demands of the USSR, the MPR, and the Chinese Communist Party. Oljeiochir's comments did not express true zeal for Mongolia's national freedom, but rather a willingness to serve the new set of alien occupiers. Another radical person was Khorchinbilig, who had studied medicine in Japan. During his stay at the dormitory of the *Zenrin-gakuryo*, he was discriminated against by the Japanese superintendent. He tried unsuccessfully to commit suicide, and he became extremely anti-Japanese. Of the top officials of the former Mongolian government included in the conference, Tegshibuyan was the most radical. Sometimes, because of his emotional intensity, he became fanatical and lost control of himself. Damrinsurung and Golminse wholeheartedly pushed for the unification of both Inner and Outer Mongolia. Their only motive was their love of Mongolia; Buyandalai's and Mugdenbuu's acts exposed their selfishness. Jirgalang did not oppose their visit to Outer Mongolia, but because of youthful zeal, he intended to go to Ulaanbaatar too and observe the real situation. Now eager to get out from under the control of the Soviet and Outer Mongolian agents, I began to look for an opportunity to leave.

Inside the Sunid Banner, Namdag, who earlier had been trusted by Prince De and made a commander over a battalion of the Mongolian Army, now became a "yes-man" to Ivanov, Lubsang, and Oljeiochir. Similarly, Altanochir, a nephew as well as a pupil of Prince De, became top assistant to De's son. However, his outward countenance concealed a very bad heart. Earlier, he had accompanied the eldest son of De, Dugursurung, to Ulaanbaatar and returned to Sunid by himself. He never talked about what he experienced in Outer Mongolia. If someone asked about Durgursurung, he always answered that the young prince had desired to stay and study. He refused to say any more and showed special obedience to Ivanov and Lubsang. Later, we found that during his stay in Ulaanbaatar he had been recruited into the organization of the MPR Internal Defense Bureau and sent back to Sunid as a spy.

As for the other delegates, those from the Chahar banner were active, but the delegates from the Shilingol banners, with the exception of Sunid, did not express any opinion. Those from the Ulanhab banners also adopted a prudent approach like that of Shilingol. Only Dewagenden, a senior politician of Dorben-ke'ud banner of Ulanhab League, showed great anxiety for the future.

The conference ended smoothly. Colonel Ivanov gave a reception for some of the leaders. In addition to his praise for the greatness of the military and economic power of the Soviet Union, he called special attention to all the delicacies provided by the Soviet Union. He then brought his guests to see the jeeps of the Soviet army, explaining that these vehicles built by the Soviet Union could run in the desert without hindrance. But

the Ford trademark and Goodyear tires were easily identifiable. Also at the camping ground of the Soviet forces were large numbers of empty food cans bearing English labels, traceable to the USA and Australia. This Soviet colonel of the intelligence division was pushing propaganda to convince the Mongols of Soviet superiority. Only Jirgalang and I knew English, but under the threat of the machine guns, we did not ask this pleasant colonel any questions.

Arrival of the Outer Mongolian Vice Premier and Creation of the Inner Mongolian Government

Several days later, we received a visit from a formal delegation of the MPR: Lhamujab, vice premier of the Mongolian People's Republic; Major General Duingkhorjab, head of the Interior Defense Bureau; and Namsarai, secretary of the vice premier. Earlier, they had gone to the front line to encourage the Mongol forces. On their return, they passed through Khauchid, Pandita-geegen-keid, and the Sunid Left Banner. They also met with Sungjingwangchug, head of the Shilingol League, Rinchinwangdud, the *jasag* of the Sunid Left Banner and the Chagaan Geegen, the abbot of the monastery of Chagaan-obootu-sume on the way to Sunid Right Banner. Lhamujab had invited these Inner Mongolian dignitaries to go with him.

At their arrival, I was given a chance to meet with Prince Sung, who had been my superior in the office for many years. Prince Sung told me that he had discussed the Mongol problem with the Outer Mongolian vice premier: "Lhamujab told me frankly, 'Our [Outer Mongolian] independence has just received the support of the Soviet Union and other countries and the recognition of the Chinese government. Our territories are to remain the same as they are now, and Inner Mongolia is not to be included. Since our independence has just been recognized, we cannot intervene in matters across the border. You must handle your own affairs. Even if we would like to help, we are unable to do so. However, I think the Chinese government has some kind of an understanding. It will not try to oppress you as before. But the situation may change.'"

With these words, the hope for unification of Inner and Outer Mongolia passed. The future of Inner Mongolia now depended on its own efforts. I now had no expectations from the events that were occurring in Sunid. And except for me, Prince Sung did not reveal this information to anyone else. The next day after his arrival, Lhamujab met with Inner Mongolian leaders in Sunid. In addition to a word of comfort, he asked, "Why did you name your political regime the Liberation Committee? Who recommended this?" I was not present. The query made Jirgalang, Tegshibuyan, and Mugdenbuu anxious. Not knowing Lhamujab's real intentions, they avoided a direct answer. They asked, "Could we not alter it and call it the government?" They called together all the participants from the dismissed conference and declared that the title of the political regime would be changed to "Inner Mongolian Government."

Buyandalai, without consideration for Prince De, elevated himself to the position of this new government's leader, thereby reaching the goal he had desired for many years. Although opposed by a few people, Buyandalai was able to gain more support and was elected chairman. Soon after this, on his way back to his home in Chahar, he was killed by unidentified armed assassins. Someone said he was assassinated by the guerrillas of Fu Zuoyi, who were organized by Wu Sier, a former bandit. Someone else said it was done by a contingent sent out by the Chinese Communists. No one knows for sure.

Since I had heard about Lhamujab's words from Prince Sung, and I realized that

this temporary organization in Sunid could be dispersed following the withdrawal of the Soviet-Mongolian Allied forces, I decided to leave. I reported the matter to Prince Sung and decided, while Lhamujab was still there, to ask Lhamujab's permission to return to my homeland, Kharachin, to propagate the "good deeds" of the "liberators."

Together with the other delegates of eastern Shilingol, I went eastward to Pandita-gegeen-keid on horseback. On our way, we met with many people. Everyone asked, "Where is Prince De? Is he all right? Will he try something to help us?" I realized that the existence of the former Mongolian government and the good deeds of Prince De had deeply impressed the hearts of the people in Shilingol League.

When I arrived at Pandita-gegeen-keid, I met with Balgunsurung, the *jasag* of Abkhanar Left Banner and the former head of the Civilian Administration Bureau of the Shilingol League Office. Balgunsurung informed me that after the Russian devastation of the monastery and the office buildings, many people had moved away from the main route for refuge. After the arrival of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army, order was restored, and no more robbing by the Soviet troops occurred. Nevertheless, the officers of the Outer Mongolian forces interrogated most of the elite in this area at their headquarters. The elite were ordered to write their autobiographies over and over again in order to find out who had collaborated with the Japanese as spies. Fortunately, none of them were arrested. When Balgunsurung had asked the Outer Mongolian officers about the Soviet massacre of the lamas of the monastery, he received no explanation.

On the same night, Lhamujab dispatched one of his secretaries with a jeep to carry Prince Sung back to Pandita-gegeen-keid. The vice premier demanded that Prince Sung reestablish order in the league. The league head was himself very eager to restore order, but all the documents and officials had disappeared. It was impossible to carry out any restoration. Prince Sung ordered me to draft a document for all the banners in the area, asking them to do their best to restore order and to facilitate the transportation of the Mongolian army. This was the last service I performed at the devastated Shilingol League Office. Prince Sung knew that I was going to leave, but he did not try to stop me. After midnight of that day, I never saw my benevolent superior again. To this day, I have strong feelings of sadness at our having been separated.

After I left Shilingol, Marshal Choibalsan arrived in Sunid from Ulaanbaatar to survey the situation. He expressed no opinion regarding the new political regime established there. Soon after, the delegates of the Inner Mongolian People's Delegates Conference went to Ulaanbaatar. There they received a warm welcome from both the party and the government. Choibalsan hosted a dinner party at his villa south of the Mongolian capital. Dugursurung, the eldest son of Prince De, was also invited. Jirgalang had asked Choibalsan's opinion on Inner Mongolia's future and the possibility of unification with the northern brothers. Choibalsan had answered, "Because of the Yalta Agreement, our independence has been recognized on condition that our nation retain only its existing territories. How could we become involved in the problem of a neighboring country? There is no possible way to unify Inner and Outer Mongolia. However, through party to party relationships, we can tell the Chinese Communist Party to exercise caution in handling the Inner Mongolian problem. For your sake, it would be better to establish more contacts with the Chinese." After receiving this answer, the delegates returned to Sunid under a cloud of disappointment. From among these delegates, only Damrinsurung decided to stay in the Mongolian People's Republic permanently.

By this time, the influence of the Chinese Communist Party loomed over the Chahar and Shilingol Leagues. Ulanfu (Yun Ze), together with his comrades, arrived in Kalgan from Yan'an. It was at this point that Buyandalai was kidnapped and killed and

the Inner Mongolian government disbanded. Receiving support from the Chinese Communists, Oljeiochir recruited former Inner Mongolian military factions and organized them into the Inner Mongolian Revolutionary Forces at Chagan-bogda. He then carried out a violent revolution. Faced with this violence, the conservatives were aroused to organize and carry out an armed resistance against the Chinese Communists. There was heavy bloodshed, and many innocent people were killed.

The Changing Situation in Eastern Inner Mongolia

At the beginning of the Soviet Red Army's intrusion into Manchuria from the Soviet strongholds in Eastern Siberia, the Soviets encountered only weak Japanese resistance. The powerful Japanese Guandong Army had been much depleted by the changing situation in the Pacific War. Its best soldiers and most powerful armaments had all been transported to other fronts, leaving them open to an attack by the Soviet Union. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary army also entered Manchuria without any resistance, and they soon occupied the territories of Hulunbuir and Wang-yin-sume. In Hulunbuir, they encountered great numbers of Buriyad Mongols who had fled their homeland in the Lake Baikal area. These Buriyads, along with their leader, Urjin, were captured by the Red Army and treated as Soviet deserters. In Wang-yin-sume, the Mongol leaders were greatly excited, thinking that this would be a good opportunity for unification. There was no opportunity for us to learn their views on western Inner Mongolia nor on Prince De's activities. Following the Soviet intrusion, Colonel Kanagawa Kosaku, head of the Japanese Wang-yin-sume special service office, who together with his assistant, Asau Tatsuo, escaped, later told me they were helped by having been given disguises by Mongols.

The eastern Inner Mongolian leaders, like Prince De, did not seek revenge on their former Japanese enemies when they were in a weakened condition. The Japanese in eastern Inner Mongolia suffered no great casualties. Their experience was quite different from that of the other Japanese in the Chinese territories of Manchukuo. On August 20, the Soviet troops captured Puyi and Badmarabdan at the same time. With the fall of Japan, Xinjing, the capital of Manchukuo, was restored to its original name, Changchun. The eastern Inner Mongolian leaders, except Badmarabdan, who was captured, gathered in the city to wait. These leaders included men such as Shumingga, Khafungga and Namkhajab.

At Wang-yin-sume, Buyanmandukhu, the former governor of Kinggan General Province, together with Khafengga, Askhan, Manibadara, Sangjaijab, and others, tried hard to carry out a movement for Mongolian self-government. With the support of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army, authorities from Wang-yin-sume sent out recruiters to the leagues and banners, hoping to convince the people to join the movement. They also sent Buyanmandukhu and Khafungga as the heads of a delegation to go to Ulaanbaatar to express appreciation to Marshal Choibalsan for their liberation. When they left, they were very excited. They earnestly hoped that through the Japanese defeat, unification of the two Mongolias would be possible. The answer they received was similar to the response received by the western Inner Mongolian delegates. Upon their return, realizing that hope for unification of the south and north had vanished, they quickly organized the Eastern Mongolian Autonomous Government.

The Soviet occupation of China's northeastern territories was based on the Yalta Agreement, but even after disarming the Japanese, the Soviets hindered the pro-American Chinese government in restoring its rule over this domain. The Chungking authorities

appointed General Xiong Shihui as head of the Military Committee Northeastern Branch to handle the takeover, with the cooperation of Marshal R. Y. Malinovski, commander in chief of the Soviet forces in Changchun. However, all General Xiong's activities were stopped or hindered by the Soviets. Xiong and his subordinates had no choice but to retreat to Beiping to wait for another opportunity. Meanwhile, Chinese Communist forces under the leadership of Lin Biao had already entered the northeast region and had started to recruit from the remnants of the former Manchukuo army. The Soviet authorities greatly strengthened the Chinese Communists by equipping them with arms surrendered by the Japanese. The Eastern Mongolian Autonomous Government organized in the early spring of 1946 faced this unfavorable situation.

After leaving Shilingol, I arrived in Keshigten Banner of the Juu-uda League, where I met with Bao Yonghe, the head of the banner, who was trying to restore order after the Soviet invasion. I heard that in Wang-yin-sume, a few Mongol leaders had gathered to work out some sort of plan for Mongolia's future. From Keshigten, I went to Ongni'ud Right Banner Office in Chifeng, where I had a long night's talk with Sechenchogtu, the head of the banner. Sechenchogtu talked bitterly about the barbaric acts of the Soviet troops. He also reported that Mongolian forces had followed the Russians from Chifeng to Rehe to restore local order.

Sechenchogtu noted that at the downfall of Japan, the people of Western Kinggan Province and the eight banners of Jinzhou and Rehe district were frightened because the loss of Japanese power might cause a recurrence of the 1891 Jindantao tragedy (also known as the Red Caps Rebellion), in which local Chinese immigrants massacred many Mongols. The Chinese in the area, even during the Japanese occupation, had expressed hatred toward the Mongols, whom they considered collaborators with the Japanese. With the Japanese gone, it was fortunate that the Outer Mongolian troops arrived, for they thereby averted a possible tragedy. I had heard similar words of animosity as I traveled through the Chinese areas in Juu-uda League, and I suspected that these rumors were not unfounded.

One of the recruiters from Wang-yin-sume arrived in Chifeng while I was there, and delegates from the banners of Josotu and Juu-uda Leagues gathered for a conference to discuss establishing a political regime to unify the Mongols in preparation for the struggle for their future. The following are brief sketches of the leaders of eastern Inner Mongolia.

Buyanmandukhu, a more than fifty-year-old man from the Khorchin Left Front Banner, was a graduate of the Frontier Management College (*Choupian zhuanmen xue-xiao*) in Mukden. After Manchukuo was established, he became the head of the Civil Administration Bureau of Southern Kinggan Province. Later, he was appointed section head of the Mongolian Administration Ministry. Shortly after, when this ministry was reorganized into the General Bureau of Kinggan Province, he was appointed a counselor in this bureau. His last political post in the Manchukuo period was as governor of Kinggan General Province. Soon after the Manchurian Mukden Incident of 1931, an investigation group was sent by the League of Nations to Mukden. Buyanmandukhu, together with Namkhajab, was made a representative of the Mongols by Japanese military authorities to show Mongolian support for the establishment of Manchukuo and to emphasize the oppression the Mongols had suffered in past decades under the Chinese. As for his ideology, Buyanmandukhu opposed the traditional feudal system of Mongolia, but his personal activities, both romantic and practical, showed him to be an experienced bureaucrat. Even after the Chinese Communist regime was established, he remained a resilient politician. He died in the late 1970s.

Khafengga was from the Khorchin Left Center Banner, commonly known as the Darkhan Banner. He graduated from the Northeastern Mongolian Banners Normal College with honors just before the Mukden incident. During his college years, he was noticed by the president, Merse, and was influenced by his college president's politically leftist nationalism. After the Mukden Incident, as mentioned in a previous chapter, Khafungga, together with Jirgalang and other Mongol nationalist youth, started a movement for Mongolian independence. But by then the founding of Manchukuo was already an established Japanese policy, and the movement was sternly suppressed by the Guandong Army. Later, Khafengga was appointed as a counselor of the Manchukuo Embassy in Japan, and eventually became a counselor of the General Bureau of Kinggan province. During this period, he was able to establish a good relationship with many Mongol intellectuals, and he achieved tremendous personal prestige within the Mongolian community. Even at the peak of Japanese strength, some suspected he had secret contact with the Communist International (Comintern) organization. Not surprisingly, he was the real initiator and leader of the Eastern Inner Mongolian Autonomy Movement. For political convenience, he always placed Buyanmandukhu before himself.

Manibadara, like Buyanmandukhu being from the Bingtu Banner, was a graduate of the Law and Politics University in Beijing. After Manchukuo was established, he was appointed a section head and a bureau head in the Mongolian administration. He later was appointed to be head of the General Affairs Bureau of Kinggan Province. While head of the Civil Administrative Bureau of the Southern Kinggan Province, Manibadara felt that a person holding government office could not accomplish the task of restoring the Mongol people's unity and culture. Thus, when the Japanese authorities in Manchukuo established the Mongolian Livelihood Improvement Association to help solve controversies between Chinese settlers and Mongol landowners, he resigned his official job and received support to become the chairman of this new association. This nonprofit organization established many schools and educational centers and sent many Mongol students to Japan. Also through Manibadara's efforts, a shrine to Chinggis Khan was proposed at Wang-yin-sume.

Manibadara came to Kalgan to solicit donations for this shrine project, and he used the opportunity to speak with Prince De about Mongolia's future. Although they had reached a common understanding, the sudden intrusion of the Soviet forces severed all connections between eastern and western Inner Mongolia and made such an understanding impossible to pursue. Manibadara, although able to speak some Russian, felt it improper to lean unconditionally toward the Soviet Union and Outer Mongolia. It would be better to pursue other political options. In particular he hoped to maintain the relationship with Chungking and use the power of the Chinese government to check the expanding influence of the Soviet Union.

Askhan, was from Khorchin Left Center (Darkhan) Banner. In the late 1920s he studied at the Mongolian-Tibetan Academy in Beijing, and later received military training in Japan. After the Mukden Incident he returned home and joined the Mongolian independence movement. He organized military forces and attacked the Chinese city of Tongliao. After the movement was suppressed by the Guandong Army, Japanese authorities put Askhan in the Kinggan military forces. Soon, because of his excellent record, he was sent to a Japanese army university. After his return, he became an idol among young Mongolian officers. Because he married a younger sister of Khafungga, and because he had a close relationship with his brother-in-law, Askhan was suspected of being a collaborator with the Comintern. During the formation of the Eastern Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government, he was not only a zealous supporter but also the or-

ganizer of the military forces of this regime.

Temurbagana, from the Kharachin Right Banner, was educated in Outer Mongolia. Later, he received an assignment from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Comintern, returning to eastern Inner Mongolia as an agent remaining underground. It is thought that he was the man who established secret contact between the Comintern and Khafengga.

Dagraachir (Fu Lianke) studied at the Mongolian-Tibetan Academy in Beiping before entering the political science department of Beijing University. Because of the Manchurian incident, he returned to eastern Inner Mongolia before his graduation and was made an officer in the Mongolian administration in Manchukuo.

Oyundalai was also from Darkhan Banner. After Manchukuo was established, he was assigned as a counselor to the Manchurian Embassy in Japan and later as a counselor of the General Bureau of Kinggan Province. While in Japan, he formed a good relationship with many Eastern Inner Mongolian students studying there. He was also very popular among the intellectuals.

Sangjaijab, a fanatical nationalist, was in one of the first groups of students sent to Japan by Manchukuo. Of course a national movement was not possible with the support of so few people, although it was popular among the great majority of those who studied abroad. The leaders I describe above were only those whom I knew personally.

Activities of the Mongols in Beiping

When Prince De returned from Chungking to Beiping, General Li Zongren was already head of the Military Affairs Committee, Beiping Branch. At that time, Mongols in Beiping, including Prince De, still hoped to return to the steppes and restore the Mongol nation. They thought that the occupation by the Soviet and Mongolian forces would be temporary and that the intrusion of the Chinese Communists also could not last long. Following the advance of the Chinese government's forces, the situation in Inner Mongolia would rapidly change. Thus the Mongols in Beiping felt justified in becoming quite politically active. However, they were not always in agreement. The group with Prince De as its leader always hoped to unify the various factions into one voice in order to demand a higher degree of autonomy from the Chinese government. These Mongols also wished to establish contact with local authorities to reinforce their strength. At the same time, they wished to win the support of international and national opinion so as to influence the Chinese authorities. They hoped public opinion would convince the government that the demand of the Mongols for self-determination and self-rule were those of a movement of cooperation, not separation. The more realistic group headed by Wu Heling argued that the restoration of the league and banner organizations should not be neglected by a concentration only on self-determination and self-rule.

At the same time, a small group led by Wubao, a former *jasag* of the Bingtu Banner, appeared as "loyalists" on the Chinese side and attacked Prince De, Wu Heling, and their groups as "traitors" who had collaborated with the Japanese. Wubao had become *jasag* before the Mukden Incident. Because he was *persona non grata* in his own banner, he escaped to Beiping and joined Wu Heling's faction. After the Marco Polo Bridge incident, he went to western Inner Mongolia as one of the representatives of the Beiping Mongolian Association and joined the second Mongolian Congress. After the conference, Prince De gave him a position in his government no higher than that of a clerk. Angered, he retreated to Beiping. By then, Wu Heling had been ousted from the

Mongolian political center by Kanai and exiled to Japan.

Several years later, when Wu Heling was made head of the Political Affairs Department in the Mongolian government, Wubao returned from Beiping to look for a better job. Because of Wubao's incompetence, Wu Heling neglected his applications. Wubao sought revenge for this slight. The one who allied himself to Wubao in this revenge was Kichiyeltumergen, whose ancestors had established a marriage relationship with the Manchu imperial household even before the Manchu occupation of China (thus making their descendants high ranking princes). In 1931, before the Manchurian incident, Kichiyeltumergen had supported Prince De in the political struggle against Wu Heling. But after the Japanese occupation of North China, he was ignored by the Prince, and he returned to Khorchin Left Center Banner. Because of his lack of education, the Manchukuo government never gave him a post higher than that of a lowly clerk. During this period, Kichiyeltumergen had no money, and was reduced to selling the great Beiping residence of his ancestors to Li Shouxin. After the Soviet invasion and the formation of an Eastern Mongolian Autonomy Movement, he escaped to Beiping and served as a loyalist to those elements in the KMT government opposed to Mongolian autonomy.

In 1931, right after the Mukden Incident, Namjilsereng, Prince of the Darkhan Banner and vice-head of the Jerim League, left his homeland and stayed in Beiping without making any political contacts. A loyalist to the Chinese side, he was eventually promoted by the Chinese government to head of the Jerim League and made a member of the Northeastern Political Affairs Committee. Nevertheless, Namjilsereng had no political ambitions and no political experience. Now he was forced into politics basically against his will. Chu Mingshan, taking advantage of this, tried to use Namjilsereng as a figure-head.

Another Chinese loyalist, Mergen (Liang Chixiang), had been one of the go-betweens for Prince De and Chungking and had been imprisoned by Japanese militants. Because of his close relationship with Prince De, he remained loyal to the Prince and from time to time still acted as a go-between linking Prince De and Ma Hansan, the chief of Chungking intelligence in North China.

Despite the complexity of the situation among the Mongols in Beiping, the great majority still looked to Prince De for leadership. Even those who were with Wu Heling shared this sentiment.

At about this time, Li Shouxin, who was assigned as commander of the Tenth Route Army, began to recruit his former Chinese followers. He concentrated these in Nankou, forty kilometers northwest of Beiping. He appointed Ding Qichang as the director of those units that would confront the Chinese Communists' strongholds in the border areas of Shanxi, Hebei, and Chahar Provinces. When Prince De left Kalgan, he had two companies of personal guards and troops stationed near Nankuo. Later, because he did not wish to throw them into the battlefield, he ordered them to disband and return home. Li Shouxin was able to recruit his old followers, but salaries and equipment in his units were insufficient, and the morale of the soldiers very low. The future seemed grave. Ding Qichang shot himself and died on Chinese New Year's Day of the year *pingxu* [1946]. His death accelerated the collapse of Li Shouxin's group.

After returning from Chungking to Beiping, Wu Guting followed the Military Affairs Committee Northeast Branch to Mukden. By then, the commander of the Chinese forces, He Zhuguo, had lost his sight; General Xiong Shihui was assigned to General He's post, and General Tu Yiming was appointed as peace preservation commander of Northeastern territories. However, under heavy pressure from the Soviets, they were not able to stay in Mukden with their troops. Wu Guting was able to travel from Mukden to

Changchun. More than one hundred Mongols were staying in Changchun, thus enabling Wu to talk to some of them about the situation of Mongolia. Soon after, the Mongols in Mukden discovered Wu Guting's involvement with Chungking and canceled further contact.

Following the takeover of the Northeast by the Chinese government, Wu Guting was able to gather some local Mongolian military forces and organize them into the Northeastern Mongolian Banners Allied Peace Preservation Troops under his own command. They were all cavalry, and numbered about 2,000. Later, this group was reorganized into a cavalry brigade. These anti-Communist Mongol forces fought in the area of Liaobei, Rehe, and Jinzhou. In 1949, following the communist occupation of the Northeastern region, they fought their way out and moved to western Inner Mongolia to join the autonomy movement at Alashan under the leadership of Prince De.

Wu Heling was very active. He established the Mongolian Consolidation and Rehabilitation Group, with himself as director. Under him, joined former officials of the Mongolian government, Enkeamur, Jirgalang (Ji Chixiang), Kogjiku, Suchungga, and others. Wu Heling's group uncovered the fact that the aged Prince Dagdanwangchug, who was appointed head of Josotu League just before it was occupied by the Japanese in 1933, had been sorely neglected by the Japanese after their occupation. Now Wu Heling and his group recommended this aged Prince to Chungking as both anti-Japanese and as a loyalist to the Chinese government. Consequently, Dagdanwangchug was recognized by the Chinese government as the head of the Josotu League. Following this success, Wu's group discovered the *jasag* of the Naiman Banner, Sodnamdarjia, formerly the deputy head of the Juu-uda League. They recommended him to the Chinese government, and soon he was appointed as league head in charge of Juu-uda. As for the Jerim League, since Namijilsereng had already been recognized by the Chinese government as the head of the league, there was no need for further recruitment. In this manner the three Eastern leagues of Inner Mongolia were reestablished at least nominally through the efforts of Wu Heling and his group. After I arrived in Beiping, Wu Heling also tried to recruit me into his organization, but I declined the offer because of differing views on the solution to the Mongolian problem.

After Chinese Communist forces entered Kalgan, Ulanfu and a group of other Mongol cadres under him also arrived in that city. Ulanfu and his group tried hard to recruit Mongol activists who were concentrated in Sunid, but they also struggled to win the support of the Mongols in Beiping. Ulanfu dispatched Shuwangchu (Wu Yaochen) and Bai Wenhua to the old capital city to persuade the Mongols there to return to Kalgan. Shuwangchu, a Kharachin Right Banner man, had been a clerk in the Beijing Mongolian-Tibetan Academy while Ulanfu was a student there. Later, Shuwangchu had been recruited by Wu Guting as a lieutenant colonel in the Mongol Army during the Japanese occupation. Because Shuwangchu was an acquaintance of Ulanfu and because he knew most of the graduates of the Mongolian-Tibetan Academy, it would be easier for him to contact those Mongols in Beiping.

Bai Wenhua was the top manager of the Prince's residence of Kharachin Right Banner. During the Soviet occupation, he was in Chengde, Rehe, and it was easier for him to contact Ulanfu, his schoolmate at the Beijing Mongolian-Tibetan Academy. Because of his neutrality and his lack of involvement in politics, it was thought that he could persuade the Mongols in Beiping to come back to Kalgan. Moreover, because Chungking had no clear policy on the Inner Mongolian problem, a group of more active Mongols who were disappointed in the KMT returned to Kalgan. About this time, Xue Xingru and others were sent by Li Yongxin from Chungking to Beiping to recruit Mongols to the

KMT side, and they were able to pull back some of the people who had already been persuaded by Ulanfu's messengers.

Soon after my arrival in Beijing, I was to attend a meeting of the Mongols in Beijing convened by Bai Yunti, He Zhaolin, and others sent by the Chinese government. The meeting was held at the old site of the Beijing Office of the Mongolian Government. Bai and He lectured on the goodwill of the Chinese government, the Kuomintang Party, and Chairman Chiang Kai-shek toward the Mongols and their concern for the well-being of those Mongols who were already in Beijing. During the discussion period, someone asked, "Does the central government have any true intention to carry out the promise of Mr. Sun Yat-sen for self-determination and self-rule of the minorities?" Someone else asked, "Why is the government unable to establish by ordinance an institution to achieve Mongolian autonomy?" Irritated by these questions, Rong Zhao, a member of the People's Political Council, answered in a threatening voice by warning that those who had joined the Mongolian government under Japanese occupation should know their place and exercise self-restraint.

Before Rong Zhao finished speaking, Khatanbagatur, formerly Prince De's commander of the guards and well known for his strictness and uprightness, spoke out angrily. "When the Japanese came," he said, "they put their swords to our necks. Even so, we did not consider our own life or death, and we were still able to do something for our own people. But you people oiled your shoes and escaped as quickly as possible. Now you have returned. How could you have the nerve to speak to us?" At this, the audience applauded, and Rong Zhao became furious. He Zhaolin quietly left the hall to call on the military police to surprise these "anti-central government and anti-KMT Mongols." Several military trucks soon arrived. Fortunately, Bai Yunti went out to meet the military and civilian police to explain that it was only a misunderstanding; he was able to persuade the police forces to leave.

Bai Yunti returned to the hall and spoke to the audience, saying, "Let us recall our old Mongolian saying: If your arm is broken, keep it in your sleeve; don't show your scars to outsiders." And with Bai's comments, an unpleasant meeting came to an end.

Nevertheless, from this moment, a wide gap developed between the so-called anti-Japanese Mongols and the locals. Rong Zhao was furious, demanding that the central government punish the Mongolian "*hanjian*" who had collaborated with the Japanese. *Han* means Chinese; and *jian* means traitor. The word thus means "traitor to China." The local Mongols responded, "We are Mongols, not *Han*; so how could we become *Han-jian*? We are Mongols, and we struggled for our people. What is the difference between us, who collaborated with the Japanese, and those who collaborated with Chungking, the Chinese? They are all aliens. We should not be offended because of the pejorative meaning of *Hanjian*. It doesn't bother us."

Soon after, Khatanbagatur realized that he could not cooperate with those KMT Mongols. He asked Prince De for leave to return to Kalgan. We soon heard from Kalgan that he went to Chifeng, where he again had a vicious debate, this time with the Communists, concerning Mongolian self-rule and self-domination. Afterward, he "disappeared" on his way to Wang-yin-sume.