

## XVI

### IN ULAANBAATAR DECEMBER 1949 - SEPTEMBER 1950

#### Prince De's Response to the Mongolian People's Republic

In the winter of 1911, Outer Mongolia, under the leadership of the Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutugtu and Prince Khangdadorji, had announced its independence from China. Outer Mongolia traveled a very rough road indeed as an independent nation during the next thirteen years. Finally, in 1924, the Mongolian People's Republic was established with the assistance of the Soviet Union. Its independence was announced on November 22, 1945, as a result of the Yalta Agreement. On January 5, 1946, the Chinese government in Chungking officially recognized its independence.

Prince De had been elated at this development; he was gratified to see that a portion of the Mongol people had finally gained formal independence, and that China had finally renounced its claims to suzerainty over Mongolia. Prince De celebrated this independence by cutting off his queue, a symbol of the Mongol nation under foreign domination. Though this was a small gesture, it was very significant because it vividly demonstrated Prince De's joy at finally seeing Mongol people achieve true independence and nationhood. While he recognized that the differences in political ideology north and south of the Gobi were considerable, he knew in his heart that the blood in the veins of the Outer Mongols was still true Mongol blood. He hoped that Inner and Outer Mongolia, though separated by their non-Mongol neighbors, would one day reunite and become a single nation again.

Of course, Prince De still remained deeply suspicious of the social revolution in Outer Mongolia and was disappointed that the new Mongolian nation there would be limited to its current territory. But these disappointments did not diminish his belief that all Mongols were one people. He felt there was nothing that human endeavor could not eventually accomplish. The people of Inner Mongolia, especially the feudal princes (who, of course, included Prince De himself), had long harbored deep suspicion toward and fear of the Communist regime in Outer Mongolia. This fear led them to cast their lot with the Japanese anti-Communist camp during the Second Sino-Japanese War. During this time of cooperation with the Japanese, a steady stream of Outer Mongols deserted their homeland and fled to Inner Mongolia. This flow of refugees reinforced the aura of suspicion and fear through which Inner Mongols perceived Outer Mongolia.

But with Chinese Communist expansion into Inner Mongolia expected in the near future, old concerns about Mongolian communism decreased. If Inner Mongolia were fated to come under communism, why not look to the north and seek to be ruled by *Mongolian* Communists? The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Communist Party of China had the same basic ideology. But the Communists in the Mongolian People's Republic were Mongols who had Mongol blood flowing through their veins. As such, surely they would be more trustworthy and approachable than Communists of an alien race. At the end of World War II, this type of reasoning led many Inner Mongols to

flee to Outer Mongolia. A similar line of reasoning led many Turkic-speaking peoples in Xinjiang (Chinese Turkestan) to flee to the Turkic areas of Soviet Central Asia.

As mentioned earlier, after Prince De received a letter from his son Dugursurung, who lived in Outer Mongolia, he began to think more favorably of the Mongolian People's Republic. This letter was one of the factors that helped him finally decide to proceed to Ulaanbaatar and seek the assistance of Choibalsan, the leader of the Mongolian People's Republic. There are many striking similarities between the prince's trip to Ulaanbaatar and Amursana's trip to Tsarist Russia to seek assistance in his struggle against the oppression of the Manchu Qianlong Emperor. Amursana was protected from the Manchus by the Czar; Prince De, however, was eventually extradited to Beijing by the Mongolian People's Republic and charged with committing crimes against the Chinese Communists.

I did not accompany Prince De to the Mongolian People's Republic, nor have I heard anything from trustworthy sources about his sojourn there. The following account is based mainly on a book entitled *The Personal Narrative of Demchugdongrob*.<sup>1</sup> For the account below, I have drawn on the seventh and last chapter of this book, "My Experiences in the Mongolian People's Republic." The book as a whole reads like a confession elicited from Prince De through relentless interrogation. Having been intimately acquainted with Prince De, I know that he would not yield easily to coercion. The overall tone of the book suggests that it is an attempt to vilify the Prince because he had not "come clean" and given a complete confession to the liking of the Chinese Communists, as Puyi had done. If he had, he probably would have been treated as well as the last Manchu emperor. But the prince did not give in. I think the internal textual evidence of this book indicates that it began as a record of incomplete and hence unsatisfactory confessions, elicited through coercion and prolonged interrogation, but that it was later embellished and "polished" by Tobshin and others. Careful consideration of my reservations about the book enables me, I hope, to extrapolate from it at least some aspects of what happened to Prince De during his unhappy stay in the Mongolian People's Republic.

### Preparing to Contact the MPR's Agents

According to the *Personal Narrative*, before Prince De left Alashan for Guangzhou, he had Altano chir, a distant nephew, go to the border between Inner and Outer Mongolia to make preliminary contact with the Mongolian People's Republic. As far as I know, before this move was made, Prince De and Damzana opposed each other over the issue of "national autonomy." The extreme nationalists—Dagwaodsar, Shongno, Shonudongrob, Lubsangnorbu, and Altano chir—had all supported Prince De's proposal. This embarrassed Damzana, their host at Alashan. So they decided it would be better for them to move away from Alashan and return to the Urad Middle Banner (Shongno's home banner) of the Ulan chab League. They eventually moved to the temple of Bayan-shangdu because this location was far out of reach of the Chinese Communists but within easy reach of Outer Mongolia.

Altano chir was reserved but shrewd. During the Soviet-Mongolian occupation

<sup>1</sup> Tao Buxin, ed. *Demuchukedonglupu zishu* (The Personal Narrative of Demchugdongrob), Inner Mongolian Historical Materials, No. 13, The Research Committee on Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region Literary and Historical Materials (Hohhot: Inner Mongolian Peoples' Press, 1984, limited circulation).



of Shilingol in 1945, he had already established personal contacts with secret agents from Outer Mongolia. He was later dispatched by them to Beiping, disguised as a defector, to work on Prince De. While he was on this mission in Beiping, his friendship with several members of the Mongolian Youth Alliance enabled him to become a member of this organization. After he joined the alliance, he often expressed some points of view that I found very strange. I did not realize then that he was doing this deliberately.

Lubsangnorbu and Dagwaodsar had contacted Outer Mongolian agents while Inner Mongolia was still under Japanese occupation. Lubsangnorbu had once been arrested by the Japanese military under suspicion of entering into contact with the Mongolian People's Republic. Because he was a son of Buyandalai, Prince De was able to arrange for his release. Shonnudongrob accepted the mission given to him by Lieutenant General Duingkhorjab, head of Ulaanbaatar's Internal Defense Bureau. He secretly told Prince De and me of this decision after he had escaped from Shilingol to Beiping. Shonnudongrob was the eldest son of Rinchinsenge, head of the Ulanbatai League, and was the head of the peace preservation troops of the Urad Middle Banner.

The backgrounds of these people made it easy for them to establish contact with the Mongolian People's Republic. That was why Prince De selected them to be his go-betweens with Ulaanbaatar. Ulaanbaatar dispatched a man to Dingyuaning, in response to their hints, but by this time, Prince De was already in Guangzhou, and it was impossible for them to meet. This man from Ulaanbaatar left a letter from Prince De's eldest son with Luo Batumongke, who later forwarded it to Prince De. Prince De showed me this letter when I was in Alashan.

According to the *Personal Narrative*, Shonnudongrob came to Dingyuaning after the conference in Alashan and brought a letter from Altanochir to Prince De. Altanochir said in the letter that he had met with Dordog and Bayar (also known as Ochirbatu) of the Mongolian People's Republic. The three men talked about the propaganda leaflets dropped in Kalgan at the time of the Japanese surrender; Altanochir said those leaflets were printed as the result of a misunderstanding. They now realized that Prince De had indeed resisted the Japanese, even during their occupation of Inner Mongolia. These two agents of the Mongolian People's Republic stated further that they knew that Prince De had done nothing wrong and that their government did not want to leave Prince De, an innocent man, with nowhere to go. They were, therefore, happy to convey to Prince De the letters that his relatives in Outer Mongolia had written. They were disturbed, however, by reports that Prince De had recently been in contact with the American imperialists. Judging from the attitude of the American imperialists toward the Negroes, they argued, it would be easy to predict the kind of attitudes they would have toward the Mongols. They expressed hope that Prince De would come to the Mongolian People's Republic, to be welcomed by Marshal Choibalsan and the people.

Later, when Prince De was planning to leave Dingyuaning, Duan Taldangdai (a border guard of the Alashan Banner who had brought the letter from the Mongolian People's Republic to Prince De) came to see Prince De and said, "The Mongolian People's Republic has sent Batujirgalang to visit you. He has something to discuss with you." Prince De responded by saying that the situation at Dingyuaning was complex, and that he would like to meet with Batujirgalang the next day at another location. Prince De traveled a day's journey away from Dingyuaning, and the two men met at an agreed upon place. Batujirgalang presented Prince De with a *khadag* (a silk scarf) as a token of good will and welcome from the Outer Mongolian authorities. He also gave Prince De a roll of satin and other presents, including a letter written by his son Dugursurung. The letter said that the Outer Mongolian authorities hoped that Prince De would be able to come. From

now on, the letter continued, he could stay anywhere he wanted in Mongolian territory. The success of the Chinese revolution under Mao Zedong is certain, Dugursurung concluded. It would be better for Prince De to come to Outer Mongolia.

After Prince De finished reading the letter Batujirgalang asked him to proceed to Sharja to meet with other Mongolian agents, but Prince De demurred. It seems that he still distrusted the Outer Mongolian authorities. While traveling to the temple of Tukum, he expressed his desire to proceed on to the Bayan Shangdu temple. At this temple, he thought, he could gather all the scattered troops from Shilingol and Chahar and use the radio-telephone equipment he had placed there. He used the need to go to Bayan Shangdu as a pretext for his delay and asked his Outer Mongolian counterpart to send someone to the Bayan Shangdu for further discussions.

### **Contact with MPR Agents at the Bayan Shangdu Temple**

While Prince De continued his journey to the Tukum temple, Shonnudongrob sent his confidant Gombo to see him. Prince De asked Gombo about the condition of the wireless telegraph equipment. Gombo said he had heard that this equipment had already been given to the Mongolian People's Republic by Altanochir. Prince De, angered by this news, sent a man to fetch Altanochir. On his arrival, Altanochir urged Prince De to go to the Mongolian People's Republic immediately. Prince De rebuked him for this, demanding an explanation for his failure to report the contacts he had made from May to late August. Prince De also wanted to know why Altanochir had given away the wireless telegraph equipment. Altanochir did not give a detailed explanation; he merely stated that since Prince De's going over to the Mongolian People's Republic was a certainty, he had given the equipment to the Mongolian People's Republic. Prince De was extremely upset at this response, but he could do nothing about it. The loss of the equipment made it impossible for Prince De to establish further contact with the outside world. All these actions were, I believe, conspiracies arranged by Altanochir and his counterparts in the Mongolian People's Republic to discredit Prince De.

Prince De probably arrived at the Bayan Shangdu temple on the 19th of October (the eighteenth day of the eighth month on the lunar calendar). Rinchinsengge, the head of the Ulanbata League; his son, Shongno; and others, had all gathered there to welcome Prince De. On the next day, Batujirgalang and two other people who had been sent from Ulaanbaatar finally arrived. They presented Prince De with yet another letter from his son Dugursurung. In this letter, Dugursurung explained that he and other members of Prince De's family had been in Chagan-tolugai and Khara-ereg for quite some time awaiting his arrival. They urged him to come quickly.

That night, Prince De deliberated with Tumendelger, Shonnudongrob, and Altanochir about whether he should go. But these people refused to advise Prince De on the matter, urging him to make the decision by himself. Because he still harbored some suspicions about the Mongolian People's Republic, Prince De finally decided to ask the Outer Mongolian authorities to send yet another representative to Bayan Shangdu for discussions. But the Mongolian People's Republic rejected this proposal, insisting that such discussions take place within the borders of the Mongolian People's Republic. Prince De eventually gave in and agreed to cross over into Outer Mongolia.

On the next day, just before his departure, Prince De said to his followers, "If one does not enter the tiger's cave, how will he capture the tiger's cubs? I must throw all caution to the winds and proceed boldly. If I lose my freedom, please take care of your-



selves." Rinchinsengge had been invited by the Mongolian People's Republic to accompany Prince De, but he refused this invitation and sent his son Shongno instead. Altanochir and Tumendelger also accompanied Prince De. At the border they were welcomed by Colonel Choijil, who politely said that the deputy chief of the Internal Defense Bureau and the authorities of the central government had sent Lubsang and Dugursurung to the border to await Prince De's arrival. Because of the long delay, they had all departed. If Prince De wished to return to Bayan Shangdu he (Choijil) would have to send a telegraph to this effect to his superiors in Ulaanbaatar.

That night, Choijil gave Prince De a banquet. This put Prince De at ease and led him to believe that Choijil did not want to detain him against his will. Altanochir traveled secretly to the border the next morning. When he returned, he seemed to be staring at something for a long time; Prince De did not understand what this meant. At noon, Bayar arrived and greeted them with pleasantries. Bayar again explained that Dugursurung and Lubsang, who were sent by Choibalsan, had waited at the border for a long time for Prince De's arrival, but because it was delayed, they had departed. Bayar explained further that he had just concluded some important matters and then hurried to the border to meet Prince De. Prince De asked Bayar if Marshal Choibalsan had any important messages for him. Bayar said he did not know, but Dugursurung might know. He offered to convey to Choibalsan any message Prince De might have.

Bayar went on to say that, "the Mongolian People's Republic has now been established. Our country will soon enter into diplomatic relations with China. If you have any political goals, it would be best for you to petition Beijing in regard to them. We cannot interfere in the internal affairs of other nations. Your eldest son is studying at Choibalsan University. Your second son has completed his studies at the Normal Academy and is now teaching. Your third and fourth sons are studying in a middle school. Your daughter and daughter-in-law are now teaching at primary schools. All in all, your family members are doing well." Prince De then asked Bayar to tell his sons that he wanted them to study well and endeavor to do something for the future of the Mongolian people.

At dusk, Bayar asked Prince De to remain where he was for one more night. They gave him much meat and wine at a meal that night, and this made both host and guests very happy. Of course, all these things had been arranged beforehand by Altanochir, who was acting as an agent for the Mongolian People's Republic.

In my judgment, Bayar's words cannot be regarded as lies. His statements resembled what Choibalsan had told Jirgalang (De Gulai) and Khafengga. At that moment, Prince De should have realized that he would receive no help from Outer Mongolia and should not have demanded that Ulaanbaatar push for the unification of Inner and Outer Mongolia. He also should not have asked Outer Mongolia to assist Inner Mongolia in establishing an independent regime or in resisting domination by Beijing. However, these talks with Bayar only encouraged Prince De to continue hoping for the impossible. He began to feel less suspicious of Ulaanbaatar and even began to believe that while the unification of Inner and Outer Mongolia could not be achieved in the immediate future, it could become a reachable goal in the distant future. He believed that any assistance to Inner Mongolia offered by the Mongolian People's Republic would be a step in this direction. This blind zeal eventually landed him in prison in Ulaanbaatar.

The next day, as Prince De was about to leave, Bayar came to see him again and told him that he had already conveyed Prince De's words to his sons by telegraph. He also had received a telegraphed reply from Dugursurung; in this telegram, Dugursurung expressed his acceptance of his father's exhortations. He was willing to struggle for the

good of the Mongol people his entire life. Moreover, he hoped that his father's talks with Bayar would come to a successful conclusion. The phraseology and style of this telegram were definitely Inner Mongolian, so Prince De believed it was genuine. Bayar then asked Prince De, "Just what do you plan to do?" Prince De replied to this question by asking a question of his own: "Where do you think I should go?" Bayar said, "India would be all right. But India is also a capitalist country." Prince De was unable at this moment to discern why Bayar, a Communist agent, would say something like this. Prince De learned much later that because Bayar had already learned of Prince De's plans from Altanochir, he had said these words to elicit further replies from Prince De and elaboration of his plans.

At the time of his departure, Bayar urged Prince De to take two half boxes of cigarettes with him. In a symbolic gesture of his desire for Mongolian unification, Prince De deliberately put the contents of the two boxes into one box and said, "I would feel better about putting the two together." Bayar smiled but did not reply.

### **At the Tukum Temple**

Prince De rode with Bayar in an automobile to the border separating Inner from Outer Mongolia. As he mounted a horse and prepared to cross back into Inner Mongolia, Prince De said to Bayar, "This visit has given me an understanding of the new Mongolian nation-state. It is certainly an independent and sovereign state. All my past misconceptions about the Mongolian People's Republic have been corrected." Bayar answered, "Your thinking is very correct. I will definitely convey your words to Marshal Choibalsan." On his way back, Prince De heard that Dagwaodsar, Lubsangnorbu, and Altanochir had already decided to proceed to the Mongolian People's Republic. It seems that only then did Prince De begin to suspect their intentions and plans.

After Prince De returned to the temple at Tukum, his enthusiasm for the Mongolian People's Republic and his safe trip back were both celebrated by the people. Sukhbaatar told Prince De that because his return from Outer Mongolia had been so long delayed, the people had begun to fear that he had been taken captive by the Ulaanbaatar authorities. Some even suggested that Li Shouxin be made their leader and that they move westward. Sukhbaatar had resisted these suggestions and insisted that they await Prince De's return.

From Tukum, Prince De traveled to Baruun-sharja, where Hai Fuquan was making preparations to enter the Mongolian People's Republic. Prince De asked him to carry a letter to Altanochir. In this letter, Prince De wrote, "I will decisively and with unyielding determination continue in my work for the Mongolian people." It seems that by this time, Prince De had realized that Altanochir was not his follower but rather was in the employ of Ulaanbaatar. He sent this letter to Altanochir so that it be made known to Ulaanbaatar that his decision on whether to cross the border would be based on what would best serve the Mongol people.

Duan Taldangdai brought a letter to Prince De from the Peace Preservation Corps of the Alashan Banner. This letter demanded that Prince De keep tight control over his own forces in order to prevent confrontation and bloodshed. Duan-Toldangdai said that Batujirgalang, who had been sent from the Mongolian People's Republic to meet with Prince De, had been detained at the border, and that he wanted to see him. Prince De immediately sent Gombo to negotiate. Soon a messenger returned and reported that the Alashan Banner had already released Batujirgalang and sent him back to Outer Mongolia.



Prince De then sent Gombo to Chagan-tolugai to contact the Mongolian People's Republic authorities. Bayar received Gombo and told him that he had originally decided to send Altanochir to contact Prince De, and that since Batujirgalang had returned, he would send Altanochir to invite Prince De to Chagan-tolugai for a meeting.

Prince De responded to this invitation by stating that he would first go to Guisennur (Guaizihu) and then proceed to Chagan-tolugai. By this time, Prince De had already decided to cross over to the Mongolian People's Republic. Upon his arrival in Guisennur, he discussed possible future problems with Li Shouxin, Jirgalang (Ji Zhi-xiang), Sukhbaatar, Dugurengsang, and others. Prince De told them about his plan to go northward; the purpose of this meeting was to bid them a temporary farewell. The ostensible goal of his travels would be to establish political contacts and consult a doctor about his gout. Everybody agreed with this plan, and on December 29, his old friends and followers bade him farewell.

Thus he embarked on the most unfortunate journey of his career, accompanied by his secretary, Tserengdorji, and aide-de-camp, Tumendelger, together with his scouts, Batujirgalang and Gombo. At the moment of his departure, Prince De had a feeling that he was parting forever from his friends and associates. As the prince shook hands with each one of them, Li Shouxin said, "Please do go to [Outer] Mongolia and establish good ties. I also plan to go. If I am to stumble, I would rather stumble on Mongolian land and not into the hands of the [Chinese Communist] Eighth Route Army."

Bayar was at the border to welcome Prince De and told him that Choibalsan had important matters to discuss with him; he had been specially sent again to accompany him to Ulaanbaatar. Prince De told Bayar that he had just received notification from Alashan that the Chinese Communists had recently sent five delegates to the Mongolian People's Republic for negotiations; he wanted to meet with these delegates before proceeding to Ulaanbaatar. Bayar urged him to proceed directly to Ulaanbaatar, adding that he had nothing to worry about. Prince De replied that the Mongolian People's Republic had just recently established diplomatic ties with Communist China. He wanted to know whether his trip to Ulaanbaatar would, in view of this new development, adversely affect Sino-Mongolian relations. Bayar said that this matter had been considered by Ulaanbaatar; there was nothing to worry about. He then urged Prince De to proceed directly to Ulaanbaatar; Prince De agreed to go. Bayar then said to him, "All our activities must remain secret," and asked Prince De to change his clothes before they began moving eastward. Prince De then asked Bayar to have some supplies delivered to his own troops. Bayar replied that all these matters could be looked after in Ulaanbaatar.

According to Prince De's *Personal Narrative*, his thoughts at this time were as follows:

First of all, Bayar claims that the Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic says that all persons who have served in Mongolian nationalist movements shall be allowed to take refuge in the Mongolian People's Republic. Under these provisions, I myself should be guaranteed protection. [This 1949 position later became an explicit part of the constitution. Article 83 of the 1960 Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic; it states that "those foreign citizens who struggled in national liberation movements . . . and as a result are persecuted (by their home governments) shall be endowed with the privilege of residing in the Mongolian People's Republic."]

Second, I imagine that Choibalsan's aim in having talks with me is directed toward the goal of Mongolian unification. If he and I agree to work together for this purpose, I can return peacefully and begin anew my task [of endeavors for the betterment of the Mongolian people and nation]. I should also be able to receive support from the United States and

begin to sway world opinion in favor of Outer and Inner Mongolian unification. When changing conditions permit and when the climate of world opinion is favorable, he and I can combine efforts to establish a unified Mongolia. Choibalsan is a Mongol. Surely he would not allow himself to be a puppet manipulated by the Russians. Surely he has his own independent line of thought. Surely my proposal will be agreeable to him. Although he cannot [at present] give me open support, he will at least express his heart-felt sympathy with, and support for, my endeavors. Although Outer Mongolia has now officially achieved nationhood, its population is spread thin and its strength is limited. It would not pass up the chance for unification with Inner Mongolia. If this unification cannot be immediately accomplished, we can at least pursue a second course by laying some groundwork for the eventual unification of Outer Mongolia with the predominantly Mongolian areas of Inner Mongolia. Because the regimes of China and the Mongolian People's Republic are ideologically related, it may well be difficult for Outer Mongolia to work openly for unification. But it will still be possible to pursue this second course.

### A Guest in Ulaanbaatar

After Prince De's arrival in Ulaanbaatar, he stayed in the hostel of the Interior Defense Bureau (the secret police). Tserengdorji, Tumendelger, Gombo, and Jana arrived soon thereafter. Bayar asked Prince De with whom he would like to lodge, and Prince De replied, "I would like to stay with Jana, my cook." The others were put up at other places, and Prince De never saw them again. Colonel Wandan was sent regularly from the Interior Defense Bureau to contact Prince De. The prince was also usually accompanied by a captain named Lubsangdorji. Lieutenant Gongdari, disguised as a cook for Prince De, also tagged along, while another lieutenant by the name of Bayantogtakhu also seemed to accompany him often. They treated Prince De with respect and friendliness, but unbeknownst to him, they were secretly recording each word he spoke. His hostel contained the collected works of Lenin and Mao Zedong—probably specially placed there for him. Prince De dipped into them occasionally. This was his first exposure to socialist writers.

Soon after Prince De's arrival, Bayar and his superior, Duingkhorjab, the head of the Interior Defense Bureau, came to visit him. They were accompanied by a Soviet advisor with the rank of lieutenant general. Duingkhorjab asked Prince De about his intentions. According to the *Personal Narrative*, Prince De replied, "After I accomplish my tasks here, I wish to return [to Inner Mongolia] and work for the people. Even if the Chinese Communist Party takes advantage of its victory and oppresses me unreasonably, I will still continue in my resistance." Duingkhorjab, surprised at this, asked, "You still want to resist?" The Soviet lieutenant general said, "You are wrong. You should not oppose the Chinese Communist Party again. You should use your reputation and good offices with the people of Inner Mongolia to urge them to accept the leadership and rule of the Chinese Communists." Prince De disagreed: "I am convinced that my position is correct, and I will do what I think is correct."

The Soviet advisor appeared displeased with these remarks. Prince De saw immediately that the Soviet advisor was the one who seemed to be in charge of the discussion, and that it was he who seemed to hold the real power in intelligence matters. Duingkhorjab, supposedly the head of the Interior Defense Bureau, was merely acting as an interpreter for this Soviet advisor. Prince De then expressed to Bayar his desire to meet with Choibalsan. Bayar responded, "Please arrange for this visit through the bureau head [Duingkhorjab]." Duingkhorjab ignored Prince De's request for an audience with Choibalsan and said, "You can visit with your family members, and you will see how much



they have changed.” He then urged Prince De to tell his family members to keep his visit a secret. They were not to breathe one word of it to anyone in Ulaanbaatar.

Prince De then turned the conversation to the topic of unifying Inner and Outer Mongolia. He told Duingkhorjab about his proposal, which he had sent from Guisennur to the Chinese Communist authorities in Ningxia: “The issue of unifying Inner and Outer Mongolia should be decided by plebiscite.” Duingkhorjab was, however, unimpressed with this proposal and unmoved by the prince’s arguments. Prince De’s conversation with Duingkhorjab and the Soviet advisor ended in failure. The failure of this conversation perhaps made them decide to treat Prince De more severely and unfavorably.

On the evening of the second day, Duingkhorjab and the Soviet advisor came for another session with Prince De. Duingkhorjab informed Prince De, “There is no need for you to return to Guisennur. From now on, you may remain openly in the Mongolian People’s Republic and reside with your family. This is a happy matter for you. You may discuss the details of your stay with Bayar.” It seemed to Prince De that he was thereby both given the privilege of remaining in the Mongolian People’s Republic and denied the privilege of leaving it.

After they left, Prince De said to Jana, the only person with whom he could converse freely, “They are not going to allow me to return to Guisennur.” Jana responded, “*Noyan* [superior], it was wrong to come here. You should have gone to Ningxia. Earlier, when the *jasag* prince [Dugursurung, Prince De’s son] went to the Mongol state, he said he would be back soon. But he has never returned.” One can imagine the anxiety and fear that welled up in the heart of Prince De at this moment. He was a man who had for his entire life acted according to his own will, and now he was essentially a prisoner.

According to the *Personal Narrative*, Prince De thought of asking Ulaanbaatar to send him to Beijing or Lanzhou. But he hesitated to make this request because he felt that staying in Ulaanbaatar would be better than being shamed in Beijing. He learned from radio broadcasts that Mao Zedong had arrived in Moscow to celebrate Stalin’s birthday. He thought of asking Ulaanbaatar to send him to Moscow for this occasion, but he eventually gave up on this idea. Thoughts of his people in Guisennur were very disconcerting to him. These people were his loyal followers, and he felt great moral distress at not being able to do something for them. At the same time he worried about his personal safety while in the Mongolian People’s Republic.

### Under House Arrest

During Bayar’s next visit, Prince De discussed the problem of his followers in Inner Mongolia. Prince De hoped that Ulaanbaatar would either allow him to tell these people to go and surrender to Peng Dehuai—the commander of the Chinese Communist forces in northwest China—or have them come to the Mongolian People’s Republic. Bayar agreed to have a few of the leaders among Prince De’s people come to the Mongolian People’s Republic, but he said that he would have to confer with his superiors about dealing with them as a whole. The next day, Bayar said that his superiors had agreed to allow Prince De to send a letter to Guisennur, instructing several leaders to come to Chagan-tolugai for discussions with Prince De concerning future actions.

Altanochir drafted this letter. Its contents may be summarized as follows:

I [Prince De] have conferred with several Mongolian authorities, and we have decided that due to the present healing process of my leg gout, I will be unable to return and meet with

the delegates of the Chinese Communist forces. I would like Li Shouxin, Buyandelger, Dugurengsang, Togtokhu, Sukhbaatar, and Ombagatur to choose three from among their number and send them to Chagan-tolugai to meet with me and discuss arrangements for the troops.

Prince De originally wanted his faithful aide-de-camp, Tumendelger, to deliver this letter. Bayar, however, thought that Gombo, who was more accustomed to riding on a camel's back, would be able to deliver the letter faster. The truth was, of course, that Bayar feared Tumendelger would tell them of Prince De's current predicament. All six of the men to whom Prince De had addressed his letter eventually came to Ulaanbaatar through Chagan-tolugai. But none of them were able to meet with Prince De except Li Shouxin, who saw him on the day of Prince De's trial.

One day, Bayar handed a list of five issues to Prince De and asked him to respond to them in exhaustive detail: (1) a comparison of Japan's Mongolian policy with the Soviet Mongolian policy, (2) the goals of the establishment of the Mongolian Autonomous Government and its organization, and (3) the total combined population of all Mongol peoples. Questions four and five dealt with comparing Chinese Kuomintang, and U.S. policy toward Mongolia. Altanochir was supposed to write down Prince De's answers.

Prince De thought that Ulaanbaatar knew the response to the first issue, so he did not answer it in detail. He had Altanochir respond to the second issue by copying down relevant portions of the Organizational Law of the Mongolian Autonomous Government, a copy of which Altanochir had in his possession. Because there was no reliable material on which to base an accurate response to the third issue, Prince De had Altanochir write down a wild guess. He even estimated seven or eight hundred thousand Mongols living in Burma! (This estimate, almost certainly erroneous, might have had its roots in the phonetic similarity that Hmong, the name of a tribe that populates certain areas of southeast Asia, bears to *Meng*, the Chinese word for Mongol/Mongolia.) After he was finished with these responses, Prince De gave the answers to Wandan. Wandan, on reading over the responses, said they were too brief and would not meet the expectations of the questioners. These questions, of course, were posed in the Communist style of eliciting written "confessions" from their prisoners. Because Prince De had no way of recognizing these questions for what they actually were, he made his responses to them brief and perfunctory. The Mongolian intelligence personnel later treated the incompleteness of these answers as evidence of deliberate evasion.

After Gombo departed for Guisennur, Prince De's gout worsened, and Wandan finally brought in a Russian doctor to treat him. Wandan occasionally accompanied Prince De to the movie houses. One day, Bayar told Prince De that he might be allowed to visit with his family members. Prince De responded, "My public affairs are not yet finished; I am in no hurry to attend to personal affairs." These words, unfortunately, forfeited his last chance to see any member of his family, except for Dugursurung, whom Bayar brought over one day for a brief visit. But because Bayar was present during the visit, Prince De and his son were able to talk only of family matters. Dugursurung would say only that after the surrender of Japan, he came to Ulaanbaatar and that the Ulaanbaatar authorities had asked him to write a letter to Inner Mongolia asking the entire family to come to the Mongolian People's Republic.

Not all of them were enjoying a comfortable stay in the Mongolian state, however, Dugursurung continued. He said that he had entered the Cadre Academy and that he was later transferred to Choibalsan University. His second brother, Galsangjirmed, had



received pedagogical training and was now a teacher. His third brother, Ochirbatu, and his fourth brother had all entered middle school. Dugursurung's wife, Serjimideg, and his younger sister, Batunasun, had both graduated from the Normal School and were now teachers. His mother and his children were all well. The Mongolian government had treated the family as if it were the family of a high-ranking government minister.

Dugursurung then said that he had heard that the discipline of Prince De's troops was bad, and that this might have a negative effect on him. During their conversation, Dugursurung took a volume from Lenin's collected works down from the bookshelf and turned to Lenin's discussion of the problem of nationalities. As Prince De was reading it, Bayar left for a moment to use the restroom. Prince De took advantage of his absence and asked Dugursurung, "When did you leave Khara-ereg?" Dugursurung answered, "Before your arrival, father." These were the only words father and son were able to have with one another in private. Bayar returned from the restroom and left with Dugursurung.

Later, Wandan accompanied Dugursurung for a second visit with Prince De. During that visit, Dugursurung suddenly blurted out, "Father, do not tell me anything you would not want others to know!" This statement showed Prince De that their conversation was being monitored, and he began to fear for Dugursurung's safety. Dugursurung talked only of family matters. As the entire family had moved northward, he said, they took two or three hundred of their cattle and sheep along with them. The Mongolian government had, he continued, hired someone to herd these animals for them, and they were regarded as the family's private property.

### Prisoner in Ulaanbaatar

During his two-month stay in Ulaanbaatar, Prince De was constantly accompanied by Bayar, Wandan, and other members of the Interior Defense Bureau. They even accompanied him on his visits to the city and trips to the picture shows. The medical attention he received for his leg gout was satisfactory. At times he was even tempted to stay in Ulaanbaatar for the rest of his days and lead a life of leisure. But he felt uneasy with this idea, because it would make it impossible for him to make any political breakthroughs for his people.

There was no further word from Gombo after his departure to Guisennur. One day during a visit from Bayar, Prince De said, "You said earlier that I would be able to visit with my family. My responsibilities in public affairs are now at a standstill, and there has been no word from Gombo yet. I would like to use this leisure time to visit with my family." Bayar hesitated at this suggestion. After a moment's thought, he said, "Let us wait a while." On a subsequent visit with Prince De, Bayar said that he had to go eastward to the Dornod *aimag* and that Wandan would from then on attend to Prince De's needs. All important matters, he continued, would have to be approved by Wandan's superiors. Prince De never saw Bayar from this time until the day of his trial.

On February 17, 1950, Wandan came to invite Prince De to see a movie about Sukhbaatar, the hero of the Mongolian revolution and founder of the Mongolian People's Revolution. However, the automobile in which they were to ride to the movie house parked in front of a building that was not a movie house. After entering the building, Wandan assumed an ominous expression and said, "Demchugdongrob, our party and government recognize you as an enemy. You are under arrest." They then searched him, and since he realized that it would be useless to argue with them, the prince held his tongue. When he was imprisoned, they confiscated the leather clothing Bayar had given

him earlier and gave him prison dungarees to wear.

The next day, the warden of the prison, a major, brought Prince De to see Wandan and Chojil. Prince De was allowed to claim the personal effects confiscated from him at the time of his arrest. Two days later, they carried out the formal procedure of indictment. Wandan orally declaimed the crimes with which Prince De was charged: "In the past, you collaborated with the Japanese imperialists. Now you are collaborating with the Chinese Kuomintang and the American imperialists. You are trying to overthrow the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union! Because you have broken many Mongolian laws, you must be arrested and dealt with." Chojil recorded the oral charges, and Prince De was forced to affix his signature to them.

### Interrogation

On March 1, Bayar, Prince De's former escort, reappeared and assumed the role of the prince's interrogator. When he saw the prince, he declared, "In accordance with the instructions of my superiors, I hereby assume the responsibility for interrogating you. We have been exceedingly patient with you and have worked with you for a long time, but you have shown no sign of remorse or regret for your criminal activities. The Chinese [Communists] now recognize you as an extremely notorious criminal and are demanding that you be extradited. We have not, however, complied with their demands. We have told them that we are reeducating you."

Prince De's interrogation began on March 1, and did not end until September 18—six months and eighteen days. His answers at each interrogation session were recorded as "confessions." Before I give a rough account of the course of these interrogations below, I wish to remind the reader that my account of these interrogations is based on the *Personal Narrative*, written and published in 1965. It seems that by 1965, Prince De's memory had clouded a bit, and portions of his narration are confused. It is, nonetheless, possible to sketch the essentials of the interrogations.

The most serious charge was collaboration with the Japanese Imperialists. Bayar said, "Speak now of your experiences as an agent of Japan." Prince De answered, "Even if you are to cut off my head, I will never admit to being an agent for the Japanese. But if you ask me to discuss my contacts with the Japanese, I will accommodate you." Bayar then told him to start with Morishima Kadofusa's travels in the banners of the Shilingol League, then give detailed accounts about Sasame Tsuneo's visit to Sunid in his disguise as a lama. Bayar also wanted to know about the founding of the *Zenrin Kyokai* (Good Neighbor Association) and the activities of Nakajima Manzo and other Japanese special service office agents in the Mongolian Political Council at Beile-yin sume. In addition, he demanded an explanation of Prince De's dispatch of Buyandalai to Manchukuo to buy armaments from the Guandong Army, his visit with Itagaki Seishiro (the vice chief of staff of the Guandong Army), the founding of the Mongolian Army General Headquarters, and the establishment of the Mongolian Military Government in Dehua. In his interrogation concerning Prince De's contacts with the Japanese, Bayar paid closest attention to the activities of Nakajima Manzo and other Japanese special service office agents. He then compelled the prince to sign the text of his responses to these interrogations.

During the course of the interrogations on this matter, Prince De once said to Bayar, "When we met at Khara-ereg, I felt that you had the intent to twist my words." Bayar, very angry at hearing this, said, "You have an evil heart! By saying this, you are trying to implicate me and my superiors in deception! Your conspiracy for the unification



of Inner and Outer Mongolia was aimed at destroying the friendship between Mongolia and China!" Prince De asked, "Did you not say that your side was planning to have me do nationalistic work?" Bayar responded, "We had originally thought about that, but the time for that has passed. We do not want to employ you now. If, immediately after your arrival in Ulaanbaatar, you had completely confessed your evil ways and made a clean slate, we might have arranged for a position for you in the Academy of Sciences. You do, after all, speak Mongolian, Manchu, and Chinese. How good that would have been for you! But no, you continued to be stubborn and would not compromise! You continually procrastinated and refused to come clean. If you had confessed, even as late as the time of your arrest, it would have gone well for you, because much was still unknown at that time. But it is too late for anything like that at this point—nothing you can tell us will do you any good now. We have no choice but to treat you as a criminal."

Bayar did not require Prince De to sign the transcript of the interrogations on these matters, so the transcript did not become an official document. This procedure was no doubt taken to protect Bayar from being implicated along with Prince De in the conspiracy to unify Inner and Outer Mongolia.

Apparently Ulaanbaatar's Interior Defense Bureau was especially concerned about this matter. During his interrogation on this subject, Prince De was shown several foreign name cards and asked if he recognized the names on them. He was also shown the original manuscript of the letter that Dagwaodsar and G. Hangin had written to Owen Lattimore requesting that he bring the Mongolian problem to the attention of the United Nations. He was asked if he had taken the initiative for having this letter written and sent. He denied this, but he admitted that these persons were members of the Mongolian Youth Alliance; this brought him much greater problems. Prince De flatly denied that he was a member of this alliance. However, he admitted that he had close ties with several of its leading members, such as Rashidondog, Dagwaodsar, me, and others. He also admitted having been in contact with several members of the American diplomatic and intelligence communities: Schulties, Ruth Bean, Owen Lattimore, Richardson, R. Meitz, Circassian, and Frank Bessac.

Prince De said that Bessac had encouraged him to send troops to attack Dong Qiwu, the governor of Suiyuan province. Bayar immediately used this detail to threaten Prince De with torture if he did not give a full account of his motives in this connection. He also pressed him to discuss his personal involvement in this matter and its possible implications for the Mongolian People's Republic. Since Prince De had no military power at the time of Bessac's request and also because he did not want to make enemies in Suiyuan, he had paid no heed to Bessac's urgings. But Bayar continued to try to implicate him in ill-intentioned activities against the Mongolian People's Republic. At this moment, Prince De erroneously surmised that the reason why Bayar was trying to charge him with criminal deeds against the People's Republic of Mongolia was to avoid having to extradite him to the Chinese Communists.

It was for this reason that he signed a confession worded as follows: "Bessac encouraged me to send troops to attack Dong Qiwu and then use this attack as a pretext to enter the Mongolian People's Republic for further activities." After Bayar saw this confession, he added another sentence: "This was the mission that Bessac gave me," and demanded that Prince De sign it. After he secured Prince De's signature, he went upstairs to consult with his superiors. He came back and said to Prince De, "According to this confession, you are an agent of the United States!" Prince De, fearing more incessant interrogation, simply said, "Yes, yes."

After these "confessions" had all been made, as is the norm under such circum-

stances, Prince De felt extremely fatigued, even light-headed. Later realizing that these "confessions" had been elicited through inappropriate coercion, he argued with Bayar that they were illegitimate. Bayar maintained that the interrogation sessions he had conducted had not been coercive; the confessions had been made at his own volition by Prince De himself. Prince De wanted another investigation of the facts. Bayar, becoming extremely impatient at this point, said, "All right. You go and write down the truth in accordance with the facts. Then we'll have personnel from the Interior Defense Bureau interrogate you one after another." Interrogation "one after another" was basically a form of torture. It was continuous, and its sole purpose was to induce psychological and physical exhaustion. Fearing that continuous interrogation would bring on still more persecution, and realizing that further argument was useless, Prince De simply threw up his hands and let them have their way.

At one point during the interrogations, Duinghorjab and his Soviet advisor said to Prince De, "You are an evil person. You continually refuse to come clean. We're going to produce some new witnesses against you, and then we'll see what you have to say!" With that, Li Shouxin, Togtakhu, and Dagwaodsar were brought into the room. Prince De was then asked if he recognized these men and if he had any personal hatred for them or they for him. Prince De answered, "Yes, I recognize them, and no, we have no personal hate for each other." Li Shouxin then said, "While Demchugdongrob was in Mengjiang, he planned to unify Inner and Outer Mongolia, and even the Buryat Mongol territory in the Soviet Union, into one great Mongolian state. It was his ambition to become emperor of this new state."<sup>2</sup> Togtakhu said, "The Japanese imperialists collaborated with Demchugdongrob in establishing the Mengjiang regime. They intended to use the Mengjiang regime as a military springboard for attacking the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union. I can speak of this in detail, if you desire." The interrogators, however, did not ask him to continue. Dagwaodsar then said, "Demchugdongrob is an important member of the Mongolian Youth Alliance."

By this time, Prince De was so weary that he was somewhat incoherent. He was not really paying attention to what Dagwaodsar was saying and merely nodded his head affirmatively in an absent-minded and dazed manner. Bayar then said, "We have now had three witnesses testify against you. If you still refuse to come clean, we'll have another fifteen come and testify against you." Prince De then "confessed" according to the demands of his interrogators; the other "witnesses" did not appear.

On the next day, when the interrogators asked Prince De to read and sign the transcript of the interrogations, he saw that he had "admitted" to being an important member of the MYA. He told the interrogators very angrily that he wasn't a member of the MYA at all, let alone an "important" member. He had not even had a chance to read the alliance's charter. A few days later, Prince De again made arguments to this effect. Bayar, growing impatient, said, "You signed the transcript, so all the talking in the world won't do you a bit of good." His signed "confession" became the basis on which his "guilt" was established.

While the interrogations were still being conducted, Wandan opened a cabinet and showed it to Prince De. It was full of materials concerning the prince, so how could he continue to deny his guilt? Wandan also said that when the Japanese surrendered, he had been in Kalgan and had had the intention of trying to win Prince De over to his side, but Prince De had left for Beiping by that time. Another major appeared as a witness,

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<sup>2</sup> His use of the term "Mengjiang" here referred to Inner Mongolia.



saying that he had previously disguised himself as a herder driving sheep to Kalgan for the Mongolian Livelihood Association (*Sheng-ji-hui*), so he knew very many things about Prince De.

Ten years later, while Prince De was endeavoring to commit these matters to writing, Li Shouxin (who had been released from prison by that time) admitted to Prince De that his testimony against him had been created by the people in Ulaanbaatar's Interior Defense Bureau. They had trained him for weeks until he could repeat it smoothly and from memory. Li and the others were compelled to testify against Prince De for their own personal safety and welfare. Dagwaodsar, of course, knew that Prince De was not a member of the MYA. It is evident that he was under severe and unrelenting pressure to make a confession against his conscience and knowledge of the truth. The perfidious character of Togtakhu<sup>3</sup> has been mentioned several times in this book.

Prince De's "confessions," as recorded in his *Personal Narrative*, are somewhat confusing and discordant. The main points of this confession can, however, be extracted:

1. His collaboration with the Japanese imperialists and militarists.
2. His plans to unify Inner and Outer Mongolia and establish a single Mongol state.
3. His identity as an "important member" of the Mongolian Youth Alliance.
4. His collaboration with the KMT in carrying out counterrevolutionary activities.
5. His employment by American intelligence for the purpose of planning and facilitating an invasion of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union.
6. The damage he inflicted on Sino-Mongolian relations.

In my judgment, one-third of these accusations are true; the rest are sheer fabrications. The first two accusations against Prince De—the "evil enemy" of the Mongol people—are the only fair ones made by the Interior Defense Bureau, which otherwise acted submissively and in humble obedience to its Soviet advisor.

Some of Prince De's responses to questions posed during the interrogation sessions convey the impression that the Outer Mongolian authorities originally had intended to use Prince De to achieve certain political goals. Circumstances changed, however, and Ulaanbaatar decided to sacrifice him in exchange for an increased measure of Sino-Mongolian goodwill. At the beginning of the interrogations, Prince De could still mobilize his strong will and responded with vigor and conviction to the questions his interrogators posed. But as the interrogations wore on and became sessions of psychological and physical torture, his spirit was ever less willing and his body became completely exhausted. He finally, as do almost all victims of such treatment, decided to allow his interrogators to say and believe anything they fancied.

### Extradition to Beijing

According to the *Personal Narrative*, one day in August, Prince De was given a complete transcript of all his confessions and asked to sign them. While signing, Prince De saw that these papers were preparatory to his extradition to China. Glancing through a

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<sup>3</sup> Suffice it to say that this was the first time Togtakhu had been seen since his disappearance in the early spring of 1946. Soon after this disappearance, he and Manibadara were sent by the Chinese Kuomintang intelligence community to Wang-un sume with a wireless. He was later arrested, and rumors soon spread that he had been killed. It was only in the 1960s that the public knew he had been delivered to the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union after his arrest.

few pages of the transcript, he discovered that it claimed he had defected across the border of the Mongolian People's Republic and been arrested. Not one word was said about his journey to Khar-ereg and Chagan-tolugai. Prince De realized that this transcript did not coincide with the facts, but he had long since given up on trying to prevail over his tormentors. He simply signed.

On September 18, 1950, members of the Interior Defense Bureau came to the prison and took Prince De into their custody. They tied his hands behind his back and placed a black blindfold over his eyes. They then took him and three other prisoners to a waiting automobile, drove him to the airport and put him on a plane for Beijing.

Prince De's trip to the Mongolian People's Republic had been taken with an eye to improve the political situation in Inner Mongolia. But it was also undertaken out of Prince De's pure love for his people and his homeland. He believed that blood was thicker than water; it was his conviction that although different subgroups of the Mongol people lived under different political regimes, no Mongol would harm a fellow Mongol who had consecrated his entire life to struggles for Mongolian self-determination. He was, in a word, naive, too idealistic in his thinking and unaware of the political realities in Ulaanbaatar. He got himself into trouble by throwing himself on the mercy of his brethren in the Mongolian People's Republic—a nation "loved and protected" by its Big Brother, the Soviet Union. Prince De devoted his entire life to struggling for the good of his own people, but never mastered the dark side of the art of politics. Cheated and betrayed by his followers, his final destiny was to cease being a leader and to become a prisoner.

After the Japanese militarists invaded and occupied Mongolia, Togtakhu had constantly betrayed Prince De in order to gain favor with the Japanese. Togtakhu's ultimate revelation of his own nefarious, treacherous, selfish, and opportunistic nature came with his testimony against Prince De at the Ulaanbaatar interrogations. He bore false witness against Prince De in order to secure favor in the eyes of his new master, the Soviet advisor. Wu Heling, while not malicious, also worked against Prince De. During the time of the Alashan Autonomy Movement, Prince De had begun planning to proceed to Kokonor and thence through Tibet and into India, where he could have established a government in exile. But this plan, which in light of future events would have been the best course of action to take, was scuttled because of Wu Heling's meddling.

Prince De and the Autonomous Government under him also were betrayed by two supposedly faithful senior members of the Kuomintang: He Zhaolin and Bai Haifeng. When the chips were down, these two men thought first of themselves and their own selfish interests; they turned their backs on Prince De in his hour of need. In order to take advantage of the relations between the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic, Altanochir shamefully betrayed Prince De, his very own uncle. Ultimately, Prince De's *own people* sacrificed him on the altar of international politics and offered him up as a sacrificial offering to improve Sino-Mongolian relations!

Prince De's extradition to Beijing and his incarceration as a criminal do not negate giving him credit for the fruits of his many years of struggle for the good of the Mongolian people. His efforts and the groundwork he had laid facilitated the establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China. Knowledge of this must have been a source of comfort to him during his long and bitter years of imprisonment and humiliation by the Chinese Communists.

According to the *Personal Narrative*, Prince De's arrest was followed by the arrests of Dugursurung, his eldest son, and Chogbadarakhu, his trusted secretary who had represented him in contacting the Soviet-Mongolian Allied Forces. His second son, Gal-



sangjirmed, was imprisoned on trumped-up charges that he had once sung a counter-revolutionary song. The other members of his family, including his third son (sixteen years old at the time) and his fourth son (fourteen years old), were exiled to the exceptionally cold climate of Arkhangai. Because of the severe climate of this region, his third and fourth sons developed health problems.