

IV

THE KUOMINTANG'S SECOND NORTHERN CAMPAIGN AND AFTER 1928-1931

The Northern Campaign and the Mongol Response

In early June 1928, the defeated Fengtian forces began to retreat to Manchuria through Shanhaiguan. On June 3, Zhang Zuolin left Beijing by train. The next day he was assassinated by Japanese agents at Huanggutun, a small station at the crossroads of the Beijing-Fengtian Railroad and the South Manchuria Railroad under Japanese management. Beijing then came under the control of Yan Xishan.

The completion of the Kuomintang's Northern Campaign greatly concerned the North Chinese, especially the people of Beijing, the stronghold of "counterrevolution." In addition to the excitement evoked by the military and political events, the national flag was changed. The Kuomintang victors changed the "Flag of Five Colors" (which equally represented the Han Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Moslems, and Tibetans), used for seventeen years, to the new flag of "Blue Sky, White Sun, and Red Earth," adopted in 1924 by Sun Yatsen, and which implied a more unitary state.¹ The slogans the Kuomintang agitators recited and pasted on the walls produced a strange new feeling. The name of Beijing, "The Northern Capital," was changed to Beiping, "The Pacified Northern [Area]." Except for the intelligentsia, most people had no knowledge of the Kuomintang, its doctrines, or its differences with the Communists. They believed that the Communists were frightful but really did not know why.

The Mongols in Beiping also lost their sense of direction for a while. At first the conservatives feared that this revolution might enable Feng Yuxiang to further help the Inner Mongolian Kuomintang (as the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was called in Chinese) accelerate the social revolution. The conservatives also feared that the revolution would damage faith in Buddhism, as had already happened in Outer Mongolia. Moreover, because of their fear of anything political that was "red," they misunderstood the meaning of the new flag, interpreting its "Red Earth" as signifying "communism all over the earth." This only served to increase their misgivings about the Chinese government. (Before the KMT's break with the Communists in 1927, many Western diplomats shared this fear that the KMT's victory would mask a Communist takeover.)

The leaders also gradually realized that the words concerning Mongolia's future, written by Sun Yat-sen in his works and declarations, were ambiguous or even self-contradictory. In his *Outline of Nation Building* he said, "Regarding the weak and minority peoples inside the country, the government should foster them and make it possible for them to carry out self-determination and self-rule." Nevertheless, in his *Three Princi-*

¹ John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China: Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 180.

ples of the People, Sun said that in reality, China had only one single *Zhonghua* (Chinese) nationality, and that within it were several subnationalities. Sun argued that peoples living within China's borders other than the Han Chinese were minorities who could be assimilated easily.

The Mongols were, of course, unhappy about being classified as a "weak and minority people" when they previously had been designated as one of the "five peoples of the commonwealth." They especially detested the word "assimilation" and worried about being ethnically subsumed by the Chinese, but they took comfort from Sun's seeming offer of self-determination and self-rule. They were, however, still worried that no Mongol outside the Inner Mongolian Kuomintang had established contact with the Kuomintang and its new government in Nanjing. They feared that the social revolution advocated by this group might become the guiding principle for the new government's policy toward Mongolia.

On June 8, 1928, the National Government in Nanjing promulgated the new Organizational Law for the reconstituted Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission (*Meng-Zang Wei-yuanhui*). This new government continued to recognize a separate administrative framework for Mongolia and Tibet within the orbit of the central administration and acknowledged the special political significance of these two regions. The only changes were the alteration of the name of the office from *yuan* (ministry) to *weiyuan-hui* (commission) and its head's title from *zongcai* (general director) to *weiyuan* (commissioner). This announcement somewhat appeased the Mongols in Beiping. On the fifteenth day of the same month, the government appointed the eight members of this commission, including Zhang Ji (a senior member of the party), Bai Yunti (Serengdongrob), Li Fenggang (Mandaltu, also known as Li Danshan), Lubsangnanja (a *khambu* of the Panchen Lama), and Liu Puchen (former parliamentarian from Shanxi). This signaled that the ministerial level Mongolian-Tibetan administrative formerly led by an high-ranking Mongolian prince was now transformed into an office ruled in actuality by the Chinese and only ostensibly by Mongols and Tibetans. On the eighteenth, the government appointed Zhang Ji, Bai Yunti, and Liu Puchen as standing commissioners of this commission.²

At Bai Yunti's recommendation, Li Danshan (Mandaltu) and Yu Lanzhai (Bayantai) were sent to Beiping as representatives to accelerate the party's work and to take over the facilities and properties of the former Mongolian-Tibetan Ministry. In order to forestall a hostile confrontation, the Mongolian leaders prepared a formal reception to welcome them. In order to express their "revolutionary character," however, the two "dignitaries" from Nanjing did not show up for the reception. Although I was only thirteen years old at this time, I still recollect my impressions of this embarrassing moment. In the face of so unfriendly an attitude, to avoid further unpleasant encounters, Prince Gungsangnorbu quietly left Beiping and moved into the Japanese Concession in Tianjin with his family.

² The appointment of Bai Yunti as one of the leading figures in the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission was the natural result of his early contact with the KMT. His appointment, however, was cause for great worry among many Mongolian conservatives, who were very skeptical of his activities during the era of the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

The Rise of Wu Heling and the Mongol Delegation

The Mongolian community in Beiping deeply resented the unfriendly and arrogant attitude of the two delegates from Nanjing. In addition, there was a report that the new government still had no set policy toward Mongolia, and that the Mongol party members wielded no significant influence within the KMT. The Mongolian community resolved to establish direct contacts with the new government and concentrate on unifying the Mongols in order to deal with the new situation.

Experienced elders such as Ayulugei and Lobsangchoijur (my father) agreed to assign the trustworthy youngster Wu Heling (the husband of my father's niece) to lead the way in achieving this goal of unity. Prince Gungsangnorbu agreed to this plan. Then, in the name of the Beiping Office of the Two Leagues of Josotu and Juu-uda, the elders gathered the city's Mongolian leaders and proposed organizing a Mongol Delegation to discuss the future of Mongolia with the new government. After receiving positive responses, the Beiping Office of the Two Leagues of Josotu and Juu-uda sent out a general notice to all Inner Mongolian leagues, inviting them to send delegates to Beiping for discussions on how to ensure Mongolian rights and privileges under the new government.

By the end of the summer, most of the delegates had arrived in Beiping. They usually held their official meetings in a big hall on *Ma shi Dajieh* (Horse Bazaar Street). Many informal discussions were, however, held in the homes of the two elders, and I thus became acquainted with Mongolian politics while I was still a junior high school student. In the late fall they finally agreed to establish a Mongol Delegation and designated Wu Heling, the delegate of the Josotu League, as the delegation's spokesman.

During this period, Prince De did not visit Beiping as he usually did; the news he received by way of Kalgan was mostly indirect and uncertain. His worries about the new situation therefore multiplied. In order to strengthen the Mongol Delegation, my father persuaded Prince Sodnamrabdan, the head of the Shilingol League, to support Wu Heling. Prince So, agreeing to this request, sent Bagaturchilagu to join the delegation as his personal representative. He also suggested that the deputy head of the league send a personal delegate as well. The latter agreed and sent his most trusted associate, Jungnai *tusalagchi*. Prince So was faithful to his word: having given his promise, he supported Wu Heling without hesitation. This greatly influenced the career of Wu and the later political development of Inner Mongolia.

By this time, the Chinese Government had already established the Beiping Preliminary Branch Political Commission to handle the political affairs of northern China. Two senior comrades, Zhang Ji and Li Shizeng, and two North Chinese warlords, Yan Xishan and Feng Yuxiang among others, were appointed as commissioners. According to Wu Heling, the Mongolian delegates visited with Zhang Ji and Li Shizeng to ask him to consider the possibility of fulfilling Sun Yat-sen's promise of self-determination and self-rule for the minority peoples. They also attempted to inquire into the Mongolian policy of the new government. They soon discovered that although their counterparts were quite sympathetic and hoped to reach a reasonable solution for Mongolia's problems, the central government still had no definite policy toward the Mongols. This superficial sympathy and the lack of a concrete policy toward Mongolia led the delegation to believe that it had to come up with its own solutions for Mongolia's problems.

I still remember a very hot afternoon when the Mongols in Beiping gathered to welcome party, political, and military leaders in the beautiful garden of the Association

of Students Educated in Europe and America. At first, many of them agreed to come, but at the appointed hour, only a few appeared. The most notable of these was General Bai Chongxi, the commander-in-chief of the Right Flank Army, one of the leading figures of the Guangxi clique and the Fourth Group Army of the National Revolutionary Army. A Chinese Moslem, he was said to think of himself as a member of a minority people. Accordingly, the Mongols had high hopes for him as an ally, but he quite unexpectedly behaved as an arrogant conqueror looking down on his conquered prisoners. When he saw the slogans of "the fulfillment of the teachings of Sun Yat-sen" and "the realization of self-determination and self-rule," he was greatly angered and said, "The government will never accept such demands for separation! Even though I myself am a Moslem, I am no different than a Han Chinese. There is no nationality other than the *Zhonghua minzu* [Chinese nationality]. Why should you demand self-determination and self-rule?"

After hearing this "sincere advice," all the Mongols in attendance were greatly disappointed. They began asking themselves, "What do the teachings of self-determination and self-rule for the weak minority peoples really mean to the KMT? Is the party sincere in wishing to fulfill this promise?" This was the first great disappointment the Mongols suffered at the hands of the ruling party and its new government. News of this unhappy event soon reached the ears of the leaders of the leagues and banners.³

The two men from Bai Yunti's group did not attend that gathering. They isolated themselves from most of the Mongols in Beijing. They supposedly sold the real estate of the old Mongolian-Tibetan Ministry at a very low price to the Sino-French University, under the management of Li Shizeng, for the purpose of drawing this influential senior party leader to their own side. This also increased the disappointment of the Beijing Mongol leaders with the so-called liberal group.

All of these factors made the Mongol Delegation more determined to explicitly represent the demands of the leagues and banners in negotiating with the new regime. Through my father's contact with his intimate friend Lingsheng, the latter sent his brother-in-law, Chunde, to be the delegate of the Hulunbuir League to join the delegation. Lingsheng, also a trustworthy person, gave Wu Heling full support until the Japanese took over Hulunbuir. Amurchingeltu contacted his nephew Chimedsampil, the head of the Jerim League, and won his agreement. Soon after, Prince Shirabdorji, the head of the Yekejuu League, sent Rinchinragba to be the delegate of his league to the commission. This man bore deep personal hatred toward the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party because of the violence that its members had committed in his homeland, and he wanted revenge. This enmity eventually created a great conflict between the Wu Heling and Bai Yunti factions.

After receiving support from all the leaders of all the leagues and banners, the delegation began to discuss and draft its formal requests to be submitted to the National Government and the KMT. While the Mongols were anxiously awaiting an answer, the Kuomintang Central Political Committee passed a resolution on August 29, 1928, to elevate the status of the six Chinese-dominated special districts of Rehe, Chahar, Suiyuan, Ningxia, Qinghai (Kokonor), and Xikang to provinces. This news greatly disappointed the delegation and the Mongols. This resolution not only impeded their chances for self-determination and self-rule but also violated the Mongols' traditional form of local autonomy under the old feudal arrangements. Many Mongols became more critical of Bai

³ General Bai proved to be a man of his word. After he expressed his opposition to Mongolia's self-determination and self-rule, he persisted in his opinion until his last day. During every discussion of Mongolian problems, he always took the opposing point of view.

Yunti, who was then a member of the Kuomintang Central Political Committee that made this resolution. It seemed that Bai and his group were eager only to accelerate the internal struggle among the Mongols; they could not stand up under external pressure.⁴

On September 12, the Mongol Delegation presented a petition in the name of all the people of Inner Mongolia. In this petition two points were stressed: (1) "The Mongol people wholeheartedly support the doctrine of *The Three Principles of the People* and the early realization of peaceful unification, and they sustain the liberty and independence [of the nation]," and (2) "the Mongol people in this new China should protect their own security and assure their own development to make it possible for them to survive and flourish along with other nationalities in the country. We demand the dismantling of the provinces in the three special regions of Rehe, Chahar, and Suiyuan . . . and propose the establishment of a Mongolian Regional Political Committee instead."

This petition received no positive response, and on September 17, according to the resolution of the Kuomintang's Central Political Committee, the National Government ordered the establishment of the provinces of Rehe, Chahar, Suiyuan, and Qinghai. One month later, the KMT Central Political Committee passed yet another resolution to establish a new Ningxia Province that would include the territories of the two Mongol banners of Alashan and Ejine to the west of the great loop of the Yellow River as well as the region of Ningxia *dao* (route, circuit) to the east of the Alashan Mountains (ch. Helan-shan) of Gansu Province. At the request of the Mongols, the KMT made no alteration in the existing institutions of the leagues and banners.

After lengthy negotiations, the Mongol delegation, with Wu Heling as its spokesman, proceeded to Nanjing during mid-October. The appearance of the Mongol Delegation in the new capital was a serious challenge to Bai Yunti and his associates, because they were no longer the only body representing Mongols to the government. In order to defend their position of supremacy, Bai and his group retaliated by maligning Wu Heling and the Delegation as feudalistic remnants, running dogs of the feudal princes, reactionaries against *The Three Principles of the People*, and persons unqualified to represent the Mongols. An open clash between the two factions ensued.

Meanwhile, Rinchinragba, the delegate from the Yekejuu League, accused Bai and his men of involvement in certain murder cases in the Yekejuu League and petitioned the government to put them on trial. This confrontation resulted in a defeat for both sides and was indeed a serious political loss for all of Inner Mongolia. This situation was shrewdly exploited by Yan Xishan and those who opposed Mongolian autonomy. The unity of the Mongols was largely destroyed, and the Mongol Delegation became deeply bogged down in a predicament. Since the Delegation was unable to achieve its goal of self-rule, it had no alternative but to struggle to maintain the existence of the leagues and banners and a fair division of power between the Mongolian leagues and banners and the new Chinese provinces and *xians* (districts or counties).

On the other hand, because of the impact of the idea of democracy, the Delegation also advocated some reform of their old league-banner system. Besides the heredi-

⁴ In the 1960s, I discussed this event with Bai Yunti in Taiwan. According to his explanation, on the day of the meeting he was sick and telephoned Feng Yuxiang, who was to chair the meeting, and asked whether he should attend. Feng replied, "There will be no important matters taken up. Better stay at home and rest." Feng himself, however, made the motion and got it passed. Nevertheless, the minutes of this meeting need to be checked to find out what the actual record reveals. In any event, Bai was criticized in this matter because of his negligence in meeting his obligations as a Mongol member of so important a committee.

tary institution of the ruling *jasag*, the delegation planned to establish both league and banner councils to nominate officials for appointment by the central government.

Although this compromise proposal was aimed at guiding the league-banner system away from feudalism and toward democracy, it was far short of the original goal of urging the government to grant self-rule to Mongolia. Moreover, its inclination toward democratic reform at the expense of feudal prerogatives contradicted the demands of the conservatives. This contradiction produced a split inside the Mongol Delegation. The first person to break away from the delegation was Jungnai, the delegate sent by Prince De, and this was the beginning of the confrontation between Prince De and Wu Heling. Soon Amurchingeltu urged his nephew (Chimedsampil, head of the Jerim League) to withdraw his support and openly characterized Wu Heling as a rebel against Mongolian tradition. This situation gradually led the conservative hardliners, under the leadership of Prince De, to struggle against Wu Heling until the time of the autonomy movement during the fall of 1933. During this internal struggle, both Prince Sodnamrabdan and Lingsheng kept their words and faithfully remained neutral. Their neutrality helped Wu Heling resist the strong attacks from the conservative hardliners.

Although its unity was damaged, the Mongol Delegation remained in Nanjing and continued its appeals for a solution to Mongolia's problems. Finally, in June of 1929, the Second Central Committee Meeting of the Kuomintang's Third Congress accepted the petition of the Mongol Delegation and passed a resolution to convene a Mongolian Convention in March of 1930 to solve Mongolia's problems. Thus, the Mongol Delegation was able to achieve some results through its petitions.

External Pressure and Internal Factions

In mid-October 1928, the National Government appointed Zhao Daiwen as governor of Chahar Province and Xu Yunchang as governor of Suiyuan Province. In January of 1929, Yan Xishan was appointed minister of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission. The Beiping Bureau of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission was also established at this time and Wang Ping was appointed its head. All these people were from Shanxi Province. In other words, the Mongolian administration in the government and most of the areas connected with Inner Mongolia all fell under the control of the Shanxi clique, headed by Yan Xishan. The aim of Yan's Mongolian policy was to gradually eliminate the Mongolian league-banner system.⁵

Though the Kuomintang Central Committee Meeting had passed a resolution to convene a special convention to settle the Mongolian problem, Yan Xishan, the minister

⁵ During this same time the national government appointed Prince Sodnamrabdan, head of the Shilingol League, and Samdanlungrob, an outstanding Chahar leader, as commissioners of the Chahar provincial government; and Prince Yondonwangchug, head of the Ulanhab League, and Prince Shagdurbaj, head of the Yekejuu League, as commissioners in the Suiyuan provincial government. Through this arrangement, the government tried to put Inner Mongolian regions under the jurisdiction of the newly established provinces. As for Rehe Province, the national government recognized the status quo and appointed Tang Yuling, the notorious Fengtian warlord who had occupied Rehe from the time of Zhang Zuolin's victory, as governor. The Mongols of the Josotu and Juu-uda Leagues thus came to see no difference between the new revolutionary government's Mongolian policy and that of the old Fengtian warlord regime. If there was a significant difference, why would a man like Tang Yuling, who had practiced extortion of the people to so great an extent, be reappointed as the governor of a province?

in charge of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, advised Wu Heling and his group to be practical, to stop calling in vain for self-rule, to be realistic and move forward step by step.

He also offered Wu Heling the post of commission counselor to join in the task of planning laws and regulations concerning the administration of Mongolia. Wu Heling was a realistic man; his personal philosophy was "anything which you manage to keep in your basket is yours." Accordingly, he accepted Yan's advice and offer. Those who had the same views as Wu also accepted Yan's offers and were appointed as section heads or to other similar positions. They compromised with Yan by dissolving the Mongol Delegation and reorganizing it into the Nanjing Office of the Mongolian League and Banner Delegates. This office served as the liaison between the central government and the local Mongolian leagues and banners. Because of this new development, Wu Heling's followers supported his becoming head of this office.

Yan Xishan's management of Mongolian affairs was deemed a great success. On the one hand, he was able to appease Wu Heling and his politically active Mongolian group. On the other hand, he was able to use Wu's group to check the power of Bai Yunti and his group. In doing so, he rendered both groups unable to accomplish anything for the Mongol people. This was also a personal success for Wu Heling. The party's resolution saved his Mongol Delegation from complete defeat, and all delegates who supported him were rewarded with governmental positions. Their continuing support assured solid recognition for his leadership. He became a powerful representative of Mongol interests in Nanjing and created the foundation for his later political career.

Nevertheless, judging from the original goal of the Mongol Delegation, Wu Heling's accomplishment was nothing but a weak compromise. The general criticism could be framed in the following terms: "Because it was impossible to get a concrete answer from the government, the entire delegation should have withdrawn from Nanjing. The delegation members should not have accepted any official position from the government." Prince De was the one who criticized the most, and this criticism brought him into open conflict with Wu. Their personal relations deteriorated, and both strove to gain the initiative and win more people to their own side. Because of his personal character, Prince De was able to draw the more independently willed people to his side.⁶

Yan Xishan soon left Nanjing and returned to his home base in Shanxi; Ma Fuxiang, a northwest Moslem military leader, was appointed Minister of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission. Ma, admiring Wu Heling's capability, appointed him Head of the Mongolian Affairs Bureau of the Commission. This move elevated Wu's position in Mongolian political society but also earned him more enemies, among whom was Sangjaijab, the Seventh *Janggiya Khutugtu*.⁷

⁶ At first, those who disagreed with Wu Heling or had been repelled and squeezed out by him gradually gathered to Prince De's camp. Their original purpose was to use the prince in their struggle against Wu Heling, but later, most of them were moved by Prince De's generosity, tolerance, and especially his strong nationalistic spirit, and they became his faithful assistants and supporters. Sainbayar, a founder of the radical Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, was among these supporters.

⁷ Early in the Manchu period, the seventh reincarnation of the *khutugtus* of this line was co-opted so as to provide a political tool for the court to use in dealing with Mongolian matters. At the beginning of the republic, this seventh reincarnation was quite young. His disciples assumed his name and engaged in much political trickery. Because most of them had an aversion to Prince Gungsangnorbu and his inclination toward moderate reform and modernization, they were heavily involved in almost every activity directed against Prince Gung. When Wu Heling became the head of the

Meanwhile, many were advocating the appointment of Prince De as commissioner of the Chahar provincial government. Prince Sodnamrabdan, head of the Shilingol League, was an influential person but had no interest in politics. Although he was appointed commissioner of the Chahar provincial government, he had never been to Kalgan, the capital of the province, and soon after his appointment, he resigned from this nominal post. In order to maintain its contacts with the Shilingol League, the Chahar provincial government petitioned the central government to appoint Prince De as commissioner instead of Prince So. As a consequence, Prince De had to increase his contacts with the officials of the Chahar provincial government and thereby gained more knowledge of the policy of the Chinese border provincial governments toward the Mongols. The increased intercourse between Prince De and the Chahar provincial government enhanced the importance of Buyandalai, head of the Kalgan office of the Shilingol League.

Despite this appointment, Prince De did not participate in the provincial administration. It was the policy of the provincial governments to treat all commissioners, especially Mongolian commissioners, as persons holding only nominal "honorary posts" who did not participate in actual administration. Prince De himself had no real interest in these matters. During this period, he usually traveled between Kalgan and Beiping in order to have regular audiences with the Panchen Lama and establish friendly relations with the Mongol nobles who came to this city for the same purpose.

In addition to the old confrontation between the liberals and conservatives in Beiping Mongolian circles, a new challenge had occurred by this time that was influenced by the conflict between the Nanjing Office of the Mongolian League and Banner Delegates under Wu Heling's leadership, and the old followers of Bai Yunti working in the central headquarters of the KMT (who became cadres of the Frontier Party Affairs Bureau). Because of their common interests in opposing Wu Heling, the latter group gradually drew close to Prince De. Through this unexpected cooperation, the liberal thought of Bai Yunti's group also influenced the conservative Prince De.

Both liberal factions were mainly led by Kharachin Mongols of eastern Inner Mongolia, and this situation caused the new intellectuals from the Tumed and Chahar areas to feel pushed aside. So in order to struggle against the eastern Inner Mongolian clique, these western Mongols also formed a political group. To exert pressure on their opponents, they joined Prince De's camp. This connection gave Prince De more opportunity to contact the new intellectuals.

Mongolian Affairs Bureau, he advocated the separation of religion and politics and the exclusion of lamas from politics. He resented the *Janggiya Khutugtu* and his followers because the *Khutugtu* usually resided at Wutai Mountain near Hebian Village, the home of Yan Xishan, and was acquainted with Yan. It seemed that after he left the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, Yan felt that the Nanking government was too tolerant of the Mongols and hindered the takeover of Mongolian administration by the provinces and *xians*. Yan felt that this situation might have been partly the work of Wu Heling. In order to interfere indirectly with Mongolian politics, he used the *Janggiya Khutugtu* to block Wu's activities. He also urged the ruling party to continue the Manchu religious policy of discouraging Mongolian movements for progressive reform. The *Janggiya Khutugtu* depended on Yan's help to establish himself as the foremost political and religious leader of Inner Mongolia. These situations also contributed to the open confrontation between Wu Heling and the *Janggiya Lama*. On the other hand, because of their shared religious faith, the *Janggiya Khutugtu* and Prince De were engaged in a traditional master-disciple relationship, and a disciple was bound by a religious oath to unconditionally obey the master. Consequently, a *Janggiya-Prince De* alliance was formed.

The Panchen Lama's First Visit to Inner Mongolia

Accepting an invitation from Zhang Xueliang, the Panchen Lama proceeded to Shenyang (Mukden) together with his faithful devotee, Prince De. Through the recommendation of the lama, Prince De met Zhang Xueliang, the "Young Marshal." In addition to his special intimacy with the lama, Prince De also was acquainted with the northeastern Mongol leaders who came to pay their respects to their spiritual leader. Among them Merse (also known by his Chinese name, Guo Taofu) was the most notable one. He was a very influential intellectual leader of the Dahur Mongols. Merse had studied in the Beijing College of Law and Politics. Radical and nationalistic, he allied himself with a group of eastern Inner Mongolian youth and founded the Mongolian Youth Party. Soon after, he joined the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party under Bai Yunti's leadership. After Bai was pushed out by his leftist opponents and departed from Ulaanbaatar, Merse was sent back to Hulunbuir League. After these political setbacks, Merse revised his leftist stance and developed a good personal relationship with Lingsheng, the powerful conservative leader of the Hulunbuir area.

To appease the radical groups, Lingsheng expressed sympathy toward them and initially recognized Merse as his own advisor. Later, Lingsheng even sent Merse to Nanjing as his personal representative to welcome the Panchen Erdeni to Hailar. Both Prince De and Merse had the zeal and determination to struggle for Mongolian survival. They both seem to have had the same idea of meeting with the Mongolian nobles and leaders who gathered at the Panchen Lama's residence and securing their cooperation in the struggle for Mongolian national survival.

Later, in the winter of 1929, Merse and his former comrade, Fumingtai, took advantage of the Soviet invasion of northern Manchuria and initiated a Hulunbuir independence movement in Hailar. The next spring, as the Soviet troops withdrew, Fumingtai went to the Mongolian People's Republic, and Merse accepted Zhang Xueliang's offer to proceed to Mukden to found the Normal Academy of the Northeastern Mongol Banners. At this school, Merse educated many outstanding young Mongol intellectuals and also sowed the seeds of nationalism and socialism in their youthful minds. Later the students of this school made important contributions to Inner Mongolia's economy, politics, and education.

After Prince De returned to the Shilingol League from Mukden via Beiping and Kalgan, the Panchen Lama also accepted the invitation of Prince Sodnamrabdan, the head of the Shilingol League and the richest person in all of Inner Mongolia, to go to the Ujumuchin Right Banner from Hulunbuir by the way of the steppe lands. In Ujumuchin the lama was welcomed with lavish hospitality. Both nobles and commoners able to travel there gathered to join the "Kalachakra Initiation," the greatest religious ceremony of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism, as presided over by the Panchen Lama. In those days there were no microphones, and only the religious and lay dignitaries seated in front of the Lama on a platform were able to hear the voices of the Lama and his attendant monks in the ceremony. The pilgrims who had gathered in the open air further back could not hear the recital of holy scriptures. Even the sound of the "Bell of the Law" did not reach their ears. They could hear only the drums, conch shells, brass trumpets, and cymbals of the religious music band. Even so, they were all satisfied. They firmly believed that the Buddha would bless their souls and future lives simply because they had been present at the ceremony.

In such a devoutly religious atmosphere, Prince De urged Sodnamrabdan to build a temple for the Panchen Lama; this would provide him with a permanent residence in Mongolia. Although Prince So immediately agreed, the location was a problem. Ujumuchin possessed excellent grazing fields and produced many animal husbandry products, but it had already established a monastic treasury, the Nunai-shang, to manage the property and wealth of the Dalai Lama. Moreover, the princely family of Ujumuchin had always been the main contributor to the Dalai Lama. It would not have been proper to build a temple for the Panchen Lama in Ujumuchin and thereby harm Ujumuchin's relationship with His Holiness in Lhasa. Prince So also objected to building so important a religious center outside his own Shilingol League. At Prince De's invitation, Prince So decided that the temple would be built in the Sunid Right Banner. As earlier, Prince So, as the elder and the head of the Shilingol League, appointed Prince De to direct planning and fundraising efforts for the center. Although this was not an easy task, it gave this young and ambitious prince an opportunity to show he could succeed. Through this project, an intimate relationship with the Panchen Lama would naturally develop. Perhaps in time of need, this influential religious leader might provide him some kind of assistance. The construction of so big a temple in his own banner would also certainly increase his personal prestige. Moreover, in a religious sense, it would be a great accomplishment.

In the spring of 1930, Gungsangnorbu, the prince of Kharachin, passed away in Beijing. After his death, the only Mongol prince and noble in this old capital city who still had some influence was Nayantu, and he was on Wu Heling's side. But because of his age and poor health, his interest in politics waned. During this period, Prince De constantly traveled to Beijing to meet with those Mongol princes, nobles, and dignitaries who came from the leagues and banners to discuss constructing a temple for the Panchen Lama. Such activities gave him an activist image in the eyes of many conservative Mongolian nobles. He was, of course, highly valued and trusted by the great Tibetan lama. Nevertheless, these activities were not welcomed by the Mongol intellectuals.

The Mongolian Convention and the Law Concerning Mongolia

The KMT's unification of China in 1928 did not last long. Because of personal conflicts among them, local military leaders Yan Xishan, Feng Yuxiang, and Li Zongren soon left Nanjing and returned to their own power bases. After Yan Xishan resigned from his post as minister of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, the National Government appointed Ma Fuxiang, one of the leading Moslem warlords in the Northwest, to take his place. Ma appointed Wu Heling as head of the commission's Bureau of Mongolian Affairs and gave him his full support and confidence. Consequently, Wu's Nanjing Office of the Mongolian League and Banner Delegates became the only organization representing all of Mongolia to the central government. These political outcomes not only worried Prince De but also the *Janggiya Khutugtu*. Of course, Yan Xishan exercised full control of the lama behind the scenes. Ma supported Wu out of concern for his own Moslem people. Ma's strategy was to observe Mongolian efforts and then imitate them if they proved successful. But regardless of Ma's purpose, the cooperation of Ma and Wu continued until the end of 1931, when Ma left the commission because of the reshuffling of the National Government.

In March 1930, the anti-Chiang Kai-shek campaign of Yan Xishan and Feng Yuxiang became fully public, supported not only by Li Zongren and his Guangxi clique-

but also by Wang Jingwei, the disillusioned leading figure of the KMT left. In July, Wang, Yan, and Feng convened an "Enlarged Conference" in Beiping to establish another national government to resist Chiang Kai-shek. Bai Yunti came to this meeting as an associate of Wang Jingwei and was appointed minister of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission of this government. During this political crisis, most of the students of the Mongolian-Tibetan Academy were on Bai Yunti's side, in keeping with their resentment of Wu Heling's conservatism. Prince De was the leading figure of the anti-Wu group. Nevertheless, because of his criticism of Bai's radical behavior in the past, he did not join with the radicals either. Due to the instability of the "Enlarged Conference," Bai Yunti could not accomplish anything concerning Mongolian matters. Soon the "Enlarged Conference" group collapsed because of military oppression from the Chiang Kai-shek group to the south and the movement of Zhang Xueliang's pro-Chiang forces from Manchuria to Beiping.

During this period of great political and military confusion, the Mongolian Convention convened in Nanjing from May 21 to June 12, 1930. As mentioned earlier, the convention was scheduled to be held in March of 1930; but because of the confused situation, it was delayed for two months. This was a pivotal event in the history of the Republic of China. The ostensible goal of the convention was to arrive at a practical solution for Mongolian problems in accordance with both the desires of the Mongols and the exigencies of the nation as a whole. The attendees were delegates from the Mongol leagues and the representatives of the provinces nominally in control of the leagues. In order to arbitrate the differences between the leagues and provinces and to reach a compromise between the two competing hierarchies, the heads or deputies of the concerned ministries were also ordered to attend the meeting.

However, the provinces of Chahar, Suiyuan, and Ningxia, under the control of Feng Yuxiang and Yan Xishan, did not send representatives. In addition, the delegates of western Inner Mongolia could not get to Nanjing because the important railroad stations at Guisui and Kalgan were under the control of Yan's and Feng's forces. As a result of this civil strife, only the delegates of the Jerim, Hulunbuir, Juu-uda, and Josotu Leagues of eastern Inner Mongolia and the representatives of the four provinces of Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, and Rehe (under the control of Zhang Xueliang) could attend the conference.

The conference issued a draft Organizational Law of Mongolian Leagues, Tribes, and Banners, a draft later formally promulgated by the National Government. It also became the law of the Mongolian local governments. Even until his late years, Wu Heling recognized it as the greatest accomplishment of his entire life. There were five main points of the draft: (1) the existence and institutions of Mongol leagues and banners would be protected by the National Government; (2) the leagues and banners could preserve their original rights of local self-rule; (3) the banners would be under the jurisdiction of the leagues, with the leagues placed under the direct authority of the central government; their administration would be separate from that of the provinces and *xians*, and was not to be encroached upon; (4) the *jasag* system would be retained, but not in the old hereditary tradition; (5) the rights and obligations of the people in all leagues, tribes, and banners which made them all equal were to be recognized. This law promised to moderate the conflict between the old conservatives and the new liberals and gradually abolish the hereditary rights of the feudalistic ruling class.

However, the border provinces ignored the law, and conflicts and entanglements between the Mongolian leagues and banners and the Chinese provinces and *xians* still went unresolved. The response from Mongolian society was also quite varied. Both Cha-

har and Hulunbuir (especially the Dahur group to the east of the latter) were satisfied because their *aimags* (tribes) were recognized by law as collectively constituting a league. To the south, in the banners of the Josotu and Juu-uda Leagues, the great majority welcomed this law because of these banners' long contact with the world outside Mongolia. Moreover, their delegates were the original proponents of the draft of this law. Nevertheless, Prince De and the great majority of the conservative nobles recognized the law as destructive of feudalistic traditions and expressed their objections. The strongly conservative Prince Chimedsampil, head of the Jerim League, was another main figure on the opposition side. In other words, this law served to increase the tension between Prince De and Wu Heling. Regardless of the support given or objections raised among all the areas of Inner Mongolia, only the Kharachin Right Banner and the Khorchin Left Front Banner reorganized themselves according to the regulations of this law.

As a result of the Mongolian Convention's resolution on education, more Mongolian youth could study at universities and colleges in Beiping, Nanjing, and other large cities of China. Later, many of these students fought in the Mongolian Autonomy Movement initiated by Prince De in 1933.

Zhang Xueliang's occupation of Beiping, the collapse of the "Enlarged Conference," and the power change in northern China all had some impact on Inner Mongolia. Zhang appointed Liu Yifei as governor of Chahar province, and Liu established a good personal friendship with Prince De. Zhang Xueliang's attitude toward Mongolia was comparatively moderate and compromising, quite different from that of Feng Yuxiang and his policy of cultivating the military, or Yan Xishan's policy of nibbling away at Mongolian territory. From the viewpoint of most Mongols, the downfall of Feng Yuxiang was a favorable development.

From May 5, to May 17, of 1931, the National Government convened a national convention in Nanjing, and each of the Inner Mongolian leagues sent three delegates. From the Shilingol League, Prince So sent his friend Lubsangchoijur, my father, and his *jakirugchi*, Khuturi, as delegates of the league. Prince De sent Buyandalai, the head of the Kalgan office of the Shilingol League, with them. After their arrival, however, Wu Heling told them that only one of them could vote as a delegate, and he had already recommended to the government that Khuturi be the one with voting power because he was the only one who was born in Shilingol and who was currently serving in the office of the league head. Buyandalai greatly resented Wu's decision, and this unhappy event created many problems in the relationship between Prince De and Wu Heling in their later contacts.