

VII

THE PERIOD OF THE MONGOLIAN POLITICAL COUNCIL APRIL 1934 - JANUARY 1936

Founding of the Council

The approved Eight Articles on Mongolian Local Autonomy became the legal foundation for Mongolian self-rule that Mongolian leaders had desired for years. In accordance with these principles, both the Temporary Outline of the Organization of the Mongolian Local Autonomous Political Affairs Council and its main personnel were all announced. The hearts of both traditional and more modern-minded Mongol leaders were gladdened, and they also perceived this as an unprecedented event in the history of the Republic of China. Still, the Eight Articles also occasioned a counterattack from the frontier provinces. Fu Zuoyi and his clique tried hard to destroy this great accomplishment. Because of this, Prince De and other leaders of the autonomy movement had no choice but to concentrate their attention and energy on dealing with the pressure from without. But they were unable to make progress solving internal problems and satisfying the desires of the Mongol people because of Japanese westward expansion and changes in China's domestic political scene.

After the Mongolian delegates returned to Beile-yin sume and submitted their report, both Prince Yon and Prince De took up their positions on April 3, 1934 and then telegraphed the Chinese government that they would go ahead with ceremonies to mark the establishment of the Mongolian Political Council and the inauguration of its members. Princes Yon and De invited General He Yingqin, the Superintendent of Mongolian Local Autonomy, to come and "supervise" the ceremony.

On April 23, 1934 the Mongolian Political Council was founded and its members were sworn in. Those who attended this ceremony were Prince Yon, Prince De, Khorjurjab, Togtakhu, Jodbajab, Nimaodsar, Gonchograshi, Babudorji, Bai Yunti, Keshingge, Yi-Dechin, Rong Xiang, Wu Heling, and three hundred other league and banner delegates and guests. He Yingqin did not come but sent He Jingwu, the counselor of the Office of the Superintendent, as his personal representative. Yan Xishan, Fu Zuoyi, and Song Zheyuan all sent their own delegates and messages of congratulation. After this ceremony was over, the first meeting of the members of the Mongolian Political Council convened. The chairman nominated Prince De as the Secretary General of the Council, the prince thereby accepting the de facto responsibility for running the administration. Wu Heling was nominated as Chief Counselor to draw up plans for further development and laws. Shirabdorji was nominated as Head of the Civil Affairs Bureau, Togtakhu as Head of the Peace Preservation Bureau, and Sainbayar as Chairman of the Financial Commission. I cannot recollect who was nominated to head the Bureaus of Education and Industry. These nominations were passed by the council.

Those intellectuals from Nanjing and Beiping who had joined Prince De's camp were all installed in the bureaucracy of this newly established autonomous organization. Under the Secretary General, Prince De, there were four secretaries: Chogbagatur, Sajirkhu, Jirgalang, and Sangbu. Oljeitu was appointed head of the Secretariat Section; Jalgamji as head of the Translation Section; Chen Kengyang as section head of the Accounting Department; Su Baofeng and Engkeamur were appointed as section heads in the Industry Bureau, the former dealing with construction and the latter with transportation; Guan Qiyi (who later went to Yan'an) was appointed the head of the Wireless Station. Bai Haifeng and Zhu Shifu were both trained in Ulaanbaatar and the USSR. Yun Jixian, Arbijkhu, and Khasbagan were trained in the Nanjing Military Academy. Kokebagatur (Han Fenglin), a graduate of the Japanese Officers School, together with Buyandelger (Bao Guiting), who had been trained at the Northeast Military Academy (*Dongbei Jiangwu Tang*), were appointed as section heads of the Peace Preservation Bureau or as drill instructors and officers in the Peace Preservation troops.

Evidence suggests that Prince De's standards of appointment depended on a man's education and capability, not his political background. He also tried to give positions of leadership to all who came and joined his camp. Prince De made sure to select Ao Yunzhang, who had devoted his energy to Prince De's struggles against Wu Heling and to the founding of the Mongolian Political Council, for appointment as a senior advisor, a position outside the administrative structure of the Mongolian Political Council.

The establishment of the Mongolian Local Autonomous Political Affairs Council immediately became the subject of newspaper headlines all over China. Journalists abbreviated its name to the Mongolian Political Council (*Mengzhenghui*). The formal name of the council in the Mongolian language was the *Monggol gajar oron-u obesuben jasakhu geshigud-un khural*. The Mongols usually referred to it as the *Batu-khagalagayin Khural*, which means a meeting or committee located at Bat-khaalag.

The Inner Mongolian Autonomous movement originally held its meetings at the Yungrung-sang section of the Beile-yin sume, the administrative center of the temple itself. Most of the people who came from elsewhere, if they could not be accommodated in the houses of the monks or the nearby Chinese merchants, had to bring their own yurts and tents. With the passage of time, the intellectuals, especially those from Nanjing and Beiping who had less faith in Buddhism, made weary the monks in the temple. The lamas began to ask that Prince Yon move the Mongolian Political Council and its staff members out of the holy temple of the Buddha as soon as possible.

Before the formal establishment of the Mongolian Political Council, the meeting of the leaders had already decided to direct the banners to provide yurts for temporary office use by the council but there were delays in gathering the tents. Prince Yon, a very devout Buddhist, did not want to transgress against the integrity of the temple. He requested that Prince De do something as soon as possible to protect the holy temple from becoming defiled by worldliness. Prince De, also a devout Buddhist, did not want the Mongolian Political Council to be criticized for offending the temple and disturbing the "Law of Buddha." He ordered all the staff members residing at the temple area to withdraw as soon as possible to the Chinese merchant quarters or elsewhere. This of course created dissatisfaction among the intellectuals and increased their enmity toward the lamas.

While these young people were gathered in the temple, the lamas, already wearying of them, named them *gaming*, a corrupted form of the Chinese term *geming*, or "revolution." This was also a term of derision which the Ulaanbaatar lamas and people had applied to all Chinese officials after the founding of the Republic of China. This term

connotes a man with no conscience and no sense of propriety, who opposes the Law of Buddha and the old traditions. This usage marked the rift that had developed between the old and traditional ways on the one hand, and the new and revolutionary activities on the other.¹

Prince So was unable to attend the first meeting because of his bad health, so Togtakhu went as his personal representative. Prince Shagdurjab, head of the Yekejuu League, was also unable to come because of Fu Zuoyi's hindrance. Nevertheless, in order not to be isolated from other Mongol leaders, he later came to Bat-khaalag once to show his acceptance of the post of vice-chairman of the committee.² From the beginning of the movement, Prince Yon had given his full support to Prince De. Therefore, after he took the position of chairman, he gave the real power to Prince De in order to give him a free hand in doing the work of the council. From this time on, except for extremely important affairs, Prince De had complete power in making decisions on behalf of Prince Yon. Prince Yon never rejected any of the proposals of Prince De. Because of his great age, Prince Yon usually stayed at his own residence, about forty kilometers north of the location of the council, and rarely came to the headquarters. His nephew Shirabdorji, who had great admiration for Prince De, acted as go-between for the two princes. The relationship between Shirabdorji and Prince De was cordial and productive.

As mentioned earlier, the conflict between the lamas and intellectuals also marked the gap between the traditionalists and the radicals and was difficult to compromise. Prince De was supported by both parties, and so he was sandwiched between the two groups. His circumstances were probably similar to those of Prince Gungasangnorbu, the Mongol leader in the early period of the Chinese Republic. This deadlock was not resolved until the last days before the Communist takeover, when Prince De was forced off the political stage.

The Mongols did not wish to be ruled by aliens, i.e. Chinese, and they certainly never wanted their pasture lands to be converted into cultivated farms for an alien people. This was the main reason why the Mongols demanded self-rule. Not to be ruled by others was the common desire of Mongols, from the princes to the common herders. But during the 1930s, when drastic changes were taking place in East Asia, the ordinary people and the conservatives could not understand how to achieve the goal of self-rule. Some of them thought that self-rule was nothing more than tenaciously hanging on to the established institutions and obstinately refusing to implement change. Of course, this kind of old-fashioned thought could not accommodate itself to the policy of the Mongolian Political Council to achieve a form of autonomy suitable for the modern world. The conflict between the Beile-yin sume authorities and the Mongolian intellectuals from other areas

¹ In the late sixteenth century, Mongolian society was completely converted to Buddhism. The temples and lamaseries became the centers of culture, economics, and politics. Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Outer Mongolia, also developed in this manner. Later, because of the increasing impact of politics, an atmosphere deleterious to religion evolved, a fact clearly known to the leaders of the Inner Mongolian monasteries. Beile-yin sume had become a political center, and of course this was of great concern to the leading lamas of this temple. Because of the political impact of Mongolian autonomy, this famous temple was eventually destroyed and plundered by Fu Zuoyi's troops in the winter of 1936.

² Prince Yangsang, the former head of the Shilingol League; Enkebatu, a member of the Chinese government in Nanjing; Prince Nayantu of Khalkha; Ayulugei, the deputy head of the Josotu League; and Prince Namjilsereng, the deputy head of the Jerim League (the last three of whom were in Beiping), were unable to come because of old age and illness. Their absence, however, had no political significance in the founding of the Mongolian Political Council.

was a minor example of the conflict. The chance such petty quarrels provided for some Chinese regional officials to play divide and rule tricks against the Mongols was not lost on Fu Zuoyi and his Suiyuan provincial government.

The pressure from outside, though very heavy, did nothing but stimulate nationalistic spirit and lead the Mongols toward national unification in the face of external aggression. However, the internal conflict had reached a deadlock. The most serious conflict was the confrontation between the feudalistic, localistic traditions and the movement for unification.³ The newly established Mongolian Political Council tried to push through its program of local administration. This brought it into serious conflict with the firmly rooted feudalistic traditions and patterns of thought. Because the leagues and banners had no experience of being ruled over by their own unified Mongolian organization, they wished to have the Mongolian Political Council deal only with external oppression but not have it rule over them. Because of this, the Mongolian Political Council became bogged down in its work. The most serious conflict, the "Prince Shi Incident," used by Fu Zuoyi to destroy the Mongolian Political Council, was not to occur until the second year of the council's existence.

Togtakhu's Visits with Chiang Kai-shek

After the founding of the Mongolian Political Council, the Mongolian authorities appointed Togtakhu as their representative and sent him to Nanjing to present two hundred military mounts to the central government as a token of appreciation. Kokebagatur and Namur were assigned as assistants to Togtakhu, the former as a secretary and the latter as an attendant charged with looking after the horses. The goals of Togtakhu's travels to Nanjing were twofold: as a member of the Mongolian Political Council he was to represent Prince Yon and Prince De to the Chinese government; as an official of the Ujumuchin Banner, he was to personally represent Prince So, the leader of the Shilingol League.

Because Togtakhu was a good friend of my father, he stayed at my home after his arrival in Beiping. I learned from him that Prince So's support of Prince De was sincere. If Prince So had not supported Prince De, the Mongolian autonomy movement might never have materialized. Prince So's purpose was to establish inner unity the better to oppose external oppression. He also wanted to implement self-rule in order to protect the national existence of the Mongolian people. These were his only aspirations. The rumor that he did not support the autonomy movement is false.

Togtakhu's trip to Beiping was to meet with General He Yingqin, Minister of Military Administration and Superintendent for Mongolian Local Autonomy. Because Togtakhu was displeased with Kokebagatur's relations with the Japanese, he did not want Kokebagatur to know what he was going to say to General He Yingqin. Knowing that Kokebagatur had his wife and family in Beiping, Togtakhu told him to take a few days off and spend them at home. Togtakhu asked me to contact General He and remain with

³ As I mentioned in Chapter I, the Manchus had used a divide-and-conquer policy to establish tight limitations on the grazing activities of the Mongol tribes, in addition to the already existent vassalage relationship binding the Mongol and Manchu ruling classes. By confining the Mongols to certain designated parcels of land the Manchus reinforced the existing strong feudalistic tribalism and feelings of localism. At a time when everyone zealously resisted outside aggression, the Mongols came to think that a unified autonomous organization would be the best way to deal with all forms of alien encroachment.

him as an interpreter. Because Togtakhu was the formal representative of the Mongolian Political Council, General He treated him very cordially. He Jingwu, the counselor of the superintendent of the Mongolian Local Autonomy Commission, was also at the meeting. After formalities, General He asked what the real attitude of Prince So was toward the Mongolian Autonomy Movement. Togtakhu immediately and frankly answered this delicate question by stating that Prince De and Prince So were working together wholeheartedly and hoped that the founding of this Mongolian Political Council would unify all the leagues and banners and contribute positively to the unity and security of China.

At the same time, Togtakhu also reported to the general about Japanese activities in Ujumuchin and the concern of Prince So about these activities. Togtakhu, who hoped that General He and the central government would do something to stop the Japanese activities, asked for the general's advice on this matter. Under these conditions, General He was able to say only that he would convey Prince So's concerns and reports on the situation in Mongolia to Chiang Kai-shek and the central government. General He also hoped that Togtakhu would do his best to delay the Japanese advance. This common desire to halt the Japanese advance into western Inner Mongolia helped establish a deep friendship between General He and Prince So. Although the general did not ask whether Prince De had any association with the Japanese, he was concerned that might be the case. From General He's conversation it was easy to see that he wanted Prince So to use his influence to reduce the tensions in Inner Mongolia.

After his arrival in Nanjing, Togtakhu, who had consistently trusted Wu Heling, depended on Wu to schedule all his activities. Togtakhu visited with Wang Jingwei, Head of the Executive Yuan; Shi Qingyang, Minister of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission; and other important political figures in the capital. Of course, Togtakhu discussed all his initiatives with Wu Heling before making them. Although it was difficult to keep Kokebagatur out of meetings with these persons, Wu Heling acted as Togtakhu's interpreter. During these days, the Jiangxi "Iron Ring" campaigns against the Communists had almost reached an end. Even so, Chiang Kai-shek was still staying at Lushan Mountain.

Chiang summoned Togtakhu by telegraph, and of course Wu Heling accompanied him. At Lushan, Chiang was hospitable to Togtakhu and expressed his personal concern about the health of Prince So. General He had, of course, reported to the generalissimo his conversation with Togtakhu. At a formal banquet, Togtakhu was placed in the first seat of the seats of honor, to show the generalissimo's personal regard for Prince So. As expected, Kokebagatur did not confine himself to his official activities. As the personal representative of Prince De, he met with Gui Yongqing and other members of the generalissimo's "kitchen cabinet." Because Togtakhu himself was the head of the Peace Preservation Bureau of the Mongolian Political Council, he asked for military supplies for the Peace Preservation troops during his visit with the generalissimo and other people in the capital. He also requested that the Mongolian Political Council be strengthened. Although all his requests were received positively, none of the aid he asked for materialized.

When Togtakhu returned from Nanjing to Beiping, Kokebagatur was not with him. Because this was during the university summer vacation, Togtakhu invited me to go with him to Ujumuchin via Bat-khaalag and Sunid to report to Prince So. At Hohhot, Togtakhu did not meet anyone, but went directly to Bat-khaalag to report his activities in Nanjing to Prince Yon, who consoled and encouraged him. Because Prince De was not at Bat-khaalag, Togtakhu went to Sunid the next day. By then, the yurts that had been demanded by the Mongolian Political Council had already been sent from the banners and

were already erected on the eastern side of the river. This sight of hundreds of yurts erected on the green steppelands caused me to shiver with emotion and led me to reflect on the past glory of the Mongol Empire.

The next day, Togtakhu and I arrived in Sunid by way of the Shiramoren Temple. After Togtakhu made his report to Prince De, I had my first one-on-one visit with the prince. Prince De, however, asked only about the health of my father and, thinking that I was merely a young student, did not discuss Mongolian politics with me.

The First Japanese Sounding Out of Western Inner Mongolia

When I arrived in Ujumuchin together with Togtakhu, it was on the occasion of a great Buddhist ceremony at the Kholtu sume, about fifty kilometers southeast of the residence of Prince So. The Kholtu Temple—where Prince So's older brother had once been an abbot—was the site of this ceremony, which was being conducted in order to bring back the reincarnation of the abbot. Because this was an important occasion, the Japanese Guandong Army sent Prince Badmarabdan of Jalaid, Commander of the Southern Kinggan Defense Troops, and Wu Guting, Commander of the Western Kinggan Defense Troops, as "private individuals" in order to show their personal regard and friendship for Prince So. Because Wu Guting's headquarters was in Linxi, where the Ujumuchin people bought agricultural products, Wu Guting normally was willing to give aid to the Ujumuchin people.

Although Prince So knew that these two "individuals" were lobbyists of sorts sent by the Guandong Army, he and Togtakhu treated them politely. They did, however, avoid the subject of politics and instead merely engaged in ceremonious niceties. At the end of the religious ceremonies, a great tournament of wrestling and horse racing was held for three days, during which the seating was carefully arranged. Because Badmarabdan was a prince and a guest of honor from afar, he was given the first seat. Sungjingwangchug, Prince of Khauchid, was Prince So's most intimate friend, so he was given the second seat. Wu Guting, as commander of the Linxi district, assumed the third seat. As the son of an old friend of Prince So, I was given the fourth seat. The Japanese Major Honma Makodo—advisor of Wu Guting's army and the behind-the-scenes leader of Prince Ba's mission—was purposely given the fifth seat, to show that no undue respect was to be given to the Japanese, whose plot in this instance did not have the support of the people of Ujumuchin. This situation greatly embarrassed Honma and me. But it did make it impossible for Prince Ba and Wu Guting to accomplish their purposes.

Because of this failure with Prince So, Badmaratan, Wu Guting, and Honma decided to go to Sunid and see Prince De. But because Prince De was at this time in Batkhaalag, he was unable to meet with them. After they had left, Prince De learned of their departure and rushed to catch up with them. When they eventually met, Badmarabdan's group told Prince De of the Japanese policy of supporting the Mongols in Manchukuo. At the same time, they said that the Japanese army would eventually enter Inner Mongolia and that it would be best to do something in preparation prior to its arrival. These tempting and threatening words made Prince De, who had a great interest in politics, unable to resist taking further steps, unlike Prince So and his group. This was the prelude to great future changes in Inner Mongolia. Prince De sent his secretary, Chogbagatur (Chen Shao-wu), to Lushan to report this matter to Chiang Kai-shek. When Chogbagatur returned, he brought with him a letter from the generalissimo instructing Prince De to deal with the Japanese in a nonviolent yet nonservile manner.

Chinese Terrorism Against the Mongols

The founding of the Mongolian Political Council immediately attracted the attention of the Japanese Guandong Army and the Chinese intelligence organizations. A man named Li Caigui was stationed at Bat-khaalag to gather intelligence. Kokebagatur's contacts with the Japanese had by this time become an open secret. The Chinese government should not have tolerated these relations with the Japanese. Regardless of whether Prince De was actually collaborating with the Japanese, the attention of the entire Chinese nation was focused on him. Kokebagatur was an important member of Prince De's group of advisors.

It was under these circumstances that Kokebagatur, for personal reasons, returned to his home in Beijing in August of 1934. The night after he arrived in Beijing, he was abducted from his home. His Chinese wife quickly asked Sainbayar, the head of the Beijing Office of the Mongolian Political Council, for help. The next day, Sainbayar went to ask General He Yingqin to investigate this matter. General He accepted this request and sent a person to comfort Kokebagatur's family. At the same time, Sainbayar reported the incident to the Beijing Association of Fellow Mongols. The association quickly convened a general conference of all Mongol members in Beijing and sent out members to conduct an investigation and to plead for the release of Kokebagatur.

Several days of searching yielded no results. People then began to suspect that this abduction was not the work of ordinary kidnappers, but had been carried out by the Third Regiment of the Military Police, the unit responsible for all "special activities" in northern China. Public anger within the Mongol community arose. The Mongols did not sympathize with Kokebagatur for political reasons, but they were angry because they felt that this kidnapping indicated a lack of law and order. The Mongols strongly opposed assassinations or abductions. The Association of Fellow Mongols in Nanjing also issued protests. Of course, the members of the Mongolian Political Council at Bat-khaalag were infuriated. Prince De directly requested that Generalissimo Chiang release Kokebagatur, but no release came. Chiang merely transferred Li Caigui away from Bat-khaalag.

Several years after this abduction, during the Japanese occupation of Beijing, Kokebagatur's body was found. This strengthened the belief that he had been executed by the Third Regiment of the Military Police at the order of high authorities. This terrorist incident, far from suppressing future Mongolian contacts with the Japanese, increased the hatred of the Mongols toward the Chinese regime. Moreover, because it was Prince De's confidant Kokebagatur who was assassinated, a psychological gap developed between Prince De and the central government.

During this period, many people suspected that Namur (Liu Jianhua) and Jagunasutu were involved in the matter. However, forty years later, Liu Jianhua (who was no longer impersonating a Mongol and was not using a Mongolian name) told me: "Kokebagatur was innocent and died a wrongful death. He was a Mongolian nationalist and not a traitor to the Mongols."

Prince De's Second Visit with Chiang Kai-shek

Following the government's nearly successful siege of the communists in Jiangxi and the subsequent communist escape from the KMT encirclement of the Jiangxi Soviet, the communists moved northwestward into Northern Shaanxi. Because the active military theater had changed to the north, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek visited Kalgan,

Datong, and Hohhot after inspecting military units at Lanzhou and Beiping. He then sent Xiao Zhengying, the confidant of Song Zheyuan, to Bat-khaalag to invite Prince Yon and Prince De for a visit. Chiang arrived in Hohhot on the sixth of October; the next day, Prince Yon and Prince De visited him. Chiang first asked Prince Yon about the situation in Inner Mongolia since the establishment of the Mongolian Political Council. Prince Yon said that he was old and in poor health, and that everything rested on the shoulders of Prince De. The generalissimo expressed his good will toward Prince De and encouraged him to be diligent in the council's work. After giving a brief account of the Mongolian Political Council, Prince De asked for instructions.

Prince De then talked about the matter of Kokebagatur. Chiang responded by saying that he would order an investigation into the matter. The two leaders of the Mongolian Political Council then presented the generalissimo with three hundred horses to show their military support of the Chinese government. Later, these horses were brought to Nanjing by Buyandalai and Chogbagatur. Chiang Kai-shek received them and gave words of encouragement to Prince De. He also arranged to provide additional financial resources to the Mongolian Political Council and to make more armaments available for the peace preservation troops under the council. Thereafter, the promised armaments arrived in a piecemeal fashion. This enabled Prince De to gradually reinforce the troops under his command.

After visiting with Chiang Kai-shek, Prince De did not return to Bat-khaalag together with Prince Yon, but went to Ejen Khoroo with a small group of attendants and guards to represent the Mongolian Political Council and offer sacrifices at Chinggis Khan's shrine. He also met with the leaders of the Yekejuu League to strengthen their political allegiance. On his way back, his escorts discovered that a group of Chinese "bandits" blocked their way. Because the weaponry of Prince De's troops was better than that of the Chinese "bandits," the guards wanted to open fire. But because he realized that these Chinese were not really bandits, Prince De said, "It is better for enmity to be dissolved than intensified. Let us go on our way unless they insist on a confrontation." His group then rushed up against the blockade. The Chinese, seeing Prince De's weaponry, allowed him and his group to pass. Of course, Fu Zuoyi had sent this group of "bandits" to kill Prince De. This plot was a carbon copy of the previous (1913) assassination of the Kanjurwa *Khutugtu* by an army force disguised as a bandit group. The Kanjurwa *Khutugtu* was assassinated because of his sympathy for Outer Mongolian independence.

Contacts with the Guangdong Clique

It was almost at this same time that Prince De secretly dispatched Namur (Liu Jianhua) to Hong Kong and Guangzhou as his personal representative to consult with Hu Hanmin and his anti-Nanjing political clique. Prince De wished to get Hu's support to increase pressure on Nanjing. The following information is taken from a conversation between Liu Jianhua and me in Taipei in 1981.

Liu initiated this initiative. After the Mongolian Political Council was established, its budget for each month was no more than 24,000 yuan, and it was impossible to take any kind of initiative. So one day Prince De summoned Kokebagatur, Jagunnasutu, Mergenbagatur, and Liu to meet with him and discuss how to break through this isolation. Kokebagatur said, "For Inner Mongolia, there are only three paths to take: Japan, Outer Mongolia, or the Soviet Union." Prince De disagreed, "The Japan route is too dangerous, because Japan has territorial ambitions, and we might be absorbed by the Japa-

nese. Outer Mongolia, after its communization, persecuted the lay nobles and the lamas. We have heard too many reports about this matter from *Dilowa Gegeen* and those Outer Mongolians who have fled from their homeland. The Outer Mongolian route is too dangerous. The Soviet Union is the power that controls Outer Mongolia. Every move that Outer Mongolia makes is in response to instructions from the Soviet Union. To follow the Outer Mongolian model would be a dangerous thing. Now we desire to find a breakthrough, but we should be very careful about the delicate situation in Inner Mongolia. We should not be too impetuous in our actions." Liu then suggested trying the "Guangdong line." Prince De asked how contact with Guangdong could be established. Liu answered, "We could send somebody to Beiping to contact Qiu Niantai."⁴

Prince De sent Liu to make secret contact with Hu Hanmin. After his arrival in Beiping, through Qiu Niantai's recommendation, Liu represented himself as a member of the *Kangri jiuguotuan* (Association for National Salvation and Resistance Against Japan) and contacted a member of the Chinese Communist party, Wang Pingnan, who had very close relations with Chen Duxiu. Wang Pingnan then made it possible for Liu to go to Tianjin and proceed to Hong Kong by sea. At the same time, Wang made secret contact with the regime in Guangzhou. After his arrival in Hong Kong, someone immediately put Liu up in a hotel.

That night, Liu was brought to a secret place to meet with Hu Hanmin. Hu asked about the real intentions of Prince De. Liu gave a brief rundown of the situation in Inner Mongolia and said, "As for the present situation, if the Mongols cannot save themselves, they will have no more national existence. The Japanese invasion was not requested by the Mongols, but the Mongols were unable to resist this invasion. The central government in Nanjing is hearing only one side of the story and does not understand the real intentions of the Mongols. The arrival of Huang Shaohong and Zhao Pilian brought only threats to the Mongols, not sympathy or sincerity. Although the Mongolian Political Council was established, it has been hindered from all sides. The budget of the Mongolian Political Council was not enough to do anything. The Mongols' hope is to fulfill Mr. Sun Yat-sen's promises of self-determination and self-rule and achieve a high degree of political autonomy, with only national defense and foreign affairs being handled by the central government. This is the hope of all the Mongols and is *not* the personal ambition of Prince De. Nevertheless, Prince De recognizes that for the continued existence and development of the Mongol people, Mr. Hu is the only one to whom they can look for help."

After hearing these words, Hu nodded his head in agreement and said, "China is the China of the Chinese. It is not the China of a certain person [Chiang Kai-shek]. For the future of China, we can cooperate. You should go to Guangzhou to contact the comrades in authority in the *Xi'nan zhengwu weiyuanhui* [The Southwestern Political Affairs Committee]. They will give you a satisfactory answer." Hu sent a personal letter to Zou Lu, Li Zongren, Bai Chongxi, Deng Zeru, Chen Jitang, and others. Liu proceeded to Guangzhou, where he met with all the people mentioned above and received an enthusiastic welcome. Finally, Zou Lu gave their response to Prince De's proposal for an alliance with Hu and agreed to establish cooperative relations between the Southwest and Mongolia. He said that they would soon send someone to Bailingmiao for a return visit. At the same time, the Southwestern Political Affairs Committee sent Prince De eight bolts of yellow satin and silk gauze, a carved ivory pagoda with the names of the mem-

⁴ Qiu Niantai was a Taiwan activist protesting the Japanese rule of Taiwan who had by this time fled to mainland China.

bers of the Southwest Political Affairs Committee, and 10,000 Hong Kong dollars to support the Mongolian Political Council.

After having achieved so successful a result, Liu returned to Bat-khaalag from Hong Kong by way of Shanghai, Tianjin, Beiping, and Hohhot. By then, the Nanjing government had already got word of his activities. Fortunately he was able to accomplish his mission without any problems. Because of this, he merited greater trust from Prince De. After half a month, an envoy from Hu Hanmin—Yan Menghua, a representative of the Southwestern Political Affairs Committee—arrived secretly in Bat-khaalag. Yan met with Prince De and conveyed Hu Hanmin's desire to establish contacts with the Mongols. Prince De was greatly pleased by this.

By that time the extent of Japanese influence in Inner Mongolia was apparent; Japanese intelligence agents were even in Bat-khaalag. Also, in all of northern China there were great political changes. Under these circumstances, the arrival of Yan Menghua established a good working relationship between Prince De and Hu Hanmin. By this time, however, the time for such a connection had passed, and Yan Menghua returned to the south greatly disappointed. At his departure he said, "For future contacts, we should let Qiu Niantai and Pei Mingyu⁵ take care of the communications between Guangzhou and Bat-khaalag." After this incident, Prince De came to feel that Mongolia and Guangdong were too far apart to effectively collaborate. Even though contacts between the two were established, no great benefit was derived from them, and the entire plan fizzled out.

During these events, Jagunnasutu brought Yu Yifu, a Heilungjiang man and a member of the Communist party, to Bat-khaalag to talk with Prince De. Yan Menghua was later elected as a member of the Legislative Yuan and passed away in Taiwan.

Contacts with the Kokonor Mongols

In Kokonor (Qinghai), there were two Mongolian leagues that contained twenty-nine banners. In 1723, Lubsangdanjin joined with the Juungar Mongols in an alliance to fight against Manchu domination. The next year, the Manchu commander Nian Gengyao carried out indiscriminate butchery, robbery, and burning in Kokonor and defeated the Kokonor Mongols, leaving their property destroyed and their population decimated. In the early years of this century, a joke in Mongolia about the Kokonor situation shows how desperate that situation was: "There is a banner in Kokonor, and that banner has a ruling prince. He has only one subject and a dog. His subject is his own younger brother." In the 1930s, it was known that among the twenty-nine Kokonor banners, only one, under the high lama *Chagan Nomun Khan*, was fairly well off.

After the founding of the Republic of China, Kokonor was subject to the extortions of the Ma family of Northwest Moslems. The situation of the Kokonor Mongols greatly deteriorated, especially at the time of the domination of Ma Buqing and Ma Bufang, when the political situation went from bad to worse. In addition, a group of Kazakh people escaped from the Soviet Union and roamed the Kokonor, robbing the Mongols. After the founding of the Chinese government in Nanjing and the establishment of the Nanjing Office of the Mongolian League and Banner Delegates, the Mongolian Office had four representatives from Kokonor stationed in Nanjing as liaisons in order to give help to the Kokonor Mongols. Among the four delegates, however, two were Chinese appointed by Ma Bufang to watch the two Mongols.

⁵ Pei was later elected to the Chinese National Assembly as a representative of Shandong Province.

When the Mongolian Political Committee was established, the Kokonor Mongols desired to join in order to get some outside support and recognition. Prince Yon and Prince De, of course, immediately responded to this by petitioning the Chinese government for recognition of the Kokonor Mongols. In Nanjing, because of Wu Heling's activities, the government appointed the head and deputy head of the two Kokonor leagues as members of the Mongolian Political Council. Although the Kokonor Mongols could not receive real benefits, nominally and legally they gained permission to exercise self-rule.

Conflict Within the Peace Preservation Corps

Before the establishment of the Mongolian Political Council, the delegates of the banners at Bat-khaalag had already decided to select one thousand cavalry to guard the Council's future head office. After the establishment of the Mongolian Political Council, reinforcement of the military was one of the main goals that Prince De espoused. During those days, a sudden conscription of mounted peace preservation troops was not easily accomplished. The first of these troops were conscripted from the purely pastoral Shilingol League. The people from Shilingol were unable to speak Chinese. After this came men from other leagues, the greater part of them from Hohhot Tumed. They were very nationalistic but had been sinicized and were unable to speak Mongolian. Among them were people who had already had modern military training, such as Zhu Shifu and Yun Jixian, who were appointed as drill instructors. In addition, Bai Haifeng (Dugurengsang), Arbijkhu, and Khasbagan, who had received military training in Moscow and Nanjing, were appointed as officers of the Peace Preservation Bureau.

During the time of training and exercise, conflict was inevitable. Those who could not speak Chinese saw those officers who could as non-Mongols. Those officers, in turn, regarded these monolingual Mongols as simpletons. Many problems arose, and both sides complained to Prince De. Prince De, however, could not resolve the situation. This kind of conflict continued and became one of the factors which precipitated the rebellion of the Peace Preservation troops led by Zhu Shifu and Yun Jixian in 1936. Some suspect that Kokebagatur's abduction and murder were also caused by this conflict. At any rate, before the intervention of the Japanese militarists in western Inner Mongolia, these Peace Preservation officers and soldiers gave their greatest support to the Mongolian Political Council.

Problems Caused by Prince So's Arrival in Beiping

In the winter of 1934, accompanied by Togtakhu, Prince Sodnamrabdan went on a pilgrimage to Wutaishan to be cured of his obesity. Upon their arrival in Kalgan, they were warmly welcomed by Song Zheyuan, the governor of Chahar Province. The governor appointed Xiao Zhengying as host of this group. In those days, Prince So was the only one with enough power and influence to limit Prince De's activities. For this purpose, the Chinese authorities had to win him over to their side and secure his cooperation. Prince So was a faithful person, and although he was not entirely satisfied with Prince De, he refused to say a bad word about him. Consequently, during this trip he usually used his physical ailment as an excuse not to discuss political matters. His conversations with Song Zheyuan did not extend beyond formalities.

In Beiping, Prince So got many additional polite receptions. Because Prince So was a friend of my father, he declined the invitations of other officials in Beiping and lodged at my father's house. At this time, the *Janggiya Khutugtu* had an office in Beiping and ordered the head of the office, Gong Ziwan, and the *demchi*, Bai Fashan of the great Janggiya monastery Songzhusi, to invite Prince So to stay at the monastery. At this time I was very anxious, afraid that the *Janggiya Khutugtu* had been greatly influenced by Yan Xishan and was strongly opposed to Mongolian autonomy. If Prince So stayed at the monastery, the *Janggiya Khutugtu* and his associates might create political rumors saying that Prince So was dissatisfied with the Mongolian Autonomy Movement. Fortunately, Prince So responded to this invitation by saying that it would be more discreet for him to stay at a friend's private house for the healing of his sickness; after he was able to recover a bit, he would proceed to Wutaishan and then stay at the Songzhusi monastery until his return to Mongolia.

Evidently, Prince So wished to avoid staying at a place where there might be unwanted political entanglements before he visited the top military and political authorities in Beiping, such as General He Yingqin and Huang Fu. After he visited with these people, then he would talk to Janggiya about what he wanted to discuss, but he would not be taken advantage of by those who might do harm to the autonomy organization.

During this period, I handled all contacts and interpretation between different individuals. Prince So used his sickness as a pretext to refuse any visitors, thus avoiding any problems. He saw only General He Yingqin and Huang Fu. These two men visited him because there was no way for him to avoid their visits—they were top-ranking leaders. Even so, Prince So did not discuss political matters with Huang. In his conversation with He, Prince So gave a brief report on the situation in Shilingol. Then he told him about Japanese intentions, especially the attention they paid to him. He asked why the central government associated with these Japanese. He also asked what he should do under these circumstances. General He told Prince So very frankly that the central government could not take any drastic or positive actions to resist the Japanese, but maintaining a subdued manner was important in limiting Japanese activities.

Of course, General He praised Prince So and approved of his rejection of the Japanese overtures. At the same time, he expressed hope that Prince So would do his best to mollify the Japanese so as to limit their activities in his league. As for the problems of the Mongolian Political Council and Prince De, General He asked for Prince So's opinions. Prince So's answer was that Prince De was acting in accordance with the general will of the Mongolian people and not on his personal initiative or to feed his own ambitions. Prince So expressed hope that the Mongolian Political Council would provide guidance for the officials and give them more assistance. These words made General He quit asking questions; the conversation clearly showed what kind of a man Prince So was and signalled his high regard for Prince De. After this episode, nobody posed these types of questions to Prince So.

After another month in Beiping, Prince So made a pilgrimage to Wutaishan in Shanxi. On his way, he passed through Hebian Village, the native village of Yan Xishan. Yan gave Prince So a great welcome party. I did not accompany Prince So on this trip. Later, I heard that Prince So used his ailment as a pretext to go worship the Buddha. By so saying, he again avoided discussions of Mongolian politics. In Wutaishan, he stayed at the monastery temple of the *Janggiya Khutugtu* and soon returned from Wutaishan to Beiping. At the *Janggiya Khutugtu's* invitation, he stayed at the Songzhusi. Soon afterward, Janggiya also came to Beiping, and General He Yingqin gave a big banquet for the lama and the prince. I served as Prince So's interpreter, and on this occasion the conver-

sation between Prince So and General He was polite; no political issues were discussed. After staying in Beiping for another half month, Prince So returned to Shilingol.

Prince So's stay in Beiping caused great concern to many young intellectuals working at the Mongolian Political Council. They feared that if this influential and conservative leader of Shilingol were to say negative words about the Mongolian Political Council and Prince De, it might create a serious problem. In reality, these worries were unnecessary because they had an erroneous impression of Prince So.

The Prince Shi Incident

In 1935, the second year in the life of the Mongolian Political Council, the people who worked with the Council received some basic training. This was a time during which the Council began to move forward with its tasks. Unfortunately, a new confrontation broke out between the Council and Fu Zuoyi, and the opportunities for furthering the tasks of the Council were destroyed. The main problems between the Mongols and the Suiyuan provincial government were caused by the Prince Shi Incident and the issue of taxation at Khashaat.

The Baruun Gung Banner was a banner of the Ulanbatai League under the jurisdiction of Prince Yon, officially called the Urad Front Banner. In late 1929 or early 1930, the ruling *jasag*, Keshigdelger, died without descendants. His relatives Shirabdorji and Batubayar aspired to the position of *jasag*. The *jakirugchi* Serinbu supported the former, but *tusalagchi* Erkedorji supported the latter. A confrontation resulted. Because Shirabdorji's group worked efficiently and amicably, it achieved its goals; and in 1930, through the recommendation of the Ulanbatai League head and the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, they received the approval of the Chinese government.

Nevertheless, after Shirabdorji assumed the position of *jasag*, he put heavy pressure on his opponents and created discontent among the people of his banner. After the establishment of the Mongolian Political Council, he even sent out his soldiers to confiscate the properties of the opposition faction, including the possessions of *Dagdan Lama*, the younger brother of the former *jasag*. The abbot of Mergen Juu, the largest temple in that banner, was also an opponent of Shirabdorji. Erkedorji was an enthusiastic supporter of the autonomy movement and therefore went to Bat-khaalag to seek protection.

Because Prince Yondonwangchug was the chairman of the Mongolian Political Council as well as the head of the Ulanbatai League, he sent an envoy to the Baruun Gung Banner to summon Shirabdorji to Bat-khaalag to explain matters and to explore ways to settle his problems. Because of his own wrongdoings Shirabdorji did not dare face Prince Yon. To strengthen his position, Shirabdorji went to Hohhot to ask for Fu Zuoyi's help. This provided Fu with a good opportunity to use Shirabdorji as a weapon against the Mongolian Political Council. In addition to sending a report to Nanjing in defense of Shirabdorji, he also ordered Division Commander Wang Jingguo to send his troops to be stationed in the Baruun Gung Banner and crush the power of Shirabdorji's opponents. Fu's real purpose, however, was to put pressure on the Mongolian Political Council and make it bow to his Suiyuan provincial government.

Because Shirabdorji had disobeyed orders and abused his power, mistreating the people and trying to use the military power of the provincial government to oppose the league head, the Mongolian Political Council issued orders not to fire him but to postpone his appointment as *jasag* of Baruun Gung Banner. This action would maintain the integrity of the league and banner system and avoid illegal interference from the province

against Mongolian leagues and banners. Prince Yon reported this to the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission and requested that the Chinese government approve this action. In order to protect the opponents of Shirabdorji and not be hounded by Wang Jingguo's forces, the Mongolian Political Council also dispatched its Peace Preservation troops to Mergen Juu. This military confrontation almost gave rise to an upheaval.

The Suiyuan provincial government not only spoke up for Shirabdorji but also, in an effort to destroy the integrity of the original Mongolian political system, asked the central government to accept its opinion. Fu Zuoyi used a group of ignorant Mongol princes in an attempt to make it appear that the Mongolian Political Council's actions were aimed at the alteration of the Mongolian banner system. Fu's purpose was to provoke the ruling princes into reasserting their feudalistic privileges and petitioning the central government for protection of the Mongol banner system's hereditary feudalistic institutions.

At this time, the minister of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission was a Cantonese military man, Huang Musong, who had no knowledge of Mongolian affairs. Consequently, he could not judge properly between the two opposing sides. He was also too ignorant to know the political prerogatives of the league heads during the Manchu period. Hence, resolution of the conflict was delayed, and no settlement was reached. The central government ordered an eight month suspension of Shirabdorji's authority over his own banner. In this way, the Prince Shi Incident was temporarily resolved. Nevertheless, this compromise solution still brought some damage to the prestige of the Mongolian Political Council and the integrity of the Mongolian league and banner political system. During this crisis, because the prerogatives of the league heads were interfered with by the Suiyuan Provincial Government and also because of the incompetence of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Committee, Prince Yon was unable to carry out his political responsibilities. He angrily resigned in protest. The Chinese government, attempting to mollify the situation, did not accept his resignation. Because of the resolute attitude of the Mongolian side, it was impossible for the central government to favor Fu Zuoyi.

Two years later, in the spring of 1936, rebellion broke out among the Peace Preservation troops of the Mongolian Political Council. The Council troops stationed at the Urad Front Banner withdrew to Bat-khaalag. Seeing this as an opportunity, Shirabdorji accused the *Dagdan Lama* and others of collaborating with the Japanese and brought in Wang Jingguo's troops to attack Mergen-juu and kill the *Dagdan Lama* and the entire families of Batubayar and *Mergen Gegeen*. Erkedorji barely escaped with his life. These tyrannical activities infuriated the people of the banner; even including his supporter, Serinbu, who forsook him and went over to the other side.

In the summer of 1937, the second Sino-Japanese War broke out, and soon Prince De and his Mongolian troops pulled back away from the westward expedition of the Japanese army and entered the Ulanhab League. Shirabdorji escaped with the retreating troops of Fu Zuoyi, and this ended the Prince Shi Incident.

Khashaat and the Conflict Over Taxation

Khashaat (Khashiyatu), in the Urad Central Banner of the Ulanhab League, was a key node along the route followed by the Chinese opium traffic from the Gansu and Ningxia areas to Beiping and Tianjin. This route went through Mongolian territory to avoid the numerous tax collection stations in Chinese areas. Even though opium was illegal, it was a major source of revenue for the local warlords. After the merchants paid

their "special tax," they obtained official permission to transport opium to its destination. In order to accomplish its financial purposes, the Suiyuan Provincial Government secretly established a tax collection station in this Mongolian territory, with a reported tax income for each year that was about two million silver dollars. The Chinese administration never paid this kind of toll to the Mongolian banners. Besides, Khashaat was also the key center of the Suiyuan-Xinjiang Automobile Company. All vehicles from Hohhot to Urumchi (Dihua) had to pass through Bat-khaalag and Khashaat. Yet the tax collected at these toll stations was insignificant in comparison with the funds derived from the opium tax. This was why the Mongolian Political Council struggled against the Suiyuan Provincial Government for equitable division of the opium tax.

According to article seven of the Principles of Mongolian Local Autonomy, "A percentage of all local taxes collected in league and banner territories by the provinces and *xians* shall be returned to the leagues and banners for allocation as construction funds. Decisions concerning the allocation of tax revenues shall be made separately." However, no clear procedures were outlined for implementing the provisions of this article. Because the Chinese controlled administration of provinces and *xians*, implementation was purposely delayed. Prince De, determined to gain a share of these tax revenues, ordered Sainbayar, the head of the Beiping Office of the Mongolian Political Committee, to negotiate with General He Yingqin, superintendent for Mongolian Local Autonomy. These negotiations, however, were all inconclusive. The Prince then sent Ao Yunzhang, an advisor to the Mongolian Political Council, to Hohhot to negotiate with the Suiyuan provincial government. These negotiations also failed.

In the fall of 1935, Prince De went to the Ordos Right Central Banner (the Otag Banner), which was contiguous with the Chinese Communist stronghold in northern Shaanxi, to visit the Panchen Lama, who was on his way back to Tibet. This was the last meeting between a Mongolian leader and a Tibetan leader. On the way back to Bat-khaalag, Prince De passed Khashaat and observed the taxation situation there. After he returned to the Mongolian Political Committee, he also established tax collection in Khashaat in accordance with article seven of the Principles of Mongolian Local Autonomy. Hearing of this, the Suiyuan authorities sent the troops of Wang Jingguo from Baotou to forcefully expel the Mongol tax officials. The Mongolian Political Council also sent its Peace Preservation troops to the vicinity of Khashaat to block the transportation and taxation of opium, a confrontation that almost erupted in violence.

To bring about a solution to this confrontation, both sides sent delegates to Beiping to ask General He Yingqin, the supreme political military leader in Beiping, to make a judgment. The Mongolian side demanded that the army from Suiyuan withdraw first, or else the responsibility for bloodshed would rest with the Suiyuan provincial government. Finally, General He persuaded both sides to withdraw simultaneously, to avoid a military clash, and to follow the principles issued by the central government in deciding on a procedure for the allocation of local tax revenues. According to these principles, in Mongolian territory the tax was to have been collected by the Mongolian Political Council; the transportation tax for goods moving through Mongolian territory should have been fairly divided between the Mongolian Political Council and the Suiyuan Provincial Government. It was decided that eighty percent of the goods taken in taxation should be allocated to the Mongolian Political Council. Of course this kind of decision favored the Council. The Suiyuan Provincial Government did not openly oppose this decision because of General He Yingqin's prestige, but it never complied with the decision either.

To implement this decision, the Mongolian Political Council established direct contact with the Suiyuan provincial government and also compromised by withdrawing

from the tax collection station it had established. The council also agreed to allow provincial officials to collect the opium tax and to deliver thirty percent of the tax money from opium to the Council. Although an agreement to this effect was formally established at that time, it was completely ignored by the Suiyuan authorities. Finally, in October 1934, the Council sent a delegate to the Suiyuan Provincial Government to negotiate and to demand that 500,000 *yuan* be allocated from the "special tax." The Suiyuan authorities agreed to pay only 50,000 *yuan*, and so the negotiations collapsed.

During these negotiations, the Chahar provincial government disagreed with Suiyuan over matters of taxation. Song Zheyuan, the governor of Chahar province, ostensibly remained neutral but secretly supported the Mongolian Political Council and Prince De. The purpose of this action was not to follow the principles issued by the government, but rather to take advantage of this confrontation and make it possible for Chahar's vehicles to transport opium through Mongolian territory and avoid taxation by Suiyuan province. This question dragged on for a year; and though it approached both conflict and resolution, it never achieved either. Nevertheless, Suiyuan authorities boycotted the Mongolian Political Council in order to get the tax revenues, and in this they succeeded. On the other hand, this incident provided clear proof that the central government's policies, principles, and solutions had no real impact on the actions of the powerful officials in the frontier provinces.

Chahar's Disregard for Mongolian Territorial Integrity

The establishment of the Mongolian Political Council did not hinder Chinese political and economic encroachment into Mongolian lands. The Prince Shi and Khashaat incidents were the only two occurrences which made sensationalistic headlines in Chinese newspapers. The settlement and cultivation of Mongolian pasture land was largely ignored. For instance, Wang Jingguo, the person involved in these two incidents, was a division commander and also the commander of cultivation in western Suiyuan. He encouraged cultivation from his headquarters in Baotou. Perhaps this was the reason he interfered in Mongolian politics.

During the period of the autonomy movement, the Chahar Provincial Government tried to avoid direct conflict with both the Mongols and Prince De personally. The Chahar Provincial Government was only seemingly more moderate in its attitude toward the Mongols. In reality, since Fu Zuoyi was the spokesman for all Chinese border provinces, there was no need for Song Zheyuan to be offensive toward the Mongols and to gratuitously create trouble for himself thereby. Nevertheless, political encroachment into Mongolian territory did not stop or change because of this ostensibly moderate attitude. According to article three of the Principles of Mongolian Local Autonomy, the Chahar Tribe was allowed to reorganize into a league; and according to article eight, no *xians* or preliminary-*xians* were to be established in Mongolian territory unless first approved by the concerned leagues and banners. The Chahar Provincial Government under Song Zheyuan completely ignored these two articles. On the one hand, Song blocked establishment of a league for the Chahar Mongol Tribe, and on the other hand, he established the Huade preliminary *xians* at Jabsar in the Shangdu Banner of the Chahar Tribe. The word *Huade* in Chinese means "winning over Prince De." Of course this policy of "nibbling away" at Mongolian territory aroused the anger of the Mongol people and prepared the way for the Japanese advance into western Inner Mongolia.

The He-Umezu Agreement

By January 1935, the Japanese army had already increased its pressure from Doloonnor in the eastern part of Chahar, and this created several scattered conflicts. In North China, the Japanese army in Tianjin carried out large-scale military maneuvers to openly demonstrate its intentions. Also, because of the activities of Chinese volunteers along the Great Wall line, the Japanese accused the Chinese of subversion of the Sino-Japanese Tanggu Agreement, which was signed at the end of May 1933. Under this heavy Japanese military pressure, He Yingqin signed an agreement with Umezu Yoshijiro, commander of the Japanese Tianjin Army, commonly known as the He-Umezu Agreement. According to this "agreement," the military forces of the Nanjing government and the Kuomintang Headquarters in the Beiping-Tianjin areas were forced to withdraw.

In the midst of this unstable situation, Prince De, who had realized that Japanese influence had already entered Inner Mongolia and would lead to a drastic change in the balance of power, went to Beiping by way of Kalgan to meet with General He Yingqin, to whom he reported Japanese activities in western Inner Mongolia. Prince De also wanted to know what the policies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his Chinese government were in this matter and what instructions they had for him. He also wished to make it clear that Fu Zuoyi's propaganda against him to the effect that he was collaborating with the Japanese was entirely false. He also asked for ammunition from General He to strengthen the military power of the Peace Preservation troops of the Mongolian Political Council.

Responding to Prince De's questions and requests, General He emphasized the use of "nonresistance and nonprovocation," as Chiang had instructed earlier. Other than these instructions, no other measures were suggested. As for the arms requested by Prince De, He said that even the great army of the central government still could not resist the Japanese, and that a small Mongol army could not possibly be of use in resisting the Japanese aggression. From these conversations, Prince De realized that, at least for the moment, the Chinese authorities and their government had no power to halt the Japanese invasion and also did not have a decisive policy mandating resistance against the Japanese invaders. The Mongols would have to find their own measures to deal with the Japanese invasion of their land if they wished not to be sitting ducks. Reliance only on the central government would not solve the problem.

Moreover, the loyalty of the Mongols was already doubted by the authorities and journalists because of the false propaganda of Fu Zuoyi. Prince De saw that while Japanese oppression was on the rise, it would be impossible to win the confidence of the Chinese government and the great majority of the Chinese people. Prince De also reported to General He on the Prince Shi and Khashaat incidents from the perspective of the Mongolian side. He's response was again merely an encouragement for both sides to reach a mutually agreeable solution.

Japanese Advances and Mongol Criticisms of the Mongolian Political Council

During this time, the central government's armies were still stationed in North China. A division commander, Guan Linzheng, who had fought the Japanese invaders along the Great Wall line at Gubeikou, came to Prince De's temporary residence at Songzhusi, along with several news correspondents. In their conversation, Prince De told them of Japanese activities in Mongolia and their establishment of Special Service Offices (*tokumo-kikan*) and radio stations, in order to show that he could not halt these activities. In reality, there were already Japanese radio stations, Special Service Offices, and even armed forces in Beiping. Prince De posed a question: If the Chinese government could not stop the Japanese in Beiping, how could the weak and feeble Mongols resist the Japanese advances? These words were later published in the newspapers, and the Japanese military in Beiping protested against Prince De and asked him to stop pointing to evidence of Japanese activities in Mongolia. In reality, these matters were open secrets.

While Prince De was in Beiping, he also held a news conference at the welcoming party for him by the Association of Fellow Mongols at Laijinyuxuan at Sun Yatsen park. As one of the attendees at the party, I still remember the people who accompanied Prince De: Sainbayar, the head of the Beiping Office of the Mongolian Political Council; Guan Qiyi (Jorigtu), the head of the radio station of the Mongolian Political Council, and others. At this party, Prince De gave a brief report on the two years of work of the Mongolian Political Council and expressed hopes that the persons present would give him suggestions to consider as future tasks for the Council. In the conclusion of his speech, he said, "Self-rule is an inalienable right. The Mongols are not a subjugated people. Mongol relations with the Manchus were based on a cooperative alliance. The Republic of China that succeeded the Manchus, of course, certainly inherited this historical relationship." This speech received enthusiastic applause.

After that, one person after another stood up and expressed their opinion. At the beginning, they praised the Mongolian Political Council; then they turned to serious facts and criticisms. Some of them concentrated their inquiries on the Prince Shi and Khashaat incidents, and the disappearance of Kokebagatur. Some of them criticized the Mongolian Political Council for not working hard enough to achieve its stated goals. Some of them pointed out that many things were in need of reform. Among them, the most stinging criticisms were given by Tegshibuyan and his younger brother Nasutu. Tegshibuyan was an advisor of the Beiping Branch of the Military Committee, and Nasutu was a law student at Beiping University.⁶

At this party, no one asked about Japanese activities or Prince De's contacts

⁶ Later, these two brothers were appointed by Prince De to posts in his government. Tegshibuyan was specifically appointed as one of the ministers and diplomatic representatives of the Mongolian government and was stationed in Tokyo. This is evidence that Prince De tried to use capable people and was able to forget his earlier incarceration. But I still remember that their stinging words made Prince De angry and red-faced, and that he drew a large, full puff on his cigarette and then forcefully crushed it. Even so, Prince De controlled himself in listening to these two brothers and did not respond. Such was Prince De's personality: even if a man severely criticized him but had sincere intentions, he was able to contain himself and did not debate. If he disagreed with an opinion, he would try to avoid using harsh words to keep others from losing face. This party became a dress rehearsal for Prince De to test the limits of his patience. Because Prince De was a prince by birth, people rarely denied him his way. So it was very difficult for him to withstand open criticism.

with the Japanese. This shows that the Mongols in Beiping, whether they were anti-Japanese or pro-Japanese, avoided the subject of Prince De's supposed collaboration with the Japanese and thus did not fall into the trap laid for them by Fu Zuoyi, which trap would have undone the steps already taken toward Mongolian political autonomy. After this gathering, because of his forbearance, Prince De was able to win more favorable opinion from the Mongols, especially the Mongol students in Beiping.

The Zhangbei Incident

After Prince De returned to Mongolia, General He Yingqin, under the pretext of regularizing the withdrawal of the central government's military forces from northern China, reported the conclusion of an agreement with the Japanese to resolve the problems in northern China. In the later part of August, the Chinese government appointed Song Zheyuan as garrison commander of the Beiping-Tianjin area and Qin Dechun, a follower of Song, as the governor of Chahar province. In this manner, the areas of Beiping and Tianjin were snatched from the hands of the central government and placed in the hands of the local militarists.

Of course, all these things were carried out in the face of the conspiracy by the Japanese to expand their influence in North China. The Japanese militarists created the "Second Zhangpei Incident" along the Great Wall line outside Kalgan in order to squeeze the power of the central government from northern China. Using this as a pretext, the Japanese had Qin Dechun sign an agreement with Doihara Kenji, the head of the Tianjin Special Service Office. In this way, the Japanese forced Song's troops out from the various *xians* north of the Great Wall and allowed only a small number of police and peace preservation troops to be stationed there, thus cutting off the Chahar banners and the Shilingol League north of Kalgan from the authority of the Chinese government.

It was in the spring of this year that Itagaki, the deputy chief of staff of the Japanese Guandong Army, came to Ujumuchin to meet with Prince So and Prince De. This Japanese general was snubbed by Prince So, but he did have a serious talk with Prince De about future problems facing Mongolia that would have considerable impact on the destiny of the area.

Secret Plans for Mongolia's Future

In mid-October 1935, the third meeting of the members of the Mongolian Political Council convened. Wu Heling arrived from Nanjing together with the newly appointed members of the Mongolian Political Council: Sodnomrashi, the head of the Left Flank League of the Kokonor Mongols; and Sogdar, the son of the head of the Right Flank League. This improved relations between the Kokonor Mongols and the Mongolian Political Committee.

Unfortunately, official copies of the proposals made at this meeting chaired by Yi Dechin have all been lost. However, I have in my possession a copy of Wu Heling's proposals, which includes the following items: outlines of (1) the organization of the training of Mongolian Peace Preservation troops, (2) the organization of the Mongolian Public Health Bureau, (3) the organization of the new experimental Mongolian villages, (4) the organization of the Mongolian Cultural Institute, (5) the organization of the Mongolian Normal School, (6) the organization of the Mongolian Productive Cooperatives,

(7) the organization of the Mongolian Trade Cooperatives, (8) the organization of the Mongolian Credit Cooperatives, (9) the organization of the Mongolian Self-Rule Training Center, (10) the organization of the Mongolian Highway Management Bureau, (11) the organization of the Mongolian Electrical Management Bureau, and (12) the organization of the Mongolian Courier Route System.

From these proposals, it is evident what the main projects of the Mongolian Political Council were. Because of changing circumstances, none of these plans were implemented immediately. However, after Japan occupied Inner Mongolia, many of the new projects carried out by the Mongols were based on these proposals.

Besides these formal meetings, Prince De and Wu Heling had several secret talks. Wu told Prince De about his personal experience in a secret meeting with higher-level KMT authorities in Nanjing. At this meeting, Feng Yuxiang had requested permission to make war against the Japanese invaders immediately. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek responded to this request by saying that he could not gamble with the destiny of China by risking everything in a single venture in such a manner. Chiang insisted on pacifying the domestic situation before resisting foreign aggression, and unless all prospects for peace were exhausted, the search for peace would not be forsaken. He added that unless the situation reached crisis proportions, there would be absolutely no irresponsible talk of making desperate sacrifices for the nation. The generalissimo continued by stating that even though the land north of the Yellow River was occupied, it might still be possible to wait for an opportune moment and *then* carry out a war of resistance. If war did ever break out, he vowed, it would be fought to the finish. He Yingqin, Minister of Military Affairs, made a comparison of the real power of China and Japan, testifying that if war broke out immediately, there would be only one way for the Japanese to defeat China. Since the Chinese were not able to protect northern China, how could they defend Mongolia?

Prince De also told Wu Heling about his contacts that year with the Japanese. Wu suggested to Prince De that cooperating with the Japanese would require a man on the Mongol side to talk, negotiate, and draft a document with the real holders of political power in the Japanese government. It was absolutely necessary, he said, that they contact neither the lower-ranking intelligence officers in the Special Service offices nor the *ronin* (rebel) element, and then do something reckless. He also expressed a wish to return to Mongolia and work with Prince De to open a new road for Mongolia's future. Prince De was an open-minded and magnanimous man who did not dwell on past wrongdoings or grudges. He sincerely welcomed Wu's return. Moved by Prince De's sincerity, Wu promised to come back, a matter of top secrecy at this time.

Wu Heling's Meeting with Chiang Kai-shek

In the middle of November 1935, the KMT convened its Fifth National Congress in Nanjing. Nimaodzar attended the congress as a delegate and was elected a member of the Central Executive Committee. However, the senior Mongolian party member, Bai Yunti, lost his bid for reelection. While Nimaodzar was in Nanjing, Wu Heling discussed the future problems of Mongolia with him. Both of them recognized that the development of the present situation should not be neglected, but that it would be better in the long run to check further Japanese advances. Nimaodzar also agreed that Wu Heling should go back to Mongolia.

Before Wu Heling left Nanjing, he passed his post as head of the Nanjing Office

of the Mongolian League and Banner Delegates to his friend Dai Qinglian (a man from the Tumed Left Banner and a delegate from the Josotu League to Nanjing). Dai and his successors continued Mongolian relations with the Nanjing government to the very last day of that government's existence.⁷

Although Wu Heling decided to return to Mongolia, he still thought that Japanese expansion was only a temporary problem that could not possibly last long. Therefore, he reported his plan of returning to Mongolia to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek through General Yu Jishi. Chiang thereupon summoned Wu Heling to an audience. At this audience, Wu reported all he knew about Japanese activities in Mongolia and his own objections, and then asked Chiang for instructions. Chiang, recognizing the nature of the situation, saw the possibility of infiltrating the enemy's lines. He said, "You may go back, but you must adopt your actions as circumstances dictate and try your best to check the Japanese western campaign. If it is impossible to halt it, it would be best to at least attempt to delay it. Even if you can merely delay this advance, your return to Mongolia will not have been for nothing." At the same time, the generalissimo gave him funds for travel expenditures. All of these things were related to me by Wu Heling.

While the political inclinations of the Mongolian leaders were changing, the situation in northern China greatly worsened. Because of Japanese oppression, the North Chinese regime was given a special designation and became a "region," having "self-rule." Under the auspices of the Chinese government, Japanese militarists and the Chinese local authorities of the Hebei-Chahar Political Affairs Committee appeared in Beiping. Song Zheyuan was nominally appointed by the Nanjing government as the committee chairman. Many of the members of the committee were old North Chinese politicians, not affiliated with the KMT, and therefore outside the control of the central government in Nanjing. At this very time, the Japanese militarists created more "specially designated" areas in the eastern part of Hebei Province, which had previously been "specially designated" by the Japanese through the Tanggu Agreement and the He Yingqin-Umezumi Yoshio Agreement, and established the Eastern Hebei Autonomous Government. They made Yin Rukeng the head of this regime. In the area north of Kalgan, the Japanese Guandong Army mobilized the Eastern Chahar Garrison Forces under the command of Li Shouxin to occupy the six *xians*. Both the Chahar Tribe and the Shilingol League fell to the Japanese.

The Emergence of the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council

To deal with the developments in Inner Mongolia, the Chinese government ordered the reorganization of the Mongolian Political Council on January 8, 1936, and appointed the pro-Nanjing and anti-Japanese head of Shilingol, Prince Sodnamrabdan, as chairman of the Mongolian Political Council. Prince De was appointed as vice-chairman. The central government accepted the resignation of Yondonwangchug from his posts as Chairman of the Mongolian Political Council and head of the Ulanhab League, and promoted Babudorji, the deputy head of the Ulanhab League, to the position of league head. At the same time, the Chinese government appointed Prince Yon as a member of its

⁷ After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, this office followed the Chinese government first to Hankou and then to Chungking. By then, Dai Qinglian had already died, and the post of the head of this office went to Wu Yunpeng, a delegate from the Juu-uda League. In late 1949, this office under Wu Yunpeng again followed the Chinese government in its retreat to Taiwan.

governing body, a post of high honor but little real power. The goals of these personnel reshufflings were (1) to retain the minds and hearts of the Mongols and gain solid control over the Mongolian Political Council, so as to halt the activities of Prince De, and to reduce Japanese influence in the area, and (2) to remove Prince Yon and appoint Prince Ba, who had comparatively distant relations with Prince De and could thus be more easily influenced by Fu Zuoyi, so as to control the Ulanab League. Nevertheless, these steps were ineffectual.

Earlier, to reduce the influence of Prince De in the areas under the control of Suiyuan Province, Fu Zuoyi, under the pretense of handling the disturbances along the frontier areas and the Chinese Communist occupation of Shaanxi province, had sent a false telegram to the Chinese government in the names of the princes of the Ulanab and Yekejuu Leagues. This false telegram petitioned Chiang Kai-shek, then head of the Executive Yuan, for permission to establish a Mongolian autonomous organization in the territory of Suiyuan. On January 25, 1936 the Chinese government issued an order to establish the Mongolian Political Council of Suiyuan Provincial Territory and appointed Shirabdorji, the head of the Yekejuu League, as the chairman of this newly established council.⁸

On February 23, 1936, the founding ceremony of the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council was formally carried out at the public hall of Suiyuan Province in Hohhot city. The committee was established under the supervision of Fu Zuoyi and a delegate of Yan Xishan. On the same day, a declaration drafted by the Suiyuan Provincial Government was issued:

The leagues and banners in the territory of Suiyuan province adjoin Outer Mongolia on the north, and Shanxi and Shaanxi on the south. At this very moment, the Chinese Communists are fleeing like frightened mice to the north and are trying to open a road beyond the frontier. Because the territory of the Mongol banners is broad and vast, and because the Mongols are scattered in pockets all over, it will be impossible to defend ourselves against the propaganda of the Reds unless we establish a very tight relationship between ourselves and the original Mongolian organizations. Unless we can unify the leagues and banners and reinforce their strength, it will be impossible to stop the disturbances and encroachments of the Communist bandits. In order to deal with these situations, the central government has brilliantly issued an order to establish this council. The central government has placed great faith in this council and in the sincere support of the Mongol masses. Therefore, we have to make an oath to follow this main objective under the principle of good neighborliness and

⁸ Babudorji, Pandeigungchab, and Altanwachir, the deputy head of the Yekejuu League, were all appointed as vice chairmen of this new council. Chesedbaljur Chimidbaljur?, the *jasag* of the Darkhan Banner, Ulanab League; Chimedrinchinkhorlowa, *jasag* of Muuminggan, Ulanab League; Rinchinsengge, *jasag* of the Urad Central Banner, Ulanab League and son of Babudorji; Shirabdorji, the notorious pro-Fu Zuoyi *jasag* of the Urad Front Banner, Ulanab League, also known as the Prince Shi of the Prince Shi Incident; Shirabdorji, the *tusalagchi* of the Darkhan Banner, Ulanab League, and nephew of Prince Yon; Galsangrolmawangjiljamsu, the *jasag* of the Ordos Right Front Banner, Yekejuu League; Khangdadorji, *jasag* of the Ordos Left Rear Banner; Tobshinjirgal, *jasag* of the Ordos Left Central Banner; Tegusamugulang, *jasag* of the Ordos Right Rear Banner, Rong Xiang, *amban* of the Tumed Banner; Damringsurung, *amban* of the Chahar Right Flank Pure Yellow Banner; Balgunjab, *amban* of the Chahar Right Flank Bordered Red Banner; Mongkeochir, *amban* of the Chahar Right Flank Bordered Blue Banner; and Oljeibayar, acting *jasag* of the Ordos Left Flank Front Banner, were all appointed as members of the council. The Shanxi warlord Yan Xishan was made the superintendent of this new council, and Shi Huayan was made the chief advisor of the office of the superintendent.

anti-communism in order to raise the livelihood of the Mongol people, develop the culture of the Mongol banners and improve economic construction in general. In increasing our real strength and marching forward toward the goal of anti-communism, we hope that the mission will not be neglected and that the border defenses will be strengthened. This declaration has been issued after considerable thought and deliberation.

Among the VIPs attending the ceremony were Major Haneyama, a Japanese military officer stationed at Hohhot. In this declaration, there was no mention of the Japanese invasion; indeed, it emphasized "good neighborliness and anti-communism." The words "good neighborliness" in this context meant friendly relations with Japan. Evidently, this declaration showed that the establishment of this Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council had no connection with the anti-Japanese movement. However, Prince De's involvement with the Japanese was a direct cause of the dissolution of the original Mongolian Political Council at Bat-khaalag. In the eyes of the Mongol people, it appeared that the Chinese government was establishing better relations with the Japanese, while at the same time rebuking the Mongols for their involvement with the Japanese. How could this kind of wrongdoing pacify the hearts of the Mongol people? Earlier, Outer Mongolian independence and the Tibetan pro-British movement also had been occasioned by similar inappropriate policies of the Manchu imperial government.

All in all, through the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council, Fu Zuoyi was able to split the unified Mongolian autonomous organization into two camps. Prince Sodnamrabdan did not approve of this kind of plot. However, he continued to support the Nanjing government. Prince De sent out an open telegram in the name of Prince So saying that the founding of the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council was destroying the unity of the Mongolian Political Council and was not congruent with the Eight Principles of Mongolian Local Autonomy. However, there was no positive response to this protest.

Japanese Penetration and Disintegration of the Mongolian Political Council

The Japanese Guandong Army took advantage of the desire of the Chahar leaders to establish a league. The Japanese started to establish a league organization of Chahar directly after their occupation of the Zhangbei *xians* and supported the elderly Chahar politician Jodbajab as the head of the new league. The Chahar League Office was formally established on January 20, 1936. At the same time, the Guandong Army supported Prince De in actively organizing a Mongolian army and allowed him to recruit men from the Mongolian banners which had already been put under the Manchukuo administration by the Japanese. On February 12, of the same year, the General Headquarters of the Mongolian Army was established in the Sunid Right Banner, and Prince De himself became its commander in chief.

Fu Zuoyi's oppression had negative effects on the Mongol people but also encouraged the nationalistic aspirations of the Mongols. The Mongols became more unified as a result of resisting Fu, and struggled for the common goal of self-rule. A few people, fearing Fu Zuoyi's oppression and the oppression of the border officials, turned to Japan for assistance. However, the Japanese involvement again strongly stimulated Mongolian nationalistic feelings and divided the Mongols based on how each man weighed the relative dangers of the enemy within and the enemy without. Thus, this situation immediately caused yet another split in Mongol unity. One group turned to the Japanese, and one

group remained strongly anti-Japanese. Moreover, Japanese agents were forever showing up in the Bat-khaalag area. Their activities in Chahar and Shilingol and their creation of the General Headquarters of the Mongolian Army led the anti-Japanese Mongols to consider that Japan's activities amounted to a nefarious, intolerable conspiracy aimed at the swallowing up of Mongolia.

Soon after the founding of the general headquarters in Sunid, there broke out a rebellion of the Peace Preservation Troops of the Mongolian Political Council in Bat-khaalag. These troops had been organized through the devoted efforts of Prince De, as I have described above. At the time of the Khashaat Incident, these troops were sent by the Mongolian Political Council to confront Fu Zuoyi's Chinese troops. This suggests that until the early winter of 1935, they were still loyal to Prince De and the Mongolian Political Council. The Japanese involvement, however, led them to prefer to be oppressed by Fu Zuoyi rather than to be manipulated by the Japanese. Of course this decision was influenced by the educational backgrounds of their officers.

When this rebellion first broke out, Prince De was occupied with the establishment of his new headquarters and was not at Bat-khaalag. Ao Yunzhang, the senior advisor appointed to take care of the administration of the Mongolian Political Council, together with Chogbagatur, a confidant of Prince De, and some others were all summoned to Sunid by Prince De. The administration of the Council was being managed by Secretary Jirgalang. The head of the Peace Preservation Bureau, Togtakhu, was in Ujumuchin. Two anti-Japanese officers, Zhu Shifu and Yun Jixian, used these absences to carry out their own plots. Also, because most of the soldiers were from Tumed—the native banner of Zhu and Yun—they collaborated with Su Ludai, a section head of the Civilian Administration Bureau; Ren Bingjun, a section head of the Finance Commission; Kang Jimin, a counselor of the Advisory Committee; and Jákunju (Ji Zhenfu), a section head of the Education Bureau, in raiding an ammunition store at Bat-khaalag and then fleeing southward to Wuchuan, where they were welcomed by Fu Zuoyi's troops. These rebellious Mongols issued an open telegram explaining that their rebellion was purely motivated by patriotism. They did not, however, make any personal attack on Prince De.

Having heard the news of this rebellion, Prince De rushed to Bat-khaalag, but it was too late. Dugurengsang (Bai Haifeng), another top military officer, left Bat-khaalag after the rebellion broke out. According to a reliable report, he was captured by soldiers sent in pursuit and brought back to Prince De. The prince, though very angry, said, "Everyone has his own will. Perhaps you have another course to follow in struggling for the national survival of the Mongol people. You may go." Prince De then ordered the soldiers who captured him to release him unharmed. This event was related to me personally by Liu Jianhua, who was an eyewitness to this event and an agent for the Nanjing government at the time.

These rebellious Mongolian forces under the leadership of Zhu Shifu and Yun Jixian were not trusted by Fu Zuoyi. After the propaganda value of these troops was exhausted, Fu Zuoyi disarmed them, kept an eye on them for a while, and then allowed them to escape. Nevertheless, this event greatly damaged the prestige of the Mongolian Political Council and the personal prestige of Prince De.

As for Prince So, because of these concerns, his health took a turn for the worse, and he passed away in the latter part of June. On July 17, the Chinese government in Nanjing appointed Prince De as the new head of the Shilingol League and Rinchinwangdud, the ruling prince of the Sunid Left Banner, as the deputy head of the league. Consequently, the ten banners of the Shilingol League were now completely under the leadership of Prince De.

The Nanjing government realized that because Prince So had exerted much influence on Prince De, he had been able to halt the Japanese advances. Therefore, after the death of Prince So, the Chinese government in Nanjing ordered the disbanding of the Mongolian Political Council and the establishment of a new Chahar Provincial Mongolian Political Council at Jabsar. The Chinese government appointed Prince De as the chairman of this new council, and Jodbajab and Rinchinwangdud as vice-chairmen; they also appointed Sungjingwangchug, Shonodondob, Dorji, Sangdagdorji, Budabala, Sodnamnorbu, Balgunsurung, Khorjurjab, Togtakhu, Mugdenbuu, Gonchograshi, Temurbolod, and Serengnamjil as members. At the same time, the Chinese government ordered all the Mongolian Political Council officials to withdraw from Bat-khaalag (Bailingmiao). Thus the Mongolian Political Council which was established on April 23, 1934, and had lasted for two years and three months, was now officially abolished.

The reason for these actions by the Chinese government was evidently because Prince De had still not openly declared Mongolia's independence and his intention to cooperate with the Japanese in resisting the Chinese. Consequently, the Chinese government did not wish to force his hand and wanted to maintain some kind of contact with him for as long as possible. On the other hand, Prince De and his advisors, especially Wu Heling, also felt that under these difficult circumstances it would be best to accept this solution and not sever relations with the Chinese government and fall completely into the Japanese basket.

As for Nanjing's demand that the old Mongolian Political Council withdraw, Prince De did not accept it. Nevertheless, Beile-yin sume was no longer the center of Mongolian politics. The main officials of the Mongolian Political Council had already been transferred to Sunid and Jabsar. Those who still remained at Bat-khaalag were only a small contingent of military forces who were reorganized after the rebellion of the Peace Preservation troops.

Earlier, when the Mongolian Political Council was first established, the two special banners of Alashan and Ejine were listed as being located within the autonomous region. Soon thereafter, the twenty-nine banners of the Right and Left Flank Leagues of the Kokonor Mongols were also allowed by the Chinese government to fall within the jurisdiction of the Mongolian Political Council. Since the Mongolian Political Council was now ordered to disband, and the above-mentioned leagues and banners had no way to be designated as part of the newly established Suiyuan and Chahar Mongolian Political Councils, they were thus excluded from the autonomous region.