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JAPANESE INTERVENTION AND THE MONGOLIAN ARMY GENERAL HEADQUARTERS JANUARY - MAY 1936

The Early Activities of Japanese Agents and the General Headquarters

September 18, 1931, the date of the "Manchurian Incident," represented the overt renewal of Japanese expansion on the Asian continent. Because of the changing world situation, Inner Mongolia could not entirely control its own destiny. Prince De and other Mongolian leaders could only seek out a way for the weak Inner Mongolia to continue its national existence in the face of the mad tide of worldwide disturbances. Parallel to the changing situation in northern China, Japanese advances into Inner Mongolia followed one after another. Except for the Ordos, Alashan, and Ejine areas, all Inner Mongolia was swallowed up by Japanese armies. Faced with this overwhelming force, Prince De and the other leaders working together with him exerted themselves to the utmost in their struggle to maintain the existence of the Mongol people. Differences in political orientation and ideology have led different people to evaluate this period of history differently. Nevertheless, the honor and disgrace imputed to Prince De's efforts by alien peoples and alien ideologies cannot alter established historical fact.

The activities of Japanese intelligence agents such as Morishima, Sasame, and others, and the establishment of the Japanese Special Service Offices in Doloonnor and Ujumuchin, together with the open intervention of Japanese military officers like Colonel Matsumoro Koryo and Major Tanaka Hisashi and the response of the Mongols and the changing situation of North China, have all been described in previous chapters and will not be further discussed here.

According to the records of Nakajima Manzo, who joined the Mongolian regime under the Japanese occupation from the beginning, early in September of 1932, the Guandong Army had already established a Mongolian Research Group to carry out intelligence and strategic work under the direction of Major General Okamura Yasuji, its deputy chief of staff. Among the members of this group, Nakajima Manzo and Yamamoto Nobunaga were involved in Mongolian matters from beginning to end.

After the Guandong Army's occupation in 1933 of Rehe and the Josotu League, the Japanese appointed as advisors (*shoku-taku*) the Kharachin students who had studied in Japan during the Gungsangnorbu era. These students included Altanwachir, Engkeburin, and Bayantai. These people and Bai Yunti had been the founders of the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in 1924. Their political ideology was originally quite leftist in orientation. Later, because they were attacked by their even more leftist comrades in Ulaanbaatar after their escape to Inner Mongolia, they became more moderate in their political views.

Nevertheless, because these men still desired to alter Mongolian institutions and

unify Outer and Inner Mongolia, they wanted to use the Japanese to effect a great change in Mongolia. However, because they accepted appointment as advisors to the Guandong Army, most of the Mongol people were quite suspicious of them. As mentioned earlier, Li Shouxin, the Mongolian military leader in Doloonnor, could not speak Mongolian even though he was a Mongol. Moreover, the fact that his troops were all Chinese made the Mongols even more suspicious of him. Such suspicions were justified. Because the eastern Inner Mongolian banners were under the jurisdiction of Manchukuo, the power to administer these banners was entirely controlled by Japanese officials. The Mongols came to fear and greatly suspect the Japanese westward advances.

When the Japanese started their "Mongolian work," they met many hindrances. For instance, Prince Yangsang, the senior among all Mongolian ruling princes and former head of the Shilingol League, and Prince Sodnamrabdan, head of the Shilingol League and the ruling prince of Ujumuchin, were two radically anti-Japanese leaders. Some of the Inner Mongolian intellectuals were educated in China, and at least half of them felt somewhat apprehensive about Japan. Yondonwangchug, Chairman of the Mongolian Political Council, though he had no biases against the Japanese, had no good feelings for them either.

As for the minds of the Mongolian leaders of that time, ever since the Manchus began encouraging Chinese migration to border areas to fortify national defenses during the late imperial era, there had existed a desire to escape Manchu domination. Later, Governor Yigu of Suiyuan pushed hard to encourage takeover of Mongol pastureland by Chinese immigrant farmers and promoted other policies harmful to the Mongols. After the establishment of the Republic of China and the advent of warlordism, both Zhang Zuolin from the East and Feng Yuxiang from the West carried out military cultivation schemes and occupied Mongolian territory by force. Although the republican Chinese government had promised to foster the weak and minority nationalities and to help them implement self-determination and self-rule, this promise never materialized. In addition, there was heavy oppression and extortion of Mongols by Fu Zuoyi and other border officials. On the one hand, Fu and his group were unable to resist the Japanese; on the other hand, they blamed the Mongols for not being sufficiently faithful to the nation.

After its establishment, the Mongolian Political Council, hindered on all sides, was unable to accomplish anything. Members of the Council feared that the Mongols would eventually disappear as a nationality. Some of them considered the Japanese advances impossible to ignore. The Chinese government could not possibly stop these advances, nor could the Mongols resist them. These Mongols thus felt that it would be wisest to make some contact with the Japanese rather than just wait like sitting ducks for the invasion. They thought that by doing so, there would perhaps be some opportunity for constructive change. This stance might be criticized by some as drinking poisoned wine in order to quench one's thirst. The Mongols, however, had no other choice, especially give the changing situation in northern China. This was the background for the new determination of Prince De and his group to negotiate with the Japanese.

Perhaps the purpose of Prince De's change of mind on negotiations with Japan was to seek to preserve Mongolian national existence by exploiting the contradictions among the great powers. If so, he had no resolve to sever Inner Mongolia completely from the central government of China. Moreover, from beginning to end, Prince De thought that the legal government of China should recognize the independence of Mongolia. Given the range of possibilities under the balance of power policy he hoped to pursue, he did not want to irritate the leader and the government of China. Because he did so, some have mocked him as an opportunist. In reality, it was a very difficult decision for

him to reach for him to distance himself somewhat from China; but as the leader of a weak minority people, he could not avoid doing so.

Japanese activities in Mongolia were at first carried out by the Japanese Special Service Offices and the Good Neighbor Association (*Zenrin Kyokai*). This association first appeared in the guise of a nonprofit organization designed to help the Mongols. Formally established at the end of 1933, it was the idea of Sasame Tsuneo and was supported by General Hayashi Senjuro and Major General Mazumoro Koryo and agreed to by the Japanese military staff. Its main tasks were to gather intelligence for the Japanese military and encourage Japanese-Mongolian friendship. It also administered educational and cultural programs, provided clinical and medical services, and encouraged research on Mongolian culture. To solidify its reputation, the association made Duke Ichijo Sanetaka its president and Lt. General Inoue Aratama its chief administrator. The real administrators of this association were Sasame Tsuneo, Maikawa Hirokichi, and Oshima Yutaka. Sasame and Maikawa managed the "field work," i.e. the Japanese activities in Mongolia; Oshima dealt with the internal administration of the association. The formation of this association made it possible for Japanese intelligence agents to do covert work and extend their activities in Mongolia. Nakajima Manzo and Yamamoto Nobunaga also entered "Mongolian work" through the association.

In the summer of 1934, at the recommendation of Sasame, Maikawa arrived in Sunid and visited with Prince De. Soon afterward, Inoue, the chief administrator of the Good Neighbor Association, also came to visit with the prince. After receiving the support of the prince, they founded a branch headquarters of their association, and Maikawa became the leader of the headquarters. At the same time, the Japanese Guandong Army sent Nakajima to serve as an associate of Maikawa. Ostensibly, this association promoted educational, cultural, and medical services. At the same time, a similar branch of the Good Neighbor Association was established in the Right Banner of Ujumuchin; Yamamoto Nobunaga was sent there as an associate. However, this branch of the Good Neighbor Association was extremely restricted in its activities by Prince So, and the development of its work did not match that of the office established in Sunid.

With the help of this Sunid branch office of the Good Neighbor Association Prince De selected several of his trusted intellectual followers and sent them to Japan to study.¹ At this time, the Good Neighbor Association also supported many Inner Mongolian students from the Manchukuo area by bringing them to Japan to study.

Itagaki's Arrival in Ujumuchin

Following the founding of the Good Neighbor Association branch headquarters in Ujumuchin, the Guandong Army sent Morishima Kadofusa to the center of Shilingol, to the well-known Buddhist temple Pandita Gegeen Keid (commonly known by its Chinese name as Beizimiao), to establish a Special Service Office. Later, the Japanese called it the Abaga Special Service Office, and it became the base for control over the Shilingol

¹ These youths were Ruiyong, a Dahur Mongol; Chogbadarkhu, a Kharachin Mongol studying in the Political Academy of the Kuomintang in Nanjing; Khatanbagatur, a Kharachin youth and extreme nationalist; Chogtumanglai, a Kharachin youth studying in Nanjing; Jorigbagatur, also a Kharachin youth studying in Nanjing; Namsereng; and Namur, the Liu Jianhua mentioned in former chapters, a Chinese disguised as a Sinicized Mongol who, after his arrival in Japan, clashed with the association and subsequently was sent back to Mongolia.

League.

From the beginning of 1935, Japanese military personnel frequently visited with Prince De in Sunid. Among these Japanese visitors were Doihara Kenji, head of the Tianjin Special Service Office; Tanaka Ryukichi, staff member of the Guandong Army; and Major Shishiura Naonori, who had already been involved in "Mongolian work." In the early summer of that year, Itagaki Seishiro, deputy head of the Guandong Army staff; Ishimoto Torazo, head of the Second Section of the Guandong Army Headquarters; Tanaka Ryukichi, a staff member of the Guandong Army; together with their advisor Altanwachir as interpreter, arrived in Ujumuchin and visited with Prince So. Because the Japanese had contacted Prince So about their imminent arrival in Ujumuchin, Prince De was invited by the Ujumuchin authorities to discuss this matter with their prince. The two princes' attitudes toward this matter were quite different. Prince De wanted to make progress during this visit with very important, high-ranking Japanese. Prince So wanted, however, to keep them at a respectful distance and not give them any definite answers. He used his poor health as an excuse to bow out of the negotiations and had Itagaki conduct talks directly with Prince De.

Prince So had initially told the Japanese that these "problems" were not problems that he himself could resolve, and that it was necessary to discuss them with the Chinese government. The Japanese visitors began their discussions with Prince De at Prince So's request. First, Itagaki expressed Japan's sympathy for, and good will toward, the Mongol people. He then expressed Japan's willingness to help the Mongol people struggle for national existence. Prince De immediately conveyed to Itagaki his desire for Japanese support in establishing an independent Mongolian nation and to unify both eastern and western Inner Mongolia. Itagaki was willing to support an independent Mongolia. But because of the establishment of Manchukuo, he said he had no right to respond to the request for the unification of eastern and western Inner Mongolia because that involved Manchukuo's sovereignty.

This was the first negotiation between the Inner Mongolian top leaders and high-ranking Japanese military officials. From the Mongols' point of view, the conclusion of this meeting was a conditional Japanese agreement to Mongolian independence. However, it was unclear whether Itagaki's promise represented the view of the Japanese government, the military, the Guandong Army, or only Itagaki himself. Prince De, eager to obtain a Japanese promise of support for Mongolian independence, neglected to initiate an exchange of documents. During this time, the Mongolian leaders, ignorant of modern diplomatic practices, felt that a man's word was his bond; it never occurred to them that this kind of agreement should be officially recorded. This was the era during which the first formal contacts between the Mongols and the Japanese occurred. Because of this mistake, from the time of Prince De's contacts with Itagaki until the end of the Second World War in 1945, an unsolvable political problem remained between the Mongols and both the Japanese and the Wang Jingwei regime in Nanjing.

I learned of Itagaki's visit to Ujumuchin from Ujumuchin friends and the main interpreter, Altanwachir. According to Altanwachir, Itagaki's arrival was preceded by the arrival of Japanese guards. In an act of intimidation they deployed mortars and machine guns and trained them on the residence of the Prince of Ujumuchin. Upon Itagaki's arrival, Prince So did not come out to welcome him; instead, he sent an official to guide Itagaki to the great yurt where he would meet with his guests. Prince So sat stolidly on a chair in the middle of the yurt and did not stand up to greet Itagaki, citing his extreme corpulence. He then asked the guests to sit on his left side and reserved the right-hand side for Prince De. (In Mongolian tradition, the right-hand seat was reserved as the seat

of honor.) Even though Japanese weapons were deployed against his residence, Prince So remained cool and collected. This coolly formal reception of so important a Guandong Army representative, did not anger Itagaki; instead, Itagaki regarded Prince So's behavior as truly characteristic of a great prince.

Although Prince So did not agree to Japanese involvement in Inner Mongolian issues, Itagaki's arrival gave Prince De a new perspective concerning Mongolian independence. This brought a shift in his political stance and also changed the course of modern Inner Mongolian history. It enhanced Prince De's belief that the Japanese military was sincere in its support of Mongolian independence.

Expansion of Japanese Activities

Tanaka Ryukichi sent an Indian agent by way of Bat-khaalag to Xinjiang to gather intelligence. The interpreter for this Indian was a Mongol named Togtakhu. They were disguised as merchants. Togtakhu, realizing that such a journey was dangerous, went to see Prince De and asked to be hired as the prince's interpreter. Because Prince De's interpreter, Kokebagatur, had been killed, nobody was interpreting for him with the Japanese. Seeing that this Mongol youth was headed for certain death in Xinjiang, Prince De agreed.

Togtakhu, a man from the Surug Banner, had been expelled while studying in Japan, and so had returned to Mongolia. During this very awkward and embarrassing return from Japan, Tanaka Ryukichi discovered him and gave him this dangerous assignment to Xinjiang; however, Prince De's use of him gave him a new lease on life. Togtakhu was a treacherous and selfish person. Outwardly he showed a false veneer of patriotic, zealous Mongolian nationalism, but secretly he used his knowledge of the Japanese language to exchange Mongolian secrets for personal gain. At the same time, he gave Prince De false intelligence reports on the Japanese in order to win his trust. With an interpreter like Togtakhu, the results were predictable. Togtakhu created problems for both the Japanese and Mongols and gained many personal benefits from both sides. His personality as interpreter was opposite to that of Altanwachir and Engkeburin.

In June of 1935, following the establishment of the Good Neighbor Association branch in the Sunid Right Banner, a Guandong Army's Special Service Office was also placed there. The head of this office was Major Shishiura Naonori; the main members of the office were Nakajima Manzo and Yamamoto Nobunaga. Nakajima was assigned to the Mongolian Political Council at Bat-khaalag; Yamamoto was assigned to work within the sphere of the *Dilowa Khutugtu* and the people who had settled in Sunid from Outer Mongolia, and he also was to gather intelligence on Outer Mongolia. In mid-July of that year, the Guandong Army presented Prince De with a small six-seat airplane, which the Japanese called the "airplane of Prince De."²

On November 5, 1935, the Good Neighbor Association established a primary school at the Pandita Gegeen Keid temple in the Abkhanar Left Banner. Those who participated in the dedicatory ceremonies were the Japanese schoolmaster Hiroji; a Chahar Mongol associate named Damirinjab; a Japanese teacher named Yoshimura; Agdungga, the *jasag* of the Abakhanar Left Banner; Maekawa, the head of the Good Neighbor Asso-

² Prince De, however, called the plane *keimori*, which means "heavenly horse." Its pilot was Japanese; but only three or four years later, a Kharachin youth named Borjigid, who graduated from a Japanese air navigation school, would become the pilot of this airplane.

ciation headquarters in Inner Mongolia; Khuturi, the representative of Ujumuchin Banner; Bazargurda, the nominal principal of this school and former *tusalagchi* and a truly pro-Japanese person; Morishima, then the head of the Abaga Special Service Office; and thirty or more students. Except for the students and Agdungga, all of them delivered speeches. Morishima emphasized Japanese-Mongolian friendship and Mongolian independence. He finally led the crowd in chanting the slogans “*Dai Nippon Teikoku banzai!*” (“Long live the great Japanese empire!”), and then “Long live great Mongolia!” The people in attendance wondered why they chanted the slogan about Japan first. The Japanese had thought that Prince So would not send any delegates to this ceremony. But the arrival of the moderate Khuturi greatly satisfied the people of the Good Neighbor Association.

Before the dedication of this school, the Good Neighbor Association had already established clinics in the territories of both Pandita Gegeen Keid and the Sunid Right Banner. A primary school was also founded in Sunid. Soon afterward, another clinic was established at the Borotolgai Temple in Chahar. The good medical techniques of these clinics helped increase the reputation of the Good Neighbor Association. Under the slogan of Japanese-Mongolian friendship, these clinics indeed made great contributions to the health of the Mongol people. However, the Japanese schools were not successful because they put too much emphasis on learning the Japanese language and on propagating the doctrine of Japan’s supremacy. This aroused feelings of resentment and concern among the Mongolian upper classes.

From the beginning of the Japanese involvement in Inner Mongolia, Bazargurda became very pro-Japanese, and he greatly assisted the Abaga Special Service Office. As a reward, the Japanese granted him ever more trust. Later, a member of the Japanese intelligence office, Nonaka Tetsuya, stayed at Bazargurda’s home to study the Mongolian language. Bazargurda’s home virtually became a branch of the Special Service Office. This evoked Mongolian resentment and Bazargurda’s reputation fell. Even the Shilingol elites began to distance themselves from him. Later, after the Japanese had occupied all of western Inner Mongolia, they made him director of the Mengjiang Bank to reward him for his assistance to the Special Service Office. At his retirement, the Japanese asked Prince De to give him the title of Councilor in the Mongolian government. This request was denied because of his excessively pro-Japanese leanings.

Prince De’s Secret Visit to Manchukuo

After Itagaki’s visit to Ujumuchin, the Japanese Guandong Army, as part of its “Mongolian work,” sent out a formal invitation to Prince De to visit Xinjing (Changchun), the capital of Manchukuo, for discussions. Prince De received this significant invitation through Major Shishiura, the head of the Guandong Army’s Special Service Office in Sunid. Prince De discussed this secret invitation with his best friend, the *Dilowa Khutugtu*; both agreed to go ahead and assume the risks of this new political adventure. In the middle of November 1935, Prince De and this *Khutugtu*, accompanied by Major Shishiura, Nakajima Manzo, and Altanwachir as interpreter, flew to Xinjing on the airplane the Guandong Army had donated to Prince De.

In Xinjing, Prince De met with General Minami Jiro, the commander-in-chief of the Guandong Army, and obtained his promise of support for Mongolian independence. Itagaki Seishiro, who had already been promoted to the position of chief of staff, presented to Prince De 500,000 units of Manchukuo currency as the Guandong Army’s contribution to Mongolian political and military programs.

On his way back, Prince De took a route passing through Doloonnor, where Major Asami Kikuo, the head of the Special Service Office, introduced him to Li Shouxin, the commander of the garrison troops in east Chahar. This was the first meeting between Prince De and Li Shouxin. Prince De and Li agreed to work together. From this time on, these two persons with very different historical backgrounds and goals would work for cooperation between Mongolia and Japan. Nevertheless, their cooperation, from beginning to end, though outwardly amicable was inwardly very tense.

After returning from Xinjing, Prince De immediately went to Beile-yin sume to report on his visit to Prince Yon. Although Prince Yon had exerted himself in promoting the autonomy movement and had very bad feelings against Fu Zuoyi, he still had no desire to ask for Japanese help. Hearing Prince De's reports and realizing that there was no going back, he said to Prince De, "Since you have done this, the only thing for you to do now is to be careful and do your best. Because of my personal circumstances, I cannot take any open action. Nevertheless, I will give you my support. You can carry out your plans, and I here will try to maintain the existence of the Mongolian Political Council." Prince De got the response he had expected. This was one of the reasons that he had supported Prince Yon as the nominal leader.

Wu Heling and Bai Yunti Return to Mongolia

The Chinese KMT convened its Fifth National Congress in Nanjing November 12-23, 1935. Both Wu Heling and Nimaodzar attended the congress as Mongolian representatives. Bai Yunti and Engkebatu joined the congress because they were members of the Central Executive Committee. On November 19, Chiang Kai-shek delivered his report on diplomacy and announced that "until all hopes for peace have been dashed, we will never cease in our efforts to maintain peace; until a crisis is absolutely inevitable, there will be no reckless talk of sacrifice." This statement made the Mongolian leaders feel that the Chinese government would not resist militarily even if the Japanese army moved further into Inner Mongolia. In their minds, it was therefore better to move ahead to make some contacts with the Japanese before a Japanese invasion occurred. They wanted to take a position because the future was uncertain. This policy accelerated Prince De's decision to establish closer relations with the Japanese. Wu Heling and Nimaodzar also recognized that the situation in western Inner Mongolia made it impossible to escape from Japanese power looming on the horizon. Even if they continued to be subject to the Chinese government in Nanjing, there would be no real help from that direction for Mongolia. Perhaps it would be possible to find a solution through a new method.

At this time, Wu Heling told Nimaodzar about his informal secret talks with Prince De at Bat-khaalag. Nimaodzar also agreed that Wu should return to Mongolia and cooperate with Prince De. Wu and Nimaodzar decided to contact Mandaltu (Li Fenggang or Li Danshan). Mandaltu was then a member of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission and head of its Beiping office. He was also an old friend of Bai Yunti and a founder of the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. He would establish contact with the Japanese agents in Beiping and Tianjin. Just at this time, through the recommendation of Bayantai (Yu Lanjai), Nakazawa Tatsuki, an agent of the Japanese Tianjin Special Service Office, came to Beiping and established contact with Mandaltu. In this way, their work paved the way step by step for Wu Heling's return to Mongolia.

During the election for Central Committee members of the Fifth Congress of the Kuomintang, Bai Yunti lost his bid for reelection. Nimaodzar was elected a member of

the Central Executive Committee. The results of this election, however, were unfortunate for both. After his defeat, Bai was angry and left Nanjing for Tianjin. This was the ideal opportunity for Mandaltu to introduce Nakazawa to Bai. Through Nakazawa, Bai explained to Prince De his willingness to return to Mongolia and help establish Mongolian independence. Prince De immediately responded to Bai's offer. Also, through his old friends Altanwachir and Bayantai, Bai was recommended to the Guandong Army; and Tanaka Ryukichi, thinking that Bai's arrival would make Japanese-Mongolian cooperation more respectable, also welcomed Bai. All these things were carried out in high secrecy and remained undiscovered by outsiders.

An account of Wu Heling's departure from Nanjing will not be repeated here. After Wu reached Beiping, he stayed at my house because I was one of his relatives. My father, as a senior relative of Wu, admonished him, saying that he should not have left Nanjing and travel through areas occupied by the Japanese. My father further urged him to return to Nanjing. Wu did not accept this advice.

Not long afterward, Wu's second-youngest brother, Wu Chunling (who was then a counselor of the Rehe Provincial Office of Manchukuo and had some political clout as a representative of the Mongolian banners in that province), came to Beiping to persuade his older brother to return to Mongolia. But Wu continued to conduct secret contacts with Prince De by radio and received Prince De's welcome. These contacts were made possible by the assistance of Sainbayar, the head of the Beiping Office of the Mongolian Political Committee.

Japan's Occupation of Kalgan's Outskirts and the Formation of the Chahar League

In December 1935, a contingent of Li Shouxin's East Chahar Garrison troops under the command of Yin Baoshan occupied the city of Baochang-*xian*. Soon afterward, another contingent of the same unit under Liu Jiguang's command took the city of Guyuan-*xian*. These occupying troops were all Chinese under Japanese command. Song Zheyuan's Twenty-ninth Army troops had already withdrawn from this area in accordance with the settlement between Doihara and Qin Dechun, the governor of Chahar Province. The remainder were only military police who had no way of resisting Li Shouxin's troops.

Following this victory, Doihara again put pressure on Song Zheyuan to stop all Chinese military resistance north of the Great Wall. That allowed Li Shouxin's troops to occupy the six *xians*—Baochang, Guyuan, Zhangbei, Shangyi, Shangdu, and Kangbao—with virtually no bloodshed. Taking advantage of this changing situation, the Chahar Tribe established itself as a league, and the city of Zhangbei was designated as the site of the league office. Prince De appointed Jodbajab as head of the League, and Damrinsurung as the deputy head. Earlier, in the spring of 1934, when the Central Political Committee of the Kuomintang passed the Eight Principles of Mongolian Local Autonomy, article three had declared that the Chahar Tribe was to be reorganized as a league. However, this was blocked by the Suiyuan and Chahar provincial governments and was not realized. Prince De's move, which won for him the hearts and minds of the Chahar Mongols, was issued at this opportune time because the border provinces could now no longer interfere in Mongolian affairs. At the same time, Prince De sent a secret telegram to Wu Heling in Beiping, informing him that he should arrive in Zhangbei no later than noon of 20 January, 1936.

Wu Heling's Meeting with Itagaki in Beiping

While Wu Heling was in Beiping, Mandaltu and Sainbayar introduced him to Nakazawa Tatsuki, and the two had a long discussion. Nakazawa discovered that Wu's capabilities and personality were superior to those of the Mongolian leaders he had previously met, and he recommended Wu to the Japanese military authorities in Tianjin. On the other hand, the Guandong Army was greatly suspicious of Wu.

When news of Wu's activities reached Sunid, Togtakhu persuaded the Japanese Special Service Office that Wu's arrival was an omen that he probably was on a mission for the Chinese government aiming to destroy Japanese-Mongolian cooperation. Therefore he must be killed on arrival. Tanaka Ryukichi also insisted that Wu be assassinated. Tanaka asked Prince De if Wu had returned to Mongolia to make mischief. Tanaka implicitly threatened Prince De by saying that Wu would be killed if he came. Prince De defended Wu, assuring Tanaka that Wu would not work for the Chinese government, and said, "It was I who invited Wu Heling to come. You absolutely should not kill him." Afterward, Prince De realized that although the Japanese did not insist on openly killing Wu, he still might be assassinated, and the assassination would be blamed on the *Lan-yishe* (the Blue Shirt Brigade) of the KMT. So Prince De sent a secret telegram to Wu, instructing him to come to Zhangbei while the prince himself was there, and saying that he would speak of secrets to Wu and provide him protection. Nakazawa also strove to protect Wu Heling. After his meeting with Wu, Nakazawa introduced Wu to a very influential Japanese political broker, Matsui Seikun, and arranged for them to meet at the Yiseikan, a Japanese geisha-type restaurant in Beiping. The following Mongol leaders in Beiping were invited: Mandaltu, Sainbayar, Ayulugei, and Temgetu (a former student in Japan and manager of a Mongolian publishing house in Beiping) as interpreter. Although I was only a student at this time, I was invited to this secret meeting because I was a close relative of Wu Heling.

Nakazawa introduced Matsui to his guests as the president of the *Shokoto* (a political organization for Japanese officials) and an intimate friend of General Itagaki. Wu Heling explained his intention to return to Mongolia and support Prince De in realizing Mongolian independence. He also pointed out that an independent Mongolia would benefit Japan in its confrontation with the Soviet Union. Matsui agreed with Wu's views and also spoke openly: "Mister Wu, I think you know that your situation is very dangerous. For the purpose of Japanese-Mongolian cooperation and Mongolian independence, you are a man of top importance. I would like to do my best to support you. Tomorrow, General Itagaki, the chief of staff of the Guandong Army, will come here. I will arrange for a time for you to see him. If his impression of you is favorable, I will let you know. From now on, if you meet any problems, you can call on me and I will do my best to help you."

The next day, Nakazawa asked Wu Heling to go to a Japanese hotel, the Fusankan, for an afternoon meeting with General Itagaki. Because Wu was staying at my house, he brought me along with him. Itagaki received us, and after the formalities said, "I am very busy. Would you talk with Colonel Kawabe?" Itagaki thereupon ordered a military aide to show Wu to Kawabe's room. Colonel Kawabe Torashiro was the head of the Second Section (the intelligence division) of the Guandong Army. When he met with Wu, Kawabe arrogantly asked, "Is your return to Mongolia not a mission for Chiang Kai-shek?" When Wu argued with him, Kawabe just shook his head. The encounter ended on an unfriendly note. After leaving the hotel, I admonished Wu not to risk his life. It would

be better for him to return to Nanjing and seek other ways to help the Mongols. Wu also realized that under such circumstances it would be very difficult to return to Mongolia. However, Nakazawa had Mandaltu tell Wu Heling, "After hearing Matsui's explanation of your matters, Itagaki has changed his mind about you. It is now possible for you to go back to Mongolia to cooperate with Prince De." This strengthened Wu Heling's resolve to return to Mongolia.

Wu Heling's Narrow Escape from Assassination

After Wu Heling decided to return to Mongolia, he asked some Mongols he admired to go with him: Wang Ziyang, a Kharachin Mongol and former parliamentarian of the Beijing government; Li Jie'an, a Kharachin graduate of the Law School of Beijing University; Mergen, a graduate of the China College and an active member of the Beijing Association of Fellow Mongols; Qin Shiyuan, an elderly Chinese who had worked in Beijing as Wu's secretary for years; and Namsaraijab. At this time, the Japanese expansion and the formation of the Hebei-Chahar Political Affairs Committee under Song Zheyuan (which was taken to be pro-Japanese) stirred up opposition among the students of Beijing's colleges and universities. These students demonstrated and boycotted classes. Wu also asked me to go with him to Mongolia to observe the changes in the situation there.

Thinking this would be an important turning point in the history of Inner Mongolia, at length I obtained my father's permission to go. We left Beijing on January 19, 1936, traveling with Wu Heling from Beijing to Kalgan to Zhangbei and finally to Sunid. In Kalgan, we were warmly greeted by our Chahar friends and stayed at Nimaodzar's house. Nimaodzar had already been invited by Jodbajab to go to Zhangbei to help him prepare to establish the Chahar League Office.

The next morning, we traveled in Wu's truck to Zhangbei, arriving at ten o'clock. We went directly to the old site of the *xian* government at Zhangbei, which was currently the league office of the Chahar League, and met with the senior Chahar politician, Jodbajab, who was the assigned league head. Jodbajab welcomed us, but tried to avoid holding formal talks, especially in the presence of several Japanese advisors. He seemed unable to offer any assistance. Nimaodzar already realized that everything was being handled by the Japanese and that the Mongols had no avenue for the expression of their own views. He was angry and regretted that he had come from Kalgan, a place of freedom, to Zhangbei, a place without freedom. He urged us to go back to Kalgan after the ceremonies.

The ceremony to open the Chahar League Office and to inaugurate its league head and league deputy head should have begun at noon that day. After eleven o'clock, Prince De, the *Dilowa Khutugtu*, and Damrinsurung (the *amban* of the Pure Yellow Banner of the Right Flank Chahar League and the designee for the position of Chahar deputy head) arrived in Zhangbei in Prince De's airplane.³ The ceremony took place in the courtyard of the old Zhangbei *xian* government headquarters. When Prince De walked into the courtyard, he glanced at Wu Heling and did not utter a word. During the cere-

³ Damrinsurung's own banner was within the jurisdiction of Suiyuan province and was not yet occupied by the Japanese army; but due to his deep hatred of Fu Zuoyi because of Fu's oppression of the Mongols, he was willing to risk his future by leaving his own banner, and accepting Prince De's offer of appointment.

mony, in addition to Prince De and Jodbajab, the Japanese Major Tanaka Hisashi (as representative of the Guandong Army) delivered a speech emphasizing Japanese-Mongolian friendship and cooperative action—the first time a Japanese had openly delivered a speech in western Inner Mongolia. The many Japanese advisors accompanying this Japanese major evoked strange and uneasy feelings among the Mongols and suggested that Japanese domination would soon overturn Mongolian self-rule. Nevertheless, except for Nimaodzar, no one said anything.

We were not treated as guests and were not invited to the luncheon following the party, and so we only wandered about in the courtyard. Soon Prince De came out from the hall in which the luncheon was taking place, and Wu Heling went to talk with him. Prince De's appearance was cool and aloof, but in a low voice he told Wu, "You must go to Sunid immediately. Diluwa Gegeen will tell you why. Follow my instructions." Prince De then walked away without so much as a glance at Wu Heling. To those of us in attendance, it appeared that the prince had no desire to talk to a man despised by the Japanese. Immediately afterward, Prince De and his entourage boarded the airplane and flew back to Sunid.

Dejected, Wu Heling returned to the temporary residence Jodbajab had prepared for him. Just at that time, *Dilowa Khutugtu* and two officials from Prince De's banner, Nasunbayar and Altangerel, came to visit Wu. Batu, captain of a small contingent of Prince De's personal guard, accompanied these two officials on a truck loaded with ten or more well-armed soldiers. Diluwa Gegeen realized that of the people in the room where Wu Heling was, he recognized only me. Therefore, he asked for all the other people in the room to leave, and then said, "The cold appearance of Prince De toward you was deliberate, for the Japanese to see and put them at ease. Right now, the situation is very unfavorable to you. Consequently, Prince De did not want the Japanese to know what he was doing for you. Now you have to use the truck that the prince has prepared for you, and the soldiers will accompany you to the residence of Prince De. For your own safety, you should definitely not return to Kalgan. In order to stay out of the sight of the Japanese, I cannot stay here." After saying this, he got on another truck heading for Kalgan and Beijing.

After receiving this advice, Wu Heling discussed it with the people who came with him. Wang Ziyang, Li Jie'an, and Mergen felt that under such Japanese pressure, it would be impossible to work for Mongolia; they decided to return to Beijing. I insisted that Wu Heling follow the instructions of Prince De and go north immediately; Qin Shi-yuan and Namsaraijab also urged Wu to accept this advice, indicating their willingness to accompany him to Sunid. Just then, Nimaodzar arrived, and Wu told him of Prince De's advice and suggested that he too consider going to Sunid. Nimaodzar, disappointed, said, "Since Prince De asked you to go, then do as you please. You may go, but I am going back to Kalgan to celebrate the new year.⁴ Since Mr. Wang and others have decided not to go to Sunid, they may return with me."

Wu Heling, the others, and I immediately got on the truck that Prince De prepared and rushed to the north. When we reached the north gate of the city, the guards under Li Shouxin's command said, "Since you have no passport from the military headquarters, you may not leave." Wu Heling had no choice but to return to the newly established league office and meet with Nimaodzar. After Wu told Nimaodzar of his problem, Nimaodzar said, "The headquarters of Li Shouxin will not give you passports." Nimaodzar ordered a clerk of the Chahar League Office to issue a passport for Prince

⁴ January 24 of that year was the new lunar *bingzi* year.

De's officials and furnish documentation for the truck.

We took our passport with its official seal back to the north gate and showed it to the guards. The guards, overwhelmed by such a large and impressive-looking official seal, allowed the truck to leave. By this time it was already three o'clock. After leaving the city gates, the driver accelerated quickly, even though that winter was very snowy and it was difficult for the truck to keep a grip on the road. Altangerel and Batu had ordered the soldiers to shoot any attackers. The sun had set, and automobile lights appeared to be approaching from behind. In order to avoid attack, the driver accelerated the truck and we pulled away, arriving at Jabsar in the middle of the night. After arrival, Nasumbayar said, "We have arrived at the place where the military forces are under the domination of our prince. We should be able to stay safely for the night."

In Jabsar, the Mongol military forces were under the command of Buyandelger (Bao Guiting). When we went to his headquarters, he kindly offered us lodgings. He also had Wu Heling's younger brother under his protection. This was Wu Pengling (a graduate of the Beijing Police Academy who gathered a group of Kharachin youth to join Buyandelger's troops for service to the Mongolian cause and was assigned as a regimental commander). He came to see Wu Heling. When Wu Heling and I were alone, Wu Pengling came and advised his brother that we should not spend the night there but instead should fill our stomachs and go directly to Sunid. Taking seriously such advice since it came from his brother, Wu discussed the matter with Batu and the two Sunid officials and decided that after supper, we should briefly feign sleep and then depart to Sunid. In the early hours of the next morning (January 21), we arrived safely at Prince De's residence in the Sunid Right Banner.

Later, according to Wu Pengling's words, I learned that though Buyandelger had been hospitable to Wu Heling that night, he had asked for advice from his Japanese advisor, Tabakoya, about what to do with Wu and his group. Tabakoya's answer was that since he had no orders from his superiors, he could not offer any advice. Thus Buyandelger did not take any action. These words were diametrically opposed to those of Buyandelger's report, which says that Tabakoya asked Buyandelger to detain Wu Heling, but that he had rejected this request.⁵

The Assassination of Nimaodzar

After Nasumbayar and Altangerel had fully reported on the matter, Prince De had Wu Heling, Wu's group, and me stay at the house of the banner office, east of his own residence. The prince still refused, however, to receive Wu's party. When the lunar new year arrived, Wu Heling and I went to Prince De's residence to celebrate. While we were walking into the guest parlor, we were surprised by the presence of Bai Yunti accompanying Prince De. The second event that surprised us was the news of the January 23 assassination of Nimaodzar while he was on his way back from Zhangbei to Kalgan.

While Prince De was relating this news, he appeared very sorrowful and troubled and said, "According to the intelligence reports of the Japanese Special Service Office, Nimaodzar *amban* was assassinated by Chinese agents at Houtou River north of the great mountains, fifteen kilometers south of Zhangbei. I should have prevented him from returning to Kalgan, but I did not foresee that this would happen. Why did Jodbajab *amban* not foresee this?" Bai Yunti was also distressed at the death of his old friend. This

⁵ Lu Minghui, , p. 104.

death was also very unsettling to Wu Heling and me because we had just left Nimaodzar, and Nimaodzar had issued the passport allowing us to escape. During this visit, Bai Yunti's presence prevented Wu and Prince De from discussing their own circumstances and the future of Mongolia.⁶

The Japanese military had supposedly become more suspicious of Nimaodzar after he was elected as a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang and because of his anti-Japanese opinions. Thus when they saw that he was vulnerable while returning to Kalgan, the Japanese decided to kill him. According to later conversations I had with Wang Ziyang, Li Jie'an, and Mergen, at two o'clock in the afternoon of January 23, their vehicle arrived at a small bridge over a bend of the Houtou River when suddenly from behind a dip in the road several men in blue uniforms came out and blocked the way. They said, "We have been dispatched here by the Chahar Provincial Government. Which one of you is the Excellency Member Ni[maodzor]?" Nimaodzar, deceived by this, identified himself, whereupon one of the uniformed men raised a pistol and shot him to death. The assassins then turned to the remaining men on the truck and said, "We want nothing from you. You may go." The Mongols took Nimaodzar's body to Kalgan and delivered it to his family.

This secret plot against Nimaodzar gradually became known. It had been engineered by Morishima Kadofusa, and the assassin was probably Ogi. They wore blue uniforms to make it appear as if this assassination had been carried out by the *Lanyishe*, or the Blue Shirt Brigade of the Kuomintang, in order to stir up Mongolian antagonism against the KMT. Japanese newspapers such as the *Tokyo Nichinichi* and the monthly *Survey of the Good Neighbor Association* reported that because Nimaodzar's attitudes were becoming more and more hostile to the central government in Nanjing, the Kuomintang's Blue Shirt Brigade had eliminated him. At the time and since I believed that these underhanded tactics in reporting the assassination were like the behavior of a burglar who covers his own ears while stealing a bell.

Nimaodzar's death intimidated Jodbajab and silenced his expression of opposition to the Japanese. He even gave his own personal seal to his Japanese advisors and let them use it as they pleased. In so doing, all power of the Chahar League fell into the hands of the Japanese "advisors." At the same time, the death of Nimaodzar damaged "Japanese-Mongolian Cooperation" and created a hostile atmosphere between the Mongols and the Japanese.

Prince De welcomed Bai Yunti's arrival, but because Bai had made almost no contribution during the period of the autonomous movement and also because of the whirlwind of political change, he knew that Bai was an opportunist. To protect Mongolia's future, Prince De avoided talking with him in detail about political matters. After Nimaodzar's assassination, Bai felt quite unsafe and recognized that under Japanese control, not only was there no political freedom, but they were all in danger of losing their lives; it would be better to leave. Therefore, after the lunar new year and under the pretext of going to Tianjin to get rid of his opium habit, Bai Yunti flew to Tianjin on the Japan-

⁶ As for the death of Nimaodzar, it seems he was zealous in his promotion of the Chahar League, and he tried to help the Chahar people become more tightly unified through the organization of this new league. He discussed these matters with his old friend, Jodbajab, but during the discussion, Jodbajab expressed his fear of Japanese threats. He had obviously lost his former convictions and zeal for the Mongolian struggle, thus becoming only a yes-man, unable to accept Nimaodzar's proposals. This perhaps was largely why Nimaodzar had left for Kalgan, along with Wang Ziyang, Li Jie'an, and Mergen.

ese Special Service airplane. After his arrival in Tianjin, Bai received a welcoming telegram from General Chen Cheng and traveled safely to Hankow. After a time, he was able to regain his position on the Central Committee of the Kuomintang, but never restored his former prestige and respect, a great loss for his personal career. Eventually he was even made minister of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, but remained without influence in Mongolian politics.

The General Headquarters of the Mongolian Army

Soon after the lunar new year celebration, Prince De made public the hitherto secret establishment of a headquarters of the Mongolian army. The high-ranking cadres under him likely already knew of this matter, but Wu Heling did not become aware of this great change until Prince De's announcement.

After all the conflicts between the Mongolian Political Council and the Suiyuan authorities had ended in defeat for the Mongols, Prince De felt that unless he could draw upon real military strength, talk of autonomy would not have any substance. Thus in his November 1935 visit with General Minami Jiro, commander-in-chief of the Guandong Army, and Lieutenant General Itagaki Seishiro, chief of staff of the Guandong Army, Prince De obtained a promise for support of Mongolian independence and decided to organize an army. On his way back to Sunid through Doloonnor he met with Li Shouxin, and they agreed to cooperate. But because Li had no deep relationship with Prince De and because all his troops were Chinese, Prince De could not depend on Li in military matters. So on returning to Sunid, Prince De dispatched his followers who had received basic military training in eastern Inner Mongolia to the Josutu, Juu-uda, and Jerim Leagues to recruit young military Mongols for service under his personal control.

Also at this time, Sainbayar left Beiping and arrived in Sunid. Sainbayar was also willing to return to his homeland in the Jerim League and recruit Mongol troops for Prince De. In order to help in the organization of this general headquarters, Prince De summoned some of his trusted cadres from the Mongolian Political Council in Batkhaalagh to Sunid.

On the morning of February 12, in a big yurt supported by four red pillars decorated with carved golden dragons, in front of a portrait of Chinggis Khan, Prince De announced his ascent to the position of commander-in-chief of the Mongolian Army. In his speech, Prince De said, "I swear to continue the spirit of Chinggis Khan and accomplish the great enterprise of recovering Mongolian national sovereignty." The top Japanese guest was General Nishio Toshizo, chief of staff of the Guandong Army, who emphasized Japanese-Mongolian cooperation. The other Japanese guests were Major Shishiura, head of the Japanese Special Service Office in Sunid, and Maikawa, the delegate of the Good Neighbor Association. The Mongol dignitaries in attendance were Buyandalai (who had just arrived from Kalgan) and officials of the Mongolian Political Council such as Chogbagatur, Oljeitu, Makhashiri, Jalgamji, Saijirakhu, and Engkeamur. Altanwachir also attended the ceremony as a consultant of the Guandong Army. Togtakhu was the main interpreter. Wu Heling had been declared *persona non grata*, and he and I were, of course, not allowed to attend the ceremony. Engkeamur, the older brother of my wife, reported the situation to Wu and me in the afternoon of that day.

Because of Prince De's superficially cool treatment of Wu Heling, the people believed that Wu could not accomplish anything noteworthy. Consequently, the Japanese paid him much less attention. As a result, more people began to risk visiting Wu Heling,

and he could visit Prince De without raising too much attention. During these visits, Wu was finally able to express his thanks to Prince De for looking out for him so well. Prince De also said that from then on, he would have more things he needed Wu to help with.

Soon Prince De summoned Tegshibuyan, Nasutu, Sainbiligtu (from Beiping), Sangdugureng, and Nomundalai (from eastern Inner Mongolia) to join the newly established headquarters of the Mongolian Army. Headquarters was just west of Prince De's residence.

The following is a brief account of the organization of the Mongolian Army and its personnel. Under the commander-in-chief, Prince De, was a deputy commander-in-chief, Li Shouxin. Under the headquarters of the commander-in-chief there were the Military Department, the Political Department, and the Secretariat. Prince De himself took the position as head of the Political Department, Li Shouxin the Military Department, and Buyandalai the Secretariat. Under the Political Department were three bureaus: Internal Affairs, Financial Administration, and Cultural Affairs and Education. The heads of these bureaus were Altanwachir, Sainbayar, and Khorjurjab, respectively. Under the Military Department were three sections: the first section managed military affairs, orders, and law; the second section managed armaments and military logistics; the third section administered military strategy and plans. Ao Yunzhang, Tegshibuyan, and Bayantai were respectively designated as the three section heads. Under the Secretariat were four sections: Documentary, Personnel, Accounting, and Management, together with a confidential secretary and secretaries. Makhashiri, Oljeitu, Wangragjab, and Meng Chaoyi were appointed as these four section heads. Togtakhu was made the confidential secretary; Chogbagatur and Makhashiri were made secretaries. As for Engkeamur, because of his intimate relations with Wu, he was not appointed to an important position.

In reality, Li Shouxin, Khorjurjab, and Ao Yunzhang, although appointed, did not join in the work of the general headquarters. Because Li Shouxin had full Japanese support, he did not take Prince De's offer seriously. As for Khorjurjab and the officials from Shilingol, they did not come because of an enormous snowstorm. After Ao Yunzhang, a trusted friend of Prince De and a very important counselor, came to Sunid from Bat-khaalag, he was astonished at the assassination of Nimaodzar and felt that cooperation with the Japanese was not wise. Therefore, he went to Beiping on the pretext of getting treatment for an illness, and never came back. Even though this general headquarters was established, morale among its leaders was very low and did not compare with the morale that existed at the beginning of the autonomous movement at Beile-yin sume.

As for military organization, two armies were established. Because Li Shouxin already had a very solid foundation under his Chinese troops, he was made commander of the First Army and had his headquarters in Zhangbei. Prince De made himself the commander of the Second Army, which was then recruiting in the Mongol banners. Prince De planned to have the Mongol troops become the military foundation for the recovery of Mongolian sovereignty, and therefore established his headquarters at Sunid.

After the establishment of this general headquarters, the Japanese Major Shishiura, head of the Special Service Office in Sunid, was transferred. It seems that Prince De was favorably impressed with this Japanese officer, but none of the Mongols knew where he was transferred to or why he never returned to participate in the "Mongolian work." The Mongols came to think that perhaps he had failed to carry out some instructions from his superiors. Instead of Shishiura, another Japanese, Major Asami Kikuo, was appointed as head of the Sunid Special Service Office. Asami, though a good-hearted man, had a very bad temper. He made no great accomplishments.

Bayantai, a man from the Jagchid clan, then a councilor of the Guandong Army,

arrived in Sunid and came to visit Wu Heling. Finding me at Wu's residence, he asked what I was doing there. I replied, "Because the students in Beiping are boycotting class, I came here to observe the changing conditions in Mongolia." Bayantai answered, "This is extremely foolish! Return to Beiping for school at once! Your father is certainly greatly anxious about you! The snow is very deep, and cars are not able to move. Asami, the head of the Special Service Office, is going to Zhangbei tomorrow. You can go on his airplane to Zhangbei and from there to Kalgan. I will bring you to visit Asami."

After this, he took me to the Special Service Office, and when I entered the office—a place where I was not welcome—I met a Japanese who spoke some Mongolian. Bayantai introduced this man as Nakajima Manzo. Major Asami asked about my relationship to Bayantai and why I had come to Sunid. After Bayantai explained the situation, Asami said, "Yes, you can go with me tomorrow." So I rushed back, told Wu Heling, and went to Prince De's residence to tell him that I was leaving. The next day, I left Sunid with Asami, and after arriving in Zhangbei, I went to visit Jodbajab, whose secretary put me on a vehicle bound for Kalgan. At Kalgan, I went to Nimaodzar's house and expressed my condolences to Nimaodzar's wife; I then returned to Beiping.

From what Wu Heling told me, I learned that because the formation of the general headquarters of the Mongolian Army had been too hasty, preparations were incomplete. Prince De had encountered a series of setbacks. First of all, formation of the general headquarters was without Prince Sodnamrabdan's authorization. Also, no good contact was established with the banners of the Shilingol League. With the exception of Khorjurjab, a "prince-in-leisure" in the Sunid Left Banner, no other leaders in the Shilingol League helped establish the general headquarters. In the Ulanachab League, Prince Yon knew little about the matter. Although he personally did not express any opposition, he could not give any open support either. Moreover, Prince Pandeigungchab, the *jasag* of the Dorben Keuked Banner, a western neighbor of Sunid, was a man manipulated by Fu Zuoyi.

The Chahar banners were already under tight Japanese control, and Jodbajab, because of his age, did not come under Prince De's leadership. Also, from the beginning of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy movement, the common desire of the Mongols was for a unified self-ruling, self-protecting, and self-sustaining movement. Now, Prince De's relations with Japan had become too intimate, and this contradicted the original Mongol goal. Thus he could not obtain unanimous support from the elements who had originally formed the Mongolian Political Council. A rebellion occurred among the Mongolian Political Council's Peace Preservation troops, led by their officers, Yun Jixian and Zhu Shifu. Prince De's efforts in Bat-khaalag were frustrated, and the image of the Mongolian Political Council was also tarnished. And because of Prince De's visit to Manchukuo and the foundation of the General Headquarters of the Mongolian Army, rumors of "treacherous plots" for independence launched by him were circulated throughout China.

This provided a good opportunity for Fu Zuoyi to persuade the authorities of the Chinese government to split the Mongolian autonomous organization. On January 25, 1936, the Chinese government ordered the establishment of the Suiyuan Provincial Mongolian Local Autonomous Political Affairs Council.

In addition to these man-made obstacles, Prince De also met with a natural disaster—heavy snow. More than eighty percent of the Mongols' livestock froze to death or starved. The importation of foodstuffs from the Manchukuo area and the *xians* of Suiyuan Province, which had already boycotted exporting foodstuffs to areas under Japanese domination, were additional problems that Prince De faced. Under such desperate circumstances, even though the general headquarters had been established, it could not

achieve a breakthrough. Morale at the headquarters was at a low point.

The Japanese westward advances were not hindered by these Mongolian difficulties. On January 12, 1936, a Japanese Special Service Office for Suiyuan was established at Hohhot, Fu Zuoyi's stronghold. Following the Japanese expansion in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, great concern was felt by the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic. A Soviet-Mongolian agreement was concluded on March 12. This agreement angered the Japanese and led them to exert greater efforts in Inner Mongolia to check the influence of the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic.

After their "Long March," the remaining Chinese Communists established their power base at Yan'an and turned northern Shaanxi Province into a new Communist stronghold. From here, the Chinese Communists joined ranks with the Ordos Right Middle (Otog) Banner and the Ordos Right Front (Uushin) Banner, the active areas of the old leftist Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. This new development became a thorn in the side of Fu Zuoyi, and later in the side of the Japanese. It also accelerated the Japanese "Mongolian work." Because of pressure from the Chinese Communists and the Japanese, Fu Zuoyi had to win the Mongols over to his side. Therefore, he made Prince Pandeigunchab commander of the Mongolian Banner Bandit Extermination Forces. On February 16, he appointed Prince Khangdadorji of the Ordos Left Rear (Dalad) Banner as commander of the Allied Forces of the Seven Banners of the Yekejuu League and the commander of the Dalad Bandit Extermination Forces. Soon, Fu established the Commission on Anti-Communist Training within the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council. Under the pretext of anti-communism, Fu sent his agents into the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council to spy on the Mongols.

The First Mongolian Congress

After Wu Heling's three months of isolation, Japanese suspicions of him decreased; his life was no longer in danger. This made it possible for Prince De to consult with him openly. After several discussions, De and Wu decided that from then on, all actions must be supported by the base of public opinion, in order to avoid isolation from the Mongol people. Deciding further to dissolve the general headquarters as an ineffective organization, they planned to reorganize it as a military government which might increase its prestige. However, in order to push their plans forward, they had to have the support of Prince So and the ten Shilingol banners. To achieve a breakthrough, Wu Heling proposed to go to Ujumuchin and to use the deep and solid relationships my father had with Prince So, Togtakhu, and other influential people of Ujumuchin to persuade Prince So to agree to the plan. Wu's proposal was of course welcomed by Prince De.

Wu advised Prince De as follows: "Since our goal is independence, it would be better to enlarge the general headquarters into a military government. In the earlier days, when the KMT was carrying out its revolution, it started out with the establishment of a military government. Since Japan has promised to support Mongolia in establishing an independent country, we should list Inner Mongolia and Outer Mongolia, Kokonor Mongolia, North Xinjiang, and other originally Mongolian territory as our territory. A modern nation must have a seaport in order to maintain its national existence. We should have Huludao as our seaport. We have to struggle for this goal." These were Wu Heling's words to me while we were living in Japan (in 1938).

These words were very agreeable to Prince De, who immediately asked Wu to persuade the anti-Japanese Prince So. At the same time, Prince De requested Prince Yon

to send Shirabdorji as his personal representative to Ujumuchin in order to increase support for his plan. Prince De also tried, through Dewagenden, a senior influential official of the Dorben-keud Banner, to persuade his *jasag*, Pandeigungchab, who was being manipulated by Fu Zuoyi, to go along with Wu.

After Wu Heling, Shirabdorji, and Pandeigungchab arrived, they did not talk immediately to Prince So about Mongolian independence with Japanese assistance. Instead, they began by saying that the situation was changing, and that China could no longer handle the new situation. In reality, both the Shilingol and Chahar Leagues had already been separated from China; the action proposed by Prince De was the only viable option. If the Mongols were not able to grasp this opportunity and do something before Japan openly declared Mongolia as occupied territory, then the eventual Japanese domination would be much worse. After hearing this argument, Prince So also realized that the die had already been cast—alteration was impossible. Prince So turned to Tusangga, the *tusalagchi* of Ujumuchin after the retirement of Togtakhu due to bad health, and said with a deep sigh of resignation, "Since this situation has become like this, perhaps the policies of our league deputy head [Prince De] are for a reason. Now let him do as he sees fit."

Following this decision, Wu Heling and his party asked Prince So to agree to convene the Mongolian delegates at his residence to decide on the future of western Inner Mongolia. Prince So agreed to this request. This meeting had to be held in Ujumuchin, for two important reasons: first, it would be easy to show both domestic and foreign audiences that this conference accorded with the general will of the Mongol people; and second, because of Prince So's high prestige and his anti-Japanese attitude, it would be easier for the Japanese to compromise and accept the Mongols' demands.

This conference to decide the future of western Inner Mongolia was eventually held in Ujumuchin on April 24, 1936 in a great yurt with a capacity of five hundred people.⁷ At the preliminary meetings, Sodnamrabdan, Demchugdongrob, Li Shouxin, Jodbajab, and Shirabdorji were elected as members of the presidium. Wu Heling was appointed as secretary general, and Togtakhu was assigned as an interpreter for the Japan-

⁷ Persons attending included Prince Sodnamrabdan, head of the Shilingol League; Prince De, deputy head of the Shilingol League; Tusangga, *tusalagchi* of the Ujumuchin Right Banner; Dorji, *jasag* of the Ujumuchin Left Banner; Dobdan, *tusalagchi* of the Ujumuchin Left Banner; Sangdagdorji, *jasag* of the Khauchid Right Banner; Sungjingwangchug, *jasag* of the Khauchid Left Banner; Shonodondob, *jasag* of the Abaga Right Banner; Budabala, *jasag* of the Abaga Left Banner; Gungsang, *tusalagchi* of the Abaga Left Banner; Balgunsurung, *jasag* of the Abkhabnar Left Banner; Rinchinwangdud, *jasag* of the Sunid Left Banner; Jodbajab, head of the Chahar League; Temurbolod, deputy head of the Chahar League; Serengnamjil, *amban* of the Taipus Left Banner; Norbujana, *amban* of the Taipus Right Banner; Gonchograshi, *amban* of the Bordered White Banner; Mugdenbuu, *amban* of the Bordered Yellow Banner; Yindege, *amban* of the Pure Blue Banner; Bayan, representative of the Pure White Banner; and Shirabdorji, representative of Prince Yon and the Ulanhab League. Because the Yekejuu League was under Fu Zuoyi's strict control, it was unable to send delegates to this conference. Nevertheless, Nasundelger, a Yekejuu man, then section head of the Mongolian Political Council in Beile-yin sume, was assigned as a delegate of that banner. Su Baofeng attended the conference as a delegate of the Ejine banner; at this time, Su was the delegate of that banner and was stationed at Nanking and at the same time, he was a section head of the Mongolian Political Council. Chen-Nasunbatu was a delegate from the Alashan Banner sent to negotiate some business with the Mongolian Political Council, so he was assigned as a delegate of Alashan. In addition to these delegates, Wu Heling, Li Shouxin, Altanochir, and Bayantai also attended this conference as delegates.

ese. The Japanese Guandong Army sent Tanaka Ryukichi and others to attend as guests. This was the first time that the Japanese openly attended an official Mongolian conference.

Prince So, as the convener and host of this conference, while presiding over the first session, announced simply that this meeting was very important: its purpose was to discuss the future of Mongolia and methods for dealing with the current situation. Aside from these remarks, he said nothing else. Prince De, the main speaker at this conference, delivered a report on the establishment of the General Headquarters of the Mongolian Army and of his contacts with the Japanese Guandong Army. Following his report, the conference discussed principles for Mongolia's national construction, the establishment of the military government and military forces, and the goal of independence and friendly ties with Japan and Manchukuo. Plans for relief work to compensate for the heavy snows were also discussed. The outline of the organization of the Mongolian Military Government, as passed by this conference, follows:

Mongolian Military Government Organizational Outline

Article One

In order to prepare for national construction, the Mongolian Military Government shall be established. The name of this government shall be changed to the Government of the Mongolian State when Mongolian sovereignty is established.

Article Two

One chairman shall be designated as head of the government and shall be responsible to all of the Mongol people. One or two deputy chairmen shall be designated, and one of them shall be appointed to carry out the responsibilities as chairman *pro tempore* whenever the chairman is unable to attend to his duties. Both the chairman and deputy chairmen shall be nominated by the Mongolian Congress from among elderly and upstanding Mongolian leaders.

Article Three

A general director shall be designated to receive the chairman's orders and rule over Mongolia, and he shall lead all governmental organizations and the military. He shall also handle all matters of national construction and be responsible to the chairman. The general director shall be carefully selected and then appointed by the chairman from among competent Mongols able to assume great responsibility and having the ability to undertake national construction.

Article Four

This government shall designate four to six members, four to six consultants, and four to six military consultants. These shall be carefully selected by the general director from among outstanding, competent, and meritorious Mongols and shall be appointed by the chairman.

Article Five

The following department, boards, and bureaus shall be established in the government. Their organizations and authority shall be determined by law: Department of Administration, Consultative Board, Military Staff Board, Internal Affairs Bureau, Bureau of Education, Military Affairs Bureau, Bureau of Finance, Bureau of Communication and Transportation, Bureau of Industry, Judiciary Bureau, and Bureau of Foreign Affairs.

Article Six

The following officials and clerks shall be designated to the departments, boards, and bureaus. . . . Regulation of their work shall be determined by separate law: [Personnel shall include] one department head, two board heads, eight bureau heads, forty to fifty consultants, one chief of staff, four to six staff members, eighteen to twenty-six section heads, thirty to thirty-six supervisory clerical officers, eight personal secretaries for the general directors, eight aides-de-camp for the general director, thirty-six to forty-four clerks, and forty to fifty junior clerks and recorders. The above-mentioned heads of the department,

boards, and bureaus and staff members must be carefully selected by the general director from among persons with broad knowledge, full experience, and capabilities for national construction, and shall all be Mongols. These persons shall be appointed by the chairman. The consultants shall be nominated by the banners from among their high-ranking officials and shall be submitted by the general director to the chairman for appointment. The military staff members, section heads, supervisory clerical officers, personal secretaries, and aides-de-camp shall be selected by the general director from among capable persons and appointed by the chairman. The clerks, junior clerks, and recorders shall be selected by the general director from among capable persons.

Article Seven

An advisory office shall be established with one head advisor and eight to sixteen special advisors. These advisors shall be carefully selected by the general director and be appointed by the chairman. Assistants and interpreters shall be appointed by the general director. The administrative regulations of the advisory office shall be decided by separate law.

Article Eight

A committee of the members of this government shall be established. The following matters shall be carried out after being agreed upon by the committee:

1. Promulgation of law and ordinances with legal effect as law
2. Budget and closing of books and extrabudgetary expenditures
3. Administrative plans
4. Organization, mobilization, and demobilization of the military
5. Appointment and discharge of important officials of the offices and military organizations
6. Important negotiations [with foreign countries]
7. Jurisdictional conflicts between the department, boards, and bureaus
8. Matters which, according to law, must be decided by this committee
9. Cases submitted by the general director and the department, boards, and bureaus to this committee

Article Nine

The committee of the members of this government shall be organized by the general director and other members [of the government]. The heads of the department, boards, and bureaus shall, of course, be members of this committee. In times of necessity, the head of the advisory office, consultants, military consultants, and chief of staff shall be ordered to attend committee meetings [but shall have no voting rights]. At meetings of this committee, the general director shall be the chairman. Under special circumstances, the chairman and vice-chair of the government may be invited to visit [the meetings of the committee]. At times when the general director is unable to preside [over committee meetings], he shall appoint one person from among the members [of the government] and heads of the department, boards, and bureaus as a chairman *pro tempore*.

Article Ten

All documents, except for those specially regulated by this outline, shall be issued in the name of the chairman, deputy chairmen and the general director.

Article Eleven

During times of necessity, this outline may be amended by the committee of the members of this government and be recognized by the next Mongolian Congress.

Article Twelve

This outline shall be effective the day it is passed by the Mongolian Congress.

After this outline was passed, the election was carried out. After discussion and consultation, Prince Yon was elected as chairman, and Sodnamrabdan and Shagdurbaj were elected as deputy chairmen. The congress ended on May 1, 1936.

At the time of this congress, no definite name existed for this kind of conference. Later, because this meeting established the political foundation of the Mongolian

Military Government, it was named the *Monggol-un Yeke Khural*, or the Great Mongolian Congress, in order to express its historical significance and show that it was a continuation of the historical *khuraltai*, which had roots in Mongolian tradition, to decide on important national matters. This conference was called the First Mongolian Congress, and subsequent conferences were called the Second Mongolian Congress, the Third Mongolian Congress, and so on.

At the election of the presidium, this conference still followed the pattern of the conferences that had been held in Beile-yin sume and of conferences held by the Chinese Kuomintang and the Chinese government. This was the first occasion when there was sincere cooperation between Prince De and Wu Heling, and it was also an example of Prince De's ability to trust a former political opponent and have him do great work. All the plans for this meeting and the organization of the government were from Wu's pen. In the outline above, the old and high-ranking senior Mongol leaders were exalted to exaggerated heights, but real political power was put into the hands of Prince De. This arrangement provided the only viable solution to the deadlock in Mongolian politics at this time between the old aristocracy and the young intellectuals. Of course, Prince So yielded to the results of this conference precisely because he wanted to distance himself from the dark circumstances enabling the Japanese to exert influence on the conference.

From the beginning, with Wu Heling's persuasion of Prince So, the end of this first congress, Prince So provided only material support and did not actively participate in current Mongolian politics. Prince So felt that he was powerless to do anything in the face of great historical changes. Although he could not stop the Japanese encroachment, he did not want to just sit and wait for the Japanese to assume all political power in Mongolia. He was, therefore, willing to allow Prince De to assume the burden of responding to the Japanese invasion and doing something for the Mongols. Since he himself was very anti-Japanese, he did not want to completely reverse his personal stance; he thought it better to stand aside and allow others to respond to the Japanese. In other words, in convening this congress, he did his best as a host, but his support and participation was only nominal.

Prince So's attitude by this time was entirely different than it was at the beginning of the autonomy movement in 1933. The autonomy movement had aimed at unification of and self-defense by the Mongols. This congress, however, changed the aim to include an inclination toward Japan. This was very different from the desires that he and the higher-ranking officials of Ujumuchin originally expressed.

Extent of Participation in the First Mongolian Congress

Before the first Mongolian Congress, Pandeigungchab of the Dorben Keuked Banner had accompanied Wu Heling to Ujumuchin in an attempt to win over Prince So. After Pandeigungchab's return, however, Fu Zuoyi showed great favor to him in order to win him back over to his side. By the end of March, Pandeigungchab, Shagdurbaj, and Altanochir were sent by Fu Zuoyi to Nanjing as leaders of the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council. Hence, Pandeigungchab was not available to attend the First Mongolian Congress. Nevertheless, because of geographical proximity, he could not ignore Prince De's activities. Moreover, his banner was sandwiched between Sunid and Bat-khaalag, and he therefore had to continue his connection with Prince De. Dewagenden, the *tusalagchi* of Dorben Keuked and a former supporter of the autonomous movement, similarly acted as a liaison officer between Sunid and Dorben-keud.

After the "Prince Shi Incident," Prince Yon lost his interest in political affairs and devoted his attention to Buddhism. Because he had given great support to Prince De at the beginning, he did not want to make an abrupt change. Following Prince De's establishment of close relations with Japan, Fu Zuoyi's pressure on Prince Yon became more and more intense. The strong-willed old prince, however, did not bow to Fu's pressure. Later, even when circumstances changed from bad to worse, Prince Yon did not issue one word in opposition to Prince De and, in order to show his resolve to resist Fu Zuoyi, did not budge from his princely residence. On the other hand, the new head of the Ulanhab League, Babudorji, and the three Urad banners under his special leadership, with the exception of the divided Urad Front Banner, took a superficially pro-Fu attitude. In reality, they merely assumed a wait-and-see attitude. Of course it was impossible for Babudorji, who was under Fu's shadow, to send official delegates from the Ulanhab League to join the congress.

As for the four Right Flank Chahar banners, they had already been placed under the jurisdiction of the Suiyuan Provincial Government in 1928 and therefore could not send delegates to the conference in Ujumuchin. Among these four banners, the Pure Yellow Banner was the most powerful and rich. The *amban* of this banner, Damrinsurung had been a good friend of Prince De. At the time the Chahar League was established, he went to Sunid and returned to Zhangbei together with Prince De on the same airplane to take the position of deputy head of the Chahar League. However, after the assassination of Nimaodzar, Damrinsurung became very suspicious of the Japanese domination and left Zhangbei, never to return. Because of this, Prince De had to appoint Temurbolod, the *amban* of the Shangdu Banner, as deputy head of the Chahar League.

Not long after the establishment of the General Headquarters of the Mongolian Army, the rebellion of the Mongolian Political Council Peace Preservation troops broke out. When Yun Jixian and Zhu Shifu issued their statement, Jakhunju also signed the document. This man was treated by Damrinsurung as a trustworthy junior. Jakhunju's uncle, Ji Songling, was a top aide to Damrinsurung. Under these changing circumstances and with Ji Songling's making the arrangements, Fu Zuoyi appointed Damrinsurung commander of the Bandit Extermination Forces of the Four Right Flank Chahar Banners of Eastern Suiyuan Province. This suspended, temporarily, the intimate relationship between Prince De and Damrinsurung.

The *jasag* of Alashan, Damzana, very angered by the pressure from the Moslem warlord Ma Hongkui, then governor of Ningxia Province, looked to the Mongolian Political Council for assistance. Prince De also tried to win over Damzana by sending him a complete wireless radio transceiver set, as well as Wang Zhenhua, a Kharachin Mongol who had joined the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party during the 1920s, who was to serve as operator of the transceiver set. Relations between Prince De and Damzana then greatly improved. Later, Chen-Nasunbatu was sent to Bat-khaalag to receive the armaments that Prince De had designated for Alashan. This Chen Nasunbatu was therefore able to participate in the Ujumuchin Congress. The *jasag* of the Ejine Banner was in the same situation as Damzana. Also, for the same reason, he was inclined toward the Mongolian Political Council. This was why his delegate in Nanjing, Su Baofeng, was assigned as the section head in the Mongolian Political Council. Su participated in the congress under the same circumstances that had brought Damzana's delegates there.

By then, both the Yekejuu League and the Tumed Banner were thoroughly under the control of Fu Zuoyi. Because Prince Altanochir, the deputy head of the Yekejuu League, worked during that time as the secretary general of the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council, the Yekejuu League could not support Prince De's activities openly. Nev-

ertheless, Prince De's connections with the Yekejuu leaders were not completely severed. Attendance at the First Mongolian Congress in Ujumuchin by the so-called delegate of Yekejuu, Nasundelger, was not officially sanctioned by the Yekejuu leaders. Nevertheless, through him, the proceedings of the congress could be reported back to Yekejuu. Rong Xiang, the *amban* of the Tumed banner who had originally been a supporter of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy movement in 1933, became an active leader in the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council because of his strong anti-Japanese feelings. Of course, he wanted absolutely nothing to do with the Mongolian Congress at Ujumuchin.

In short, from the point of view of national unity of the Mongols, this Mongolian Congress in Ujumuchin, because of Japanese intervention, was not comparable to the virtually unanimous response of all Mongols at the time of the 1933 autonomy movement. Consequently, it was not able to enlist the support of the Mongol intellectuals in Beiping and Nanjing. The reason was not that Prince De had lost his charisma, but that foreign involvement created an atmosphere of suspicion.

The attitudes of the attendees at the congress toward the participation of delegates from the Japanese Guandong Army, such as Tanaka Ryukichi and others, differed greatly. For Prince De and the activists of the independence movement, it was a good gesture of Japanese support for Mongolian national construction, but from the point of view of Prince So and the conservative leaders, it was an ominous omen of the subjugation of Mongolia to Japan. In his address to the congress, Tanaka Ryukichi again and again emphasized Japanese-Mongolian friendship and cooperation, the good will of the Imperial Japanese Government, Japan's support of Mongolian national independence, and the continuation of the great enterprise of Chinggis Khan. This naturally made most of the Mongolian participants happy, but this happiness did not last long and it was almost immediately replaced by feelings of distress and regret.

The Japanese Execution of Lingsheng

During these changes in western Inner Mongolia, a series of military conflicts between Japan and the Soviet Union broke out along the border of Hulunbuir and Mongolia. In order to reach a cease-fire agreement, a series of negotiations were held. In order to show that Manchukuo was an independent sovereign nation, Japan sent the governor of Khinggan North Province, Lingsheng, as the chief delegate of Manchukuo. For the same purpose, the Soviets sent the Mongolian People's Republic's foreign minister, Sangbu, as the chief delegate of the Mongolian People's Republic. These negotiations gave Lingsheng and Sangbu an opportunity to establish secret contacts with each other. Lingsheng's goal was to use the power of Outer Mongolia and the Soviet Union to release Inner Mongolia from Japanese control. Sangbu's purposes were to use Japanese power to eliminate Soviet domination of Outer Mongolia. The Japanese soon discovered these secret contacts and arrested Lingsheng as a traitor to Manchukuo. Beside this political conspiracy, Lingsheng was hated by the Japanese for his personal relationship with Puyi and the proposed marriage between Lingsheng's son and Puyi's daughter. Originally, Lingsheng intended to gain tight control over the administration of Kinggan Northern Province, and thus prevent Japanese officials from exercising control over the province. His insistence on maintaining the original administrative power of the Mongols was unacceptable to the Japanese.

Lingsheng's secret contacts with "the enemy" gave the Japanese a good pretext to eliminate him and his group. On April 24, while the First Mongolian Congress in

Ujumuchin was in session, the Japanese executed Lingsheng, his second youngest brother, Fuling, who was then the commander of the Northern Kinggan Garrison troops; Lingsheng's younger sister's husband, Chunde, then a bureau head in Northern Kinggan Province; and Khuwalintai, a graduate of Waseda University in Tokyo and then the chief secretary of the Kinggan Northern Province Office.

The trials of these people were carried out in secrecy. Prince De and Wu Heling nevertheless obtained some information about these trials later. When Prince De met Tanaka Ryukichi prior to the congress, Prince De expressed his deep concern over Lingsheng's trial and asked Tanaka to convey his hopes for the release of Lingsheng by the Guandong Army. When the congress convened, Prince De and Wu Heling asked again, in the name of the Mongolian Congress, that the Guandong Army release Lingsheng. Tanaka's answer was that Lingsheng and his associates had already been executed. This bad news spread immediately to the congress, and as a result, the spirits of the Mongols in attendance were very much dampened. Prince So, Prince De, Prince Sungjingwangchug, Jodbajab, and Wu Heling, all personal acquaintances of Lingsheng, were all distressed at this news.

Lingsheng's execution led the Mongols in attendance at the congress to doubt Japanese support for Mongolian independence. This execution and the still-fresh memories of Nimaodzar's assassination made the Mongols realize what the future of Mongolia would be like under Japanese domination. These matters not only greatly distressed and disappointed the Mongols in attendance at the congress, but also had a very negative impact on the leaders of Alashan, Ejine, Tumud, and Yekejuu. Damzana even ceased his contacts with the Mongolian Political Council because of its entanglements with the Japanese Guandong Army. Su Baofeng, the delegate from Ejine Banner, after returning to Bat-khaalag from Ujumuchin, left for Nanjing, never to return. The leaders of the Yekejuu League and the Tumud Banner of course also tried to avoid entanglements with Mongols under Japanese domination.

The death of Lingsheng greatly affected the Mongols in Manchukuo. Those Mongol officials who dared resist the Japanese officials altered their hard lines toward the Japanese. The governor of the Southern Kinggan Province, Prince Yeshikhaishun, who was very proud of his ancestral marriage relationships with the Manchu emperors, also tried to keep as quiet as a cicada in winter. The prince of Gorlos, Chimedsampil, then the minister of Mongolian Administration, who already had a reputation for being a submissive political subject, now became even more obsequious. Those nationalistic Mongols with sincere hopes for Japanese assistance to Mongolia in the future were also greatly disappointed. This might be why they left Manchukuo and came to western Inner Mongolia, placing themselves under the leadership of Prince De or secretly contacted the international Communist organizations in search of a new path for Mongolia's future.

News of the execution of Lingsheng and his group under the pretext of putting down their conspiracy with Outer Mongolia attracted the attention of the Soviet intelligence organizations. The Soviets discovered the activities of the Outer Mongolian foreign minister, Sangbu, and carried out a grand-scale liquidation of Sangbu and his associates.