

MONGOLIAN INDEPENDENCE

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MONGOLIAN INDEPENDENCE

I. HISTORICAL

The currently prominent subject of Mongolian independence or autonomy is not a recent issue but on the contrary, one that has involved CHINA and later RUSSIA, then still later JAPAN, over a period of centuries. Historically, the MONGOL's case (that is principally Outer MONGOLIA) may be said to be quite a strong one.

In earlier days the areas comprising the present day MONGOLIAS, MANCHURIA, HSING CHIANG and the Russian border provinces and mongol states\* were mainly peopled by fierce and warlike TURKO-TARTAR groups whose principal occupation was exploiting and raiding the land and peoples in the comparatively lush and fertile valleys of present day CHINA proper, to the South. It was against these incursions of the "NORTHERN BARBARIANS", that the Chinese emperor CHIN SHIH HUANG (249-206 B.C.) built the "GREAT WALL OF CHINA".

Around the Fourth Century, A.D., these Northern peoples had gradually come to devoting nearly full time to a struggle for power amongst themselves and by about the seventh century the MONGOL groups had begun to assume political ascendancy over the others. However, by the tenth century (circa 930) another group of people, the KHITANS\*\*, were in the ascendant for a short period until they themselves were overthrown by the NUCHENS\*\* who founded the KIN (Chin-Golden) dynasty in 1115 A.D. and ruled

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\*See Map

\*\*The KHITANS and the NUCHENS are the progenitors of the MANCHUS as such at the start of the MANCHU (CH'ING) DYNASTY, in CHINA before their assimilation by the Chinese.

over the territory approximately embracing the present day MONGOLIAS, MARCHURIA, HSIN CHIANG (and the now Russian territories) KHABAROVSK, CHITA and MARITIME TERRITORY, until they (the KHENS) were overthrown by the MONGOL hordes of GHEENGIS KHAN in 1234.

After GHEENGIS KHAN had solidified his position in the north, he turned his eyes and armies Southward and by 1279 had practically over-run all of CHINA and in that year established the YUEN dynasty under his grandson KUBLAI KHAN, and set up The Capital within Chinese Territory at PEKING. The Dynasty however, was short lived. In 1368 the CHINESE revolted and drove the MONGOLS back over the "Great Wall", establishing the purely CHINESE MING dynasty. The expelled MONGOLS, continuing their internecine strife eventually resolved into three main groups, the Northern, Southern and Western, and for the next two hundred and fifty odd years were engaged in a continuous series of bloody struggles with the CHINESE and the MANGCHUS but mainly amongst themselves, for supreme power over all the MONGOLS.

By the close of this period, CHINA, weakened by the MONGOL wars and JAPANESE attacks and occupation of her coasts south of the YANGTZE, found herself engaged in a bitter struggle with the MANGCHUS, who had allied themselves with the southern MONGOLS to defeat the CHA HAR MONGOLS\* and were thus in a position (with their flank protected) to invade CHINA proper through CHA HAR\*. This they proceeded to do, eventually placing a MANGCHU on the "Dragon Throne", in PEKING, thus founding the "CHING" (CLEAR) Dynasty in 1644.

After establishing themselves in CHINA, the MANGCHUS retained their

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\*See map

SOUTHERN MONGOL alliance and further shrewdly played the MONGOL groups against each other until all three groups were exhausted and finally they had no choice but to acknowledge the CHING emperor in PEKING as emperor of all the MONGOLS. Unlike the MONGOLS, the MANCHUS quickly absorbed CHINESE culture and philosophy and in turn were assimilated by the CHINESE so as to become practically indistinguishable today.

RUSSIAN interest became prominent in the early 17th century, when the RUSSIAN penetration into SIBERIA extended to the basin of the AMUR RIVER\* (Chinese - HEI LUNG CHIANG) which finally led to conflict with the newly established MANCHU regime in PEKING. A temporary settlement was reached by the treaty of NERCHINSK in 1689 under which the RUSSIANS retired beyond the AMUR and ARGUN Rivers\*, however by 1847 the RUSSIANS were again exploring the AMUR basin and founding settlements along the river and seacoast without reference to the CHINESE who had been occupied with the "Opium War", and vain attempts to halt the flood of Western penetration. In 1851 NICOLAEVSK and MARIINSK, and in 1853, ALEXANDROVSK and CONSTANTINOVSCK were founded on strictly CHINESE territory\* over a Chinese protest, but this was finally regularized (under pressure) by the treaties of AIGUN in 1858 and the PEKING Convention in 1860.

When DR. SUN IAT SEN's NATIONALISTS overthrew the MANCHU regime in 1911 and established the republic, and as the succeeding power the new republic laid claim to all MONGOLIA. The MONGOLS, however, claimed they too were continuously opposing the MANCHUS and that with the overthrowing of the Empire they were ipso-facto also freed and so declared their independence. The MONGOLS of Northwest HSIN CHIANG (Chinese Turkestan)

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\*See map

however, owing to the old cleavage between the three groups did not join the OUTER MONGOLIAN nationalists in declaring independence. Neither did the INNER MONGOLIANS (CHAHAR, SUIYUAN, NINGHSIA, KANSU)\*, thus leaving the present day OUTER MONGOLIA as the "big voice" of nationalism north of the Great Wall.

RUSSIA actively supported the MONGOLIAN claims to independence and CHINESE-RUSSIAN-MONGOLIAN treaties were signed in November 1913 at PEKING (and in June 1915) granting the right of self government to OUTER MONGOLIA\*\* and recognizing the special interests of RUSSIA, but acknowledging the sovereignty of CHINA over OUTER MONGOLIA. Later, during the period of RUSSIAN weakness in 1919, the Chinese forced an agreement to the cancellation of OUTER MONGOLIAN autonomy but this also was short-lived owing to the intense politic-religious intrigue which finally resulted in violent disorder and bloodshed\*\*\*, and the RUSSIANS set up another autonomous OUTER MONGOLIA with the URGA LIVING BUDDHA as the nominal ruler under SOVIET tutelage until his death in 1923 upon which no successor was

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\*See map

\*\*Less OBRILANGHAI (TANNU TAWA see map), which had always been considered part of OUTER MONGOLIA but had apparently been inadvertently left out of both the Russian and Chinese Surveys and plans at the Border demarcation following the Treaty of Nerchinsk. It was claimed by Russia, China and Mongolia and was finally made an independent state under Soviet Russian tutelage and now called TANNU-TAWA.

\*\*\*This was in no small part due to the machinations of the infamous BARON URGEEH STERNBERG, a maniacal leader of Anti-communist (white Russian) forces who had gained complete control of the LIVING BUDDHA of URGA (KHOTOKHTO) and set him up as a ruler (BOGDO KHAN) of all MONGOLIA, claiming the allegiance of all the MONGOL princes. The Chinese occupation army in OUTER MONGOLIA was slaughtered practically to a man. But STERNBERG was successful in his attempt to take INNER MONGOLIA from CHINA and join it to OUTER MONGOLIA. He was finally captured and killed by the Soviets.

~~TOP SECRET ULTRA~~

appointed and the government gradually took a more soviet form and in 1924 a constitution was promulgated. This disorder overflowed into INNER MONGOLIA where the intriguers attempted to split the INNER MONGOLIAN Leagues\* into opposing factions and consolidate INNER MONGOLIA with OUTER MONGOLIA under a single ruler, the "Living Buddha of Urga". However the Inner Mongolians had been in closer cultural association with the CHINESE and Sinocised MANCHUS and this, plus the unhealed sores of ancient disaffection, had resulted in their drifting farther and farther from the Outer Mongols. As the Princes considered they would have more practical independence under a nominal allegiance to CHINA they did not join the revolution.

## II. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

At the time of the Sino-Japanese conflict in 1937, the status of OUTER MONGOLIA was approximately as follows: The form of government was Soviet Socialist Republican, which was in practice, affiliated to the U.S.S.R. and treated by them as autonomous, but at the same time, formally recognized by the U.S.S.R. as under Chinese sovereignty. The Mongolian government repudiated the Chinese claim to sovereignty and considered itself as independent. The actual governing of the people

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\*The socio-political units of the MONGOLS, comprised six leagues in pre-war (1937) INNER MONGOLIA, the JERIN, JOSOTO, JO-UDE, SILINGOL, OLONCHAB, and the SUIYUAN TURETS and three leagues in HSICHIAN (Chinese Turkestan), the UJEN-SUSUKTU, BATO SETKHILU, and CHING SETKHILU. The leagues are composed of several tribes consisting of one to ten odd "Banners" which more or less follow occupational pursuits such as herdsmen, farmers, hunters, etc. The leagues are ruled by hereditary Princes with varying degrees of autonomy.

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was only moderately Soviet and closely followed the old Mongolian tribal rule.\* Russian participation and Russian advisors have been reduced to a minimum and consist mostly of bi-lingual Buriat Mongols.\*\*

By 1934 JAPANESE intrigue in inner Mongolia and North China forced the Chinese to establish a Mongolian autonomous Political Council with headquarters at PAI LING HIAO in SUYAN. Subsequently an increased influx of JAPANESE agents and continued intrigue including liberal bribes and the promise of more independence with future complete autonomy resulted during the latter part of 1937, in some Japanese success. Prince Teh Wang was persuaded to ally himself with the JAPANESE and a new administration under the name of MENG CHANG was set up. It enjoys a semi-autonomous status in that while it is theoretically subordinate to the NANKING government which has nominal authority over all of Japanese occupied CHINA\*\*\*it is plentifully supplied with Japanese "advisors", who have their own ideas, so MENG CHANG pursues a fairly Independent (Japanese Guided) existence with practically no interference from NANKING.

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\*Soviet doctrines have in recent years been soft-pedaled where they are in too great conflict with tradition. Also the Mongols do not take too kindly to collectivisation. There was at least one important revolt (1932) in Western Outer Mongolia which was nationalistic and anti-soviet in form, and there have been instances where rather large groups (several thousand) of Outer Mongolians, discontented with the Soviet system, have escaped over the border into Inner Mongolia. The backbone of the Outer Mongolian revolution and independence remains the Army which has shown a great amount of solidarity. It is made up of volunteers and selectively conscripted recruits with a considerable number of Russian "Officer-instructors", but the executive commanders are all Mongolians.

\*\*Separated from Outer Mongolia by the Treaty of Nerchinsk. Now a semi-autonomous A.S.S.R. (see map)

\*\*\*Mengchiang maintains diplomatic representatives in Tokyo, Hainking (Manchukuo) and Peiking - but not in Nanking.

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The actual boundaries of MING CHANG except for the border with Outer Mongolia, are highly indefinite but they may be taken roughly to include those parts of Inner Mongolia under Japanese control plus certain parts of Western Manchuria.

A recent development regarding Mongolia, is the prominence of third party interest in Soviet Russia's intentions, which has evoked an unusual amount of speculation and opinion. The gist of these are summed up in an intelligence report from the Japanese Consul in Harbin to Tokyo on 29 March containing information which he says he had heard from Soviet Consul General Palitiov. The report states in part:

"The Soviet government has decided to found a "MONGOLIAN PEOPLES REPUBLIC" during this year. Once this is done, it will proceed in the name of the republic to build up a vast federated nation which will embrace Inner Mongolia and the areas west of Ts'i Ts'i Harh which are inhabited by Mongolians.\*\*"

Although the bulk of this speculation may be based on rumor, past history plus the analysis of collateral information indicates the likelihood of such a move. There is some evidence also that it may be

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accomplished (at least in Part) without too much difficulty.\*

It may be taken for granted that such an "ANSCHEISS" would not be opposed by the present Outer Mongolian government,\*\* but there is considerable doubt as to how popular the movement would be with the Inner Mongolians as a whole regardless of any agreements the Princes may make unless backed up by a strong military force such as the case of Japanese army at present. Militating against the success of a GREATER MONGOLIA would be the ancient cleavage between the Mongolian tribes, and the fact that the latest estimates show a considerably greater population of CHINESE and Chinese-assimilated MONGOLS than pure Mongols who would consider Outer Mongolian rule more alien than rule by China,\*\*\* It is probable also, that as the great majority of the peoples of Inner Mongolia have gradually adopted the Chinese type of agrarian economy and conser-

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\*On 3rd July, the U.S.H. Attache' in Chungking reported that his CHINESE contacts indicate that the Chinese are willing to concede Outer Mongolian Autonomy in order to gain U.S.S.R. support. (DIP SUM #1202) A Japanese comment states that the KWO MIN TANG 6th plenary session recommended that a large measure of Autonomy be granted Outer Mongolia and this may be a conditioning of the people's mind toward the granting of complete independence to Outer Mongolia.

\*\*YAZATA, the Japanese Minister in KAILAN reported to Tokyo on 21 June that "a number of Mongols who profess to be Japanese agents have been acting quite suspiciously" and he suspects some sort of Mongolian plot, and further that the Outer Mongolians are originating rumors that Outer Mongolia favors the restoration of LAMAISM (Note: The BUDDHIST church and the state were separated with the death of the URGA LIVING BUDDHA in 1924) in order to win the favor of the INNER MONGOLIANS.

On the 19th of June TOGO advised SATO in MOSCOW that Soviet influence had penetrated remarkably far into certain portions of INNER MONGOLIA. (DIP SUM #1206 - 14 July 1945)

\*\*\*A German observer in 1944 reported the population of MENG CHIANG as 5,500,000 Chinese and 160,000 Mongolians (Note: there are about 1,300,000 Mongolians scattered throughout MANCHUKUO) - H-198889

vation they would not take kindly to such communistic doctrines as collectivisation that are current in Outer Mongolia.\*

The only internal factor operating toward the success of a GREATER MONGOLIA would be the eternal hope of the MONGOL Princes for complete independence which through the centuries they have seen less and less chance for attaining, and toward which end the Princes have successively allied themselves with the MANGCHUS, the CHINESE and the JAPANESE and in each case have been sadly disillusioned. Since last May Prince Teh Wang has been negotiating with the JAPANESE for a revision of the MING CHIANG basic law and a new charter. The Prince proposed to call the new charter the, "MONGOLIAN AUTONOMOUS ACT", but the JAPANESE objected on the grounds that it "might cause complications with NANKING", and asked TEH to postpone the question, remarking: "TEH WANG's hopes for independence cannot be fulfilled immediately--however there is no objection to having the charter provide for an extension of TEH WANG's term of office.\*\*

In view of Prince Teh's current disillusionment, it is quite probable that he is now willing to turn to OUTER MONGOLIA as a last hope,\*\*\*

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\*The Japanese minister in KALGAN reporting on conditions there states in part: " - - - as a result of such uneasy feelings as described, there are rumors that men of resources in the local population are in secret collusion with the enemy and transferring their money and other goods to the CHUNGKING (controlled) district." (Note: The Mongolians in Western Suiyuan have remained loyal to the Chungking government. There is a U.S. Naval camp under COMNAV GROUP CHINA in the vicinity of SHENPA in W. Suiyuan who report excellent cooperation from the local Mongols.)

\*\*DIP SUN #1181, 19 June 1945.

\*\*\*The U.S. Embassy in Chungking has forwarded a Chinese Intelligence report to the effect that TEH WANG had sent emissaries to negotiate with the OUTER MONGOLIAN government - possibly toward independence.

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especially as he sees the decline of Japanese fortunes in the GREATER EAST ASIA WAR and is not sure how much clemency he may expect at the hands of the CHINESE in case the JAPANESE are driven out of MENGCHIANG.

As independent OUTER MONGOLIA, or better still, GREATER MONGOLIA, would no doubt have the full support of the U.S.S.R. and would be in accordance with SOVIET RUSSIA's apparent policy to establish a "CORDON SANITAIRE IN REVERSE", of autonomous or independent pro-soviet states around the entire perimeter of that vast country. There is little doubt that the U.S.S.R. is at present conducting negotiations with CHINA and OUTER MONGOLIA toward CHINESE recognition of OUTER MONGOLIAN independence plus some border rectification in relation to INNER MONGOLIA, if not inclusion of certain pure Mongolian Tribal areas with OUTER MONGOLIA.\*

It goes without saying, that CHINA will strongly oppose any move toward the loss or potential loss of the great expanse of territory known as INNER MONGOLIA or that part of it now controlled by the JAPANESE under the name of MENGCHIANG where the pure Mongolian population is actually a small minority. Some INNER MONGOLIAN areas have long been administered as CHINESE provinces and contain the only known and workable oil deposits in CHINA, as well as other valuable minerable wealth. It is not believed that a renunciation of territorial sovereignty over OUTER MONGOLIA, which would in fact merely amount to the recognition and regularization of a fait - accompli, would cause a great amount of dissatisfaction in CHINA, particularly if it were paid for in the current coin of a workable SINO-RUSSIAN understanding.

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\*In case of desirability or necessity, either while the country is under JAPANESE or CHINESE rule there is always the time honored method of expansion and border rectification via the "BORDER INCIDENT METHOD", for which the ground work may be unostentatiously laid well in advance...On June 21 the Japanese minister in KALGAN reported "recently the Outer Mongolians have reinforced their patrol forces on the Inner Mongolian border which is highly indefinite" and that there had been a long series of Border violations in the vicinity of DARIANGA. (DIP SUN #1206).



TANNU TUVA  
S.S.R.

O U T E R M O

HSINCHIANG  
(CHINESE TURKESTAN)

KANSU

I N  
NINGHSIA

TSINGHAI

52°

48°

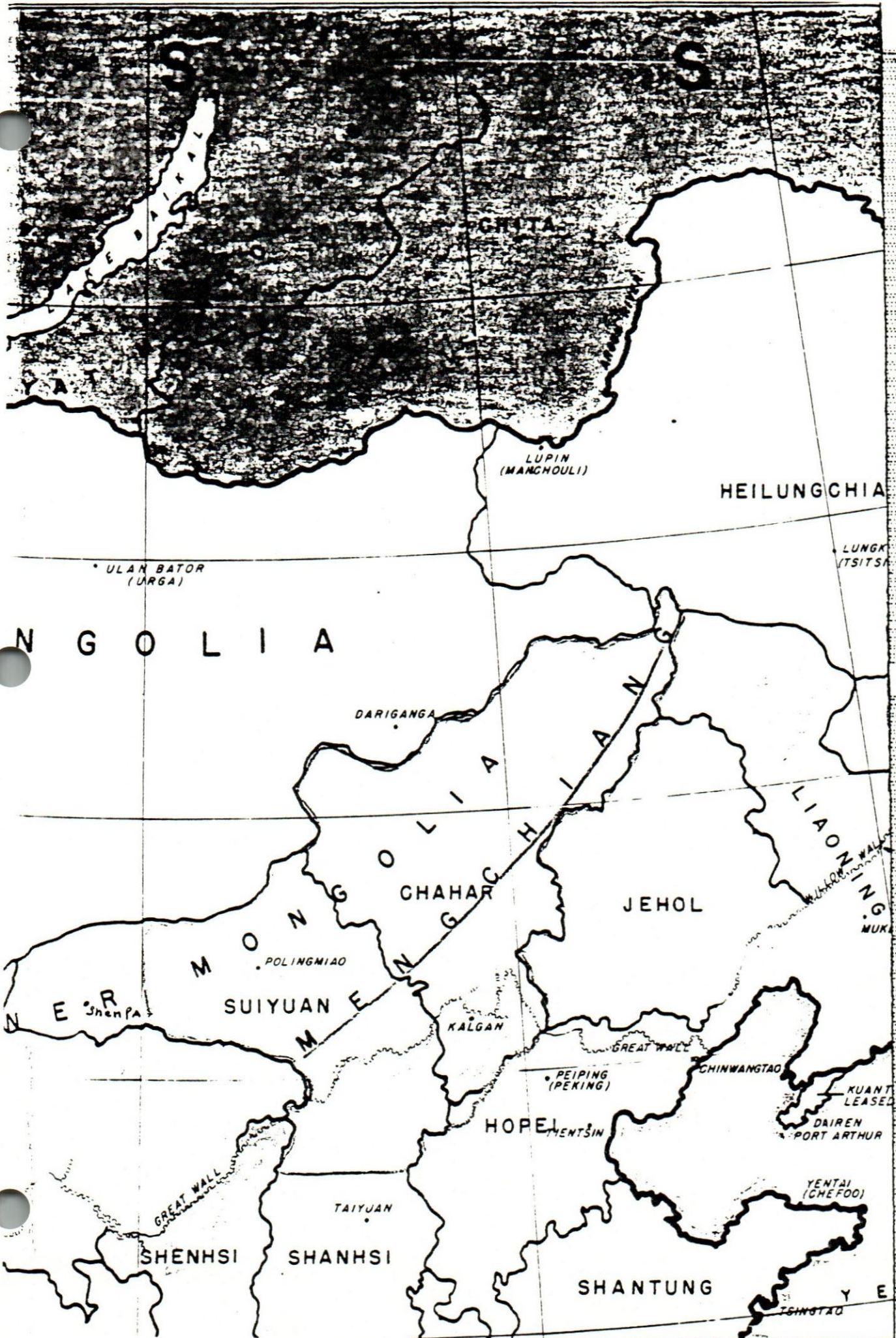
44°

40°

30°

90°

100°



MONGOLIA

HEILUNGCHIA

NEER

SUIYUAN

CHAHAR

JEHOL

HOPEI

SHANTUNG

SHENHSI

SHANHSI

LIANONING

ULAN BATOR (URGA)

LUPIN (MANGHOULI)

LUNGK (TSTITSA)

DARIGANGA

POLINGMIAO

KALGAN

PEIPING (PEKING)

CHINWANGTAO

KUANT LEASED

DAIREN PORT ARTHUR

YENTAI (CHEFOO)

TSINGTAO

GREAT WALL

GREAT WALL

WALLO

MUKA

YE

