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SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT NO. [REDACTED]

1. During December 1948 and January 1949, Racialist Mongol leaders in the Nanking-Shanghai area departed in two directions: one group went to the Northwest after Prince TE left Nanking in January for Lanchow to join the Racialist Mongols in the Alashan area,¹ and the other went to Taiwan and Canton. The Racialist Mongols on Taiwan settled mostly in the area of Pingtung (Heito), near the port of Kachsiung (Takao). Since February the Mongols in the Northwest have been under the leadership of Prince TE, Prince TA of Alashan Banner (105-36, 38-48) and others.
2. In addition to lending moral support to Prince TE's move and sending letters of encouragement to the Northwest, the Racialist Mongols on Taiwan decided to work out, along practical lines, a flexible plan for future efforts towards Mongol independence.² Their first step was to organize the Mongolian Restoration Association (MRA).³ At present this small, underground organization has no officers and is only a political framework for future activities. Aside from the ideological considerations, it was established for the following reasons:
 - a. The Racialist Mongols hope to have an operating organizational framework and a base on Taiwan to which Racialist Mongol leaders now in the Northwest could go in the event that a concerted Chinese Communist attack on the area made Prince TE's present position untenable.
 - b. They hope that Taiwan will be placed under United Nations or U.S. control and that they will thus be protected from Kuomintang and Chinese Communist elements which are still trying to infiltrate and hinder them.
 - c. They wish to establish an overt organization composed of Racialist Mongol political and military leaders and intelligentsia which can formulate long-range plans for a new Mongol nation and establish liaison with the U.S. in order to secure American aid.
 - d. They feel that unless there is outright U.S. intervention in China, including the Northwest and Taiwan, the most they can hope for is a small group under Prince TE which would attempt to survive politically in Tsinghai Province or Tibet.
 - e. They hope, as a last resort, to have a group which could serve as a

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"Mongolian Restoration Government in Exile" in the U.S.

In order to refute any argument on the part of some Mongols and foreign observers that the establishment of the MRA was a last-minute attempt to find a comfortable niche and to lean on the U.S., the Racialist Mongol leaders on Taiwan made certain that they had the concurrence and support of the Northwest Mongol leaders before proceeding with the organization. They do not wish to give the impression that this move is a recurrence of the Japanese-sponsored Mongol movement which grew out of the Sino-Japanese War. Thus, the establishment of the MRA represents a step in the unification of Racialist Mongols rather than a split into two factions.

3. Jirgalang, one of the leaders of the MRA, will inform Racialist Mongols on the mainland of the MRA, and many of them will want to join the organization. The problem of keeping the group as select as possible without admitting too many of the undesirable, opportunistic type of Mongol politician is one of the delicate tasks facing the MRA. Such men as PAI Yün-t'1, Chairman of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, LI Yung-hsin and LI Shou-hsin, opportunistic CC Clique Mongols, will not be invited to join. LI Yung-hsin and LI Shou-hsin are now with their followers in the Taichung vicinity of Taiwan.
4. The initiative in forming the MRA was taken by WU Ho-ling (吳鶴齡),³ Legislative Yuan member Jirgalang, Mongol military leader Ukudui (WU Ku-t'ing/烏古庭),³ National Assembly delegates Jagchitsechin and Urgunbo, and others. On 12 March 1949 the MRA (Meng Ku Chen Hsing Hui/蒙古振興會) was organized in P'ingtung, Taiwan. Included among Racialist Mongols who took part in forming the MRA were the following:

Jirgalang

Ukudui⁴

Jagchitsechin⁵

Uanasechin (Chinese name: PAO Kuo-1/包國義)

Urgunbo (Urgungge, Urrgungbe)⁶

Aminbuhe, 33 years of age, a native of Harchin Right Flank Banner, Josoto League. He is a graduate of the Japanese Army Officers Academy and was Chief-of-Staff of the Northeast Mongol Banners Joint Command. His older brother is Ukudui.

Uniorta, 29 years of age, a native of Tumet Central Banner, Josoto League. He was graduated from the Senior Middle School of the Antung (124-23, 40-09) Forestry College. At one time he was an Associate Councillor of the Mongol People's Welfare Association and Acting Chief of Tumet Center Banner and Head of the General Service Section of the banner government. He is one of the most active of all Racialist Mongols formerly in Nanking and now on Taiwan.

5. Because he had been absent from his official duties in Nanking for some time, Jirgalang left Taipei for Nanking on 3 April 1949 to resume his work with the Legislative Yuan. In Nanking he was to have awaited word from Prince TE and his group regarding an official Mongol delegation to LI Tsung-jen. The MRA plans to have Jirgalang, WU Ho-ling and a few others meet with LI in order to obtain some kind of official statement from the Central Government regarding the status of Mongols in China. This delegation hopes to receive permission to establish at least a limited, but legal, Mongol autonomous government in the Northwest with the official approval of the Central Government. The delegation will naturally ask for complete independence, but they know this will not be granted. However, they hope that by setting their price high, the resulting bargain may be some sort of autonomy, and Racialist Mongols make no secret of the fact that if they are successful in obtaining such, they will make overt and official requests of United States officials for aid.
6. Prince TE has already requested WU Ho-ling to come to the Northwest to assist in the political organization of the Mongols there. The Mongols realize that

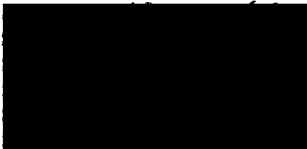
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WU's political "know-how" is almost indispensable to any concerted Mongol political effort, yet many Mongols resent him. They do not like his blunt straightforwardness, his tendency to domineer, his quick temper and his Harchin Banner birth, the last because Harchin Mongols have poor reputations among other Mongols. However, he is confident of his abilities and is sincere in wanting to promote racial freedom for the Mongols.

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8 under "Mongolian Representatives."

paragraph 41 under "Mongolian Representatives."

Enclosures: 1 document written by an MRA member and translated from the Mongol language.

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Reasons for the Establishment of the Mongolian Restoration Association (MRA)

1. We Mongols have our own people, land, political organization, language, culture, a glorious history, healthy traditions and the desire to become independent. However, up to the present, under the oppression of the USSR and China, we have suffered untold hardships and tasted all the bitterness of an enslaved and crushed people. Today, in the 20th century, when all the oppressed nations and peoples in the world are rising, shaking off their shackles and regaining their freedom, we must also live up to our responsibility as Mongols by fighting against oppressive imperialists for the attainment of racial freedom and the building of a Mongol nation. There is no time to waste. We have therefore gathered together some of the Mongol Racial Principle Advocates and organized the Mongolian Restoration Association in order to carry on our sacred struggle.
2. We Mongols believe that the fight for freedom and independence of an oppressed race is in accord with the true spirit of the 20th century and with the principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter. It is the sacred duty of every Mongol to participate in the great task of liberating the Mongol race, a task in which we hope our American friends will help. Today, with the world divided into two opposite camps, there are only two roads open for the Mongols-- to approach the democratic camp or to join the ranks of the Communists. We Mongols, in order to help in the maintenance of world culture, the upholding of basic human rights and the lasting existence of democratic freedom, and to attain the independence of the Mongol race, have chosen the democratic course in order to oppose invasion and oppression by the Communists. We have, therefore, organized the Mongolian Restoration Association and begun our national recovery movement.
3. The Communist parties all over the world are now acting under the direction of the USSR. Communists are particularly active in all parts of Asia, especially in China, where the situation is extremely critical. Lately, the USSR has become increasingly active in connection with Inner Mongolia, and the rumor of the establishment of an Inner Mongolian Autonomous Republic has attracted considerable attention, primarily among Mongols. Therefore, in order to deal with this situation, we Mongol Racial Principle Advocates must intensify our work. Otherwise, we shall never be able to stop our common enemy, and this will not only have unfortunate consequences for the Mongols but also for the United States and other democratic countries of the world.

The Political Program of the MRA

1. The MRA political program includes the following major points:
 - a. Our ultimate aim is to unite all Mongols, do away with all oppression, liberate our people and establish a truly sovereign, democratic, independent nation.
 - b. We shall work for the abolition of all systems opposed to the people's rights, for the promotion of the people's welfare and for the attainment of a true democracy.
 - c. In the economic field, we shall work for the recognition of the private ownership of property, for the elevation of the living standards of the people and for the state-ownership of all important enterprises that are closely connected with the independence of the nation.
 - d. In the cultural and educational fields, we shall work to broaden the people's horizons, to promote the true Mongol spirit, to introduce information from foreign lands and to enforce mass education, with particular emphasis on the training of specialists in all fields.

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- e. We are willing to accept the lasting friendship and cooperation of those nations and peoples in the world which sympathize with the independence movement of Mongolia and which help us materially.
- f. We are willing to aid in the struggle of all nations in the world which are in a position similar to that of Mongolia and are fighting for their freedom.
- g. The MRA represents all the Mongol race and is fighting for the interests of the whole race. The MRA does not represent, nor does it aim to protect the interests of, any one particular class of people. The hope of the MRA is that all Mongols will support the principles of the MRA and unite to fight for our common cause.

Regulations of the MRA

5. The following regulations were passed at the First General Assembly held by the Association members. These regulations may be revised in the future only by the Members' Representative General Assembly.
 - a. Name: the name of the Association shall be the Mongolian Restoration Association (Monggol i Mandogoloho Moral).
 - b. Guiding principle: the guiding principle of the MRA shall be to fight for racial freedom and to promote the people's welfare.
 - c. Members: all Mongols who support the above guiding principle and have been introduced by two or more members of the MRA and approved by the Association Committee shall be accepted as members of the MRA.
 - d. Organization: the highest organ of the MRA shall be the Members' Representative General Assembly. Under the General Assembly there shall be the Association Committee, members of which shall be elected at the General Assembly. The Committee shall be responsible for carrying out the resolutions of the General Assembly. Branch Associations shall be established in all suitable places.
 - e. Funds: funds for the MRA shall be raised in various ways by the members of the MRA.

First Period Work Plan for the MRA

6. Since the MRA has been established, its work must be begun in earnest. However, the restoration of the Mongol nation cannot be accomplished overnight. We have therefore divided the work into separate periods. The following is the work plan for the first period. We must lead our fellow Mongols on the road to national reconstruction. In connection with this work, we must first accomplish the following:
 - a. Draft an over-all plan for the national reconstruction in accordance with the basic principles set forth in the political program of the MRA and taking into consideration world trends and the actual situation in Mongolia. We must also devise ways and means of putting the plan into effect.
 - b. Train staff workers: we must select reliable and resolute workers from among the members and give them adequate training, so that they may fully understand the meaning of, and ways of attaining, the restoration of the Mongol nation. These men shall then be sent to work in various areas. We must also select outstanding young members of the MRA for studies in the United States. These men shall become the future staff workers of the MRA. In connection with this matter, we must ask the United States Government for special facilities.
 - c. Carry out certain basic operations: in order to strengthen the MRA's

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relations with the various local areas, we must begin our basic operations. In view of the current situation, we must establish MRA Branch Associations in at least the following five places:

- (1) The army in West Mongolia: we must establish an MRA Branch Association among the Mongol troops concentrated in West Mongolia in order to be able to direct the army and establish contact with the Mongol units in other areas and lead them on the road to national reconstruction.
 - (2) Alashan: at present the majority of the Mongol patriots (mostly Racial Principle Advocates) are concentrated in the Alashan area. We must therefore speedily establish an MRA Branch Association in that area and also dispatch men to work or wait in areas controlled by the Chinese Communists.
 - (3) Wangyehmiao (new Mongol name given by YUN Tse's government: Ulagan Hota¹): Wangyehmiao is the Chinese Communist center in Inner Mongolia, and the establishment of an MRA Branch Association there should not be easy. However, we must select courageous and reliable members to infiltrate into Wangyehmiao to establish a secret base there. If the plan succeeds, it will facilitate our work immeasurably.
 - (4) Japan: there is a considerable number of outstanding Mongol youths still studying in colleges and universities in Japan--Tokyo, Morioka, etc. The majority of these students are extremely patriotic and an MRA Branch Association established among them would doubtlessly grow into a helpful and influential organization.
 - (5) Peiping: at present there are over 2,000 Mongols--youths, military and political leaders, etc.--still in Peiping. Almost all of them went to Peiping with the aim of opposing Communism, but unfortunately, when Peiping fell to the Chinese Communists, these Mongols became the prisoners of the Communists. We hope that they were not all removed to other areas or killed by the Chinese Communists, and we must find a way to contact what was a large Mongol anti-Communist group in Peiping in order to prepare for the establishment of an MRA Branch Association there.
- d. Build up the basic armed force: we Mongols must build an army around the nucleus of the units of Ukudui and HSIUNG No. This army shall be responsible to the MRA and shall serve the cause of the Mongol people. HSIUNG No's unit, numbering about 600 men, is now stationed in Chung Kung Banner, while Ukudui's unit has already reached Wuchuan (111-25, 41-07) in Suiyuan Province. All effort is being made to have these two units retain their special nature and unit designations which characterize them as Mongol troops in order to prevent their being merged with any of the local troops and to facilitate command of them by Mongol leaders when the proper time comes. However, the officers and men of these two units have no access whatever to supplies. It is earnestly hoped therefore that the United States Government will assist these units if at all possible. The majority of the troops in Ukudui's unit have fought against the Chinese Communists since the occupation of Wangyehmiao by the latter. They fought in Chinchou, Mukden, etc., and, after the total collapse of the Nationalist Army, they fought on against the Chinese Communists, even penetrating the latter's rear defenses and occupying Lintung (118-58, 43-51). They finally arrived in Wuchuan via Chahar League. This factor alone is sufficient to prove the fighting ability of the Mongol troops and their refusal to surrender even under the most hopeless conditions.
- e. Strengthen the various Mongol league and banner governments and promote the establishment of a united organization of leagues and banners in order to accelerate the work of national reconstruction.
- f. Publish propaganda materials: before the MRA emerges into the open, we

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shall endeavor to establish an ordinary bookstore to publish books on the history of Mongolia, the fight for independence and freedom of the various races in the world, biographies of the national Mongol patriots, etc., and otherwise engage in subtle propaganda activities to instill in the Mongol people the ideas of national reconstruction and to unify them. This bookstore would greatly assist in the need for informing the people of the United States and other democratic countries regarding Mongol affairs and would also serve the propaganda fight against Communism.

7. We must obtain the sympathy and aid of the United States Government and people. In connection with this, we Mongols must first accomplish the following:
 - a. Assure close contact: we must devise a sure means of assuring close contact between the MRA and United States officials.
 - b. Supply the United States Government with information on Mongolia. The MRA should collect and systematically arrange materials on the past, present and future of Mongolia and on all matters concerned with the national reconstruction problem in order to present them to the United States Government for reference in connection with its giving aid to Mongolia. Moreover, those materials which can be made public should be published in book form in order to acquaint the American public and people all over the world with the true situation in Mongolia and win their sympathy.
 - c. Promote friendly relations between the United States and Mongolia: in order to obtain United States aid, the MRA should dispatch men to the United States to introduce Mongolia to the American people and to study the democratic culture of the United States in order to promote mutual understanding and friendship between the two countries. We must therefore make arrangements for outstanding young members to study English, and we also hope that our American friends will study Mongolian in order to facilitate future cooperation.
8. We must ask the United States Government for aid on the following five items:
 - a. Safety of the MRA: this Association is, in a sense, a Preparatory Committee for the establishment of the Mongol nation and also an organization representing the Mongols for carrying out pro-American and anti-Soviet activities. Therefore, the headquarters of the MRA should be in a safe place so that it may successfully carry out its work. The best location would be in one of those areas protected by the United States; should the United States take over control of the island of Taiwan, this would be a good location.
 - b. Postal and radio communication.
 - c. Transportation.
 - d. Advisers: in view of the difficulties confronting the MRA in its activities, it is hoped that the United States Government will appoint two men as advisers to aid in the execution of our work.
 - e. Funds: in all phases of our work, money is required. It is hoped that the United States Government will lend us a certain sum of money to enable us to begin our work. This loan shall be repaid with interest after the establishment of the Mongol nation. As an added precaution, the American advisers would control the administration of the fund.
9. The above plan covers our work for the first period, which, for the time being, is fixed at one year. During this one year, when the need arises for revising or supplementing the plan, we shall, of course, make necessary changes. If, during the year, there is a major change in the world situation, we shall draft a new plan to meet the new situation. All in all, we shall never rest until we have attained our final goal, the restoration of the Mongol nation.
 1. Pronounced "Ulan Hots."

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