

## 論文の英文要旨

論文題目	The Inner Mongolian autonomy movement and the Japanese foreign policy (1933~1945)
氏名	Gangbagana

The purpose of this study is to clarify the policies taken by the Japanese government regarding the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement which took place in the 1930's.

The "Inner Mongolia" is meant to be the western region of the Inner Mongolia where the autonomy movement originated. The subject of the present study will not be limited only to the Inner Mongolia issue; the Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War are also considered.

Upon considering the above-mentioned theme, the writer has paid special attention to the following two points: The first point is the consistency of the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement; namely, the Inner Mongolians' insistence on self-rule, i.e. the independence and the reconstruction of the Inner Mongolia. The second point is the multifaceted policies undertaken by the Japanese government vis-à-vis Inner Mongolia; namely, the multiple aspects of the Japanese government's foreign policy regarding the Inner Mongolia starting from the Manchurian Incident to the Pacific War.

This dissertation consists of eight chapters and it covers the progress of the autonomy movement, the shift in the international affairs and the change in the Japanese government's foreign policies, etc.

In the introductory chapter titled "presentation of the research topic and setting up a research perception", after organizing the priorities of the research, I have explained the international affairs movement in relation to the modern Inner Mongolia, and while considering the origins of the Japanese government's Manchuria policy, I have presented the issues and set up viewpoints of the research.

In the first chapter which is titled "The Beile-yin sume Conference and the formation of the framework for Japan-Mongolia co-operation", I have examined the involvement of Japan in "the Beile-yin sume autonomy movement" which gave rise to the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement. This problem is the most important subject in studies related to the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement and it is not an overstatement to claim that discussing this problem is a prerequisite to conducting research on the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement. That is because this problem is related to the Inner Mongolia Movement's independence and later, to the Mongolian

Allied Autonomous government and it can provide us with some clues regarding the issue that how we shall perceive the Mongolia autonomous government .

The Inner Mongolian autonomy movement was an internal movement and on this point it basically differs from "Manchukuo", which was unilaterally made by the Kwantung Army. At that time, the national government suspected that Japan's instigation might be in the background but that was actually not the case. It is a fact that, in the end, they cooperated with Japan but in this regard we can think, at least, of the following two reasons: The first is that the Nationalist Government did not give enough autonomy to the Mongolian side; meanwhile, it continued its oppressive policies. Another reason is that the Nationalist Government neglected to take proper measures against the Japanese government's Inner Mongolia policy.

In the second chapter titled "the structure of Japan's inner Mongolia policy seen from the Suiyuan incident" I have used the Suiyuan incident as an example to clarify the structural mechanism of the Japanese government's Inner Mongolia policies and examined how this incident impacted the Inner Mongolian Movement and Chinese-Japanese relations.

The Suiyuan incident was a military movement in which, in the middle of November of 1936, Prince Demchugdongrob attempted to drive away the influence of the Nationalist Party from Suiyuan and this action had an impact not only on the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement but also on the Chinese-Japanese relations. Nevertheless, most of the studies done previously have been written from the Chinese-Japanese relations' perspective and these studies have failed to mention how this incident affected the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement.

In the early phase of the Japanese policy vis-à-vis the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement, both the Japanese government side and the Kwantung Army side were dismissive of the Inner Mongolia independence but with the advance of the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement, the Kwantung Army gradually changed its policies to that of supporting the Inner Mongolia independence and this transformation is finally linked to the occurrence of the Suiyuan incident. The Japanese government, on the other hand, was dismissive of the Inner Mongolia independence from the beginning to the very end.

But because the Suiyuan incident ended up in Mongolian side being defeated, the Kwantung Army started showing the position that it was no longer in favor of acting ingeniously but rather it was taking the Japanese government side. At the same time, it greatly changed its policy from supporting the independence of the Inner Mongolia to that of consciously limiting this independence. It is needless to say that these policy

changes gave a big blow to the Inner Mongolian Independence Movement. This incident brought about a rift among the Japanese policy makers regarding the Inner Mongolia policy and this rift incoherency largely affected its future Inner Mongolia policies.

The third chapter is titled "the start of the Sino-Japanese war and Japan's Inner Mongolia policy", taken from the Japanese foreign policy's point of view, it deals with how Japan's Inner Mongolia Policy was structured and what its developments were after the Sino-Japanese war broke out and how the Japanese-Chinese relations took a new dimension.

Even though with the termination of the Suiyuan incident, the Japanese government and the Kwantung Army's mutual antagonism regarding the Inner Mongolia policies started to show a peaceful trend, after the breakout of the Sino-Japanese war it started to re-surface and this time it emerged with the problem that which side should control the Suiyuan region. Later on, the Kwantung Army opposed the government policies and established the Joint Committee of Mongolian Territories. On the other hand, since the Kwantung Army had collided with Prince Demchugdongrob and the Mongolian side was inclined to reconstruct the country, this brought about their fierce opposition and this in return became a reason why the Japanese government at one time introduced a draft titled "the policy for Inner Mongolian independence" which was later rejected for the sake of introduction of a new plan titled "the guideline for policies towards Mongolia".

The background to the reason why it was rejected in such a way was because of the constructed mechanism of the Japanese policy vis-à-vis Inner Mongolia. More specifically, at that time, Japan's Inner Mongolia policies were constructed with respect to China policy and this China policy itself had lacked a clear vision from the beginning and it changed constantly and this was one of the reasons why the Japan's Inner Mongolia Policy became volatile. In relation to Japan's China policy, the policies became even more volatile after two lines for Wang Zhaoming's maneuvering and for the Nationalist Government were set up.

At the end, Wang Zhaoming's maneuvering became mainstream and in the midst of the process of it becoming a national policy, because of consideration for his assertion, the problem of Inner Mongolian independence was once again rejected.

In the fourth chapter titled, "The tactics of China and Japan regarding the establishment of the Mongolian Autonomous State," while focusing on the Mongolian Autonomous State which has not been paid attention to so far, I have approached its development from the international regional interrelations perspective through countries such as Japan, China, Inner Mongolia and the Soviet Union, and with that I

have investigated the significance of the Mongolian Autonomous State in the modern Inner Mongolia.

In the researches done previously, there have not been any indication regarding the dissimilarities between the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government and the Mongolian Autonomous State and uniform conclusions were conspicuous in the previous researches. However, when we compare the two governments, we realize that they are basically different.

First, the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government was a government that was under the influence of the Japanese side's opinions, whereas the Mongolian Autonomous State was an administration composed of different administrations which had reached compromise amongst themselves. Thanks to Prince Demchugdongrob and the Mongol side's vigorous actions, there was compromise from the Japan side and as a result the Mongolian Autonomous State was established. But within this compromise, the huge brakes of "Wang Zhaoming" were put on. It suffices to mention that while accepting the usage of the name "the Mongolian Autonomous State", he had set the condition that the name should not be used externally for propaganda purposes.

During the Mongolian Autonomous State period, the Mongol region differed with the Han region in the respect that the Mongol region had gained and enjoyed self rule. In addition, thanks to the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee's great success they were able to achieve some success in Mongolian banners' construction work.

In the Inner Mongolia history, since the Mongolian Autonomous State enjoyed more "autonomy" and "recovery", we can say that its formation was a much more important event than the formation of the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government.

The fifth chapter titled, "formation of the the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee and Mongolian banners region's recovery project" I will clarify the characteristics, the purpose and the background in the formation of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee as an organization which became a leader in the construction project of Mongolian banners region during the Mongolian Autonomous State period. I have also discussed the role of the the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee in the Mongolian Autonomous State.

The Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee was an administrative organization which was established by the Mongolian Autonomous State. It did, by itself, administrate almost all the Mongolian banners region at that time. The purpose of its establishment had to do with the reconstruction project of the Mongolian banners region but in the background, it was not only the reconstruction of Mongolia but also the change in the international situation that had something to do with Japan having an eye on the

proceeds which would be gained from this reconstruction.

Upon the establishment of the Mongolian Rehabilitation Committee, "economic establishment, promulgation of education and improvement of the quality of life" became the three goals of the commission and they began a full-scale construction project. But even though, due to the complicated international climate during the time the construction project was weak and short-lived, it showed us toward a very important direction which merits discussion about the Inner Mongolian history during the Mongolian Autonomous State period. That is because the Mongolian Autonomous State had incorporated the two characteristics of "autonomy" and "self-rule" that it was able to distinguish itself per se from its predecessor the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government.

The 6th chapter titled, "Start of the Pacific war and the Japanese government's Inner Mongolia policies" deals with how Japan's Inner Mongolia policies were incorporated during the outburst of the Pacific War and the confusion that this war added to the International situation.

The direct reason for the outburst of the Pacific War was the rupture of negotiations between Japan and the US but "the uniqueness of Mengjiang region" and the problem of securing "the right to station troops" was also a reason. The Japanese side, the Japanese army in particular, insisted upon securing the continuation of stationing troops in the Mengjiang region and the last negotiations demanded an interval of 25 years for stationing the troops. For the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement, the mentioned 25 years was linked to the Mongolian banners region's autonomy and its reconstruction but it led to plunge into war.

Later, after the year 1943, because of Japan's inferiority in the battlefield, Japan had no other choice but to change its China policies which had been set so far and as a result the "Japan-China coalition treaty," was finally concluded. The articles which were related to "the uniqueness of the Mengjiang region and the right to station troops in the Mengjiang region which were part of the" basic treaty of Japan-China" were eliminated as a result. The Mongolian banners region's advanced autonomy was eliminated as well and Wang Zhaoming administration's emphasis on "restoration of sovereignty" and "respect for territorial integrity" took its place. Once again, Wang Zhaoming's contentions started being reflected in Japan's policies vis-à-vis Inner Mongolia.

The last chapter titled, "A general overview and the future prospects," gives a summary of each chapter and speculates on the future prospects.