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<th>The Inner Mongolian intellectuals in 1930s -their national consciousness and thoughts on nationalism in Manchukuo</th>
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This thesis discussed the analysis of their rising ethnic identity through the center of publishing activities in Manchuria during 1930s.

The essay is composed of its introduction and part one (chapter 1 and 2), part 2(chapter 3-6) and conclusion appendix.

In the introduction, I presented the transformation of 'Mongolian Nationalism'; originally it emerged as the separation movement from the Han sphere and the cultural activities were its by-products.

Previous studies had already shown that their cultural renaissance sprang up during the era of Manchurian Empire. Based on the results of those studies, I have presented the method and contents of reformations in this essay.

Viewing conditions of the Inner Mongolia in the 1930s, it was essential for sovereign rulers to corporate with Japan in order to avoid the over-assimilation to Han Chinese. The Mongolian intellectuals were eager to enlighten their countrymen through the education of publishing business on modern concept of education, economics and military thoughts with the aid of Manchuria and Japan.

Generally speaking, nationalism tends to focus on the main ideas of political and cultural sphere. However, in case of Mongolian nationalism, little was discussed on the cultural aspect.
In this thesis, putting the political perspectives aside, and from the Mongolians independent points of view, I have focuses on the self-identification of Mongolian intellectuals with various publication and school textbooks of Mongolian languages during 1930s.

In historical context and their suggestive thoughts, -their range and flexibility of 'nationalism'-was beyond mere chauvinism and dichotomous independent movement.

In this thesis, two intelligent groups (returnees from Japan and the domestic-studied) are compared and analyzed to see how they differ in the context of Mongolian independent movement.

In part 1, I have discussed the accomplishments of 'first generation' intellectuals who were educated in modern schools in the late Qing; namely Kesinge (those educated in domestic spheres) and Temgetü who studied in Japan. I have also referred to their enlightenment movement in the new publishing business in Mongolia such as putting out non-religious and school textbooks.

In Chapter 1, the activities of a representative Mongolian intellectual, Kesinge were divided into two, namely those done in the Republican pre-Manchurian and those of Manchurian period respectively. At the same time, I have looked into their perspectives on Mongolian identity and enlightenment thoughts. Throughout the Republican (pre-Manchurian) and Manchurian period they had kept asserting that Mongolian should not just look back their past of military 'hegemony' in Mongolian Empire. Instead, modern Mongolian must adopt latest education to renew their pride and identity while working on educational publishing business. Their philosophy was on the crisis of ethnic identity, Pan-Mongolian consciousness, modernization of linguistic culture. Mongolians in the Republican Era made an effort to modernize the society and establish ethnic identity accepting the Chinese culture and way of life on hand, on the other hand stand against assimilation of Han Chinese. But in the Manchurian era, they attempted aggressively to standardize Mongolian languages and modernize school textbook taking full advantage of the Japanese enlightenment campaign for Mongolia.

In Chapter 2, the publishing activities of Inner Mongolian intellectuals in 1920s were mainly discussed mainly those of Temgetü (Mengwen Publisher) and Kesingg (East Mongolian Publisher in Mukden).

There had individual perspective of their own on 'nation'. Temgetü (and others who studied in Japan) succeeded to develop Mongolian printing with their enlightenment activities to raise the
ethnic identity and domestic-educated Kesingge to engage in editing school textbooks. On the whole, in 1920s neither of them regarded the Republican China as their ‘country’. They longed for independence.

In the part 2, you will find the emergence of the second generation intellectuals there and their views on culture, modern economics and militarism in Manchurian and their nationalism in Inner Mongolia.

In Chapter 3, the novels by Namqayijab and Dawaosor appeared in a periodical magazine ‘Mongol’ by Mongolian students in Tokyo were examined. Together with the above, another Mongolian periodical ‘Homeland’ and private letters by Mongolian students in Tokyo were analyzed to see their view on views on autonomy. In the eve of establishing Manchurian Empire, the merging intellectuals knew that the policy for Mongolians in Republican China was fundamentally nothing but Han centralism. They did know how to resist the assimilation.

Furthermore, modern intellectuals were already aware of Pan-Mongolianism with much more wider outlook than their forerunners and they had a stronger sense of mission to realize the independence. The modern intellectuals had good reasons for taking the advantage of emerging Japan and their pro-Mongolian policy.

In Chapter 4, I have picked up Qafingga, who put on emphasis on the importance of modernization in economics and military force, education and publishing field.

Qafingga whose process of philosophical formation on pan-Mongolianism had been much influenced by Mersel’s and Kesingge’s enlightenment movement is undoubtedly one of the key persons for the matter. I have considered his philosophy of pan-Mongolianism. Qafingga was much influenced by Mersel’s pan-Mongolianism and Kesingge’s enlightenment movement while established his own nationalism.

Qafingga’s thoughts on nationalism were being matured involving himself in the Manchurian Incident, Mongolian volunteer army and the crash of Manchurian Empire. He intended to unify Inner and Outer Mongolia and achieving higher autonomy in Inner Mongolia. In Manchukuo, Inner Mongolians were looking forward to a chance of independence. Qafingga was one of the most influential icons for Mongolian intellectuals and contributed greatly in establishing their concept of nationalism during 1930s.

In Chapter 5, I discussed the contrast of Bökekesig (domestic intellectuals) and Qada (returnees from Japan) and their respective attitudes toward ethnic identity. The former asserted that preserving traditional culture and modernization were compatible while the latter maintained that
modernization was the only way to keep the native cultural heritage.

In Chapter 6, I have examined Guo Wentong and Asqan, both of who studied in Japan and were much influenced by progressive knowledge and military philosophy.

In the conclusion of this thesis, I have pointed out that the ethnic identity of Inner Mongolians developed to a high degree of maturity with the Japanese cooperation of both in military and economics field together with successful cultural publishing business. But the crash of Manchukuo once gave them a chance to secede from China; it was not thriving for them to carry out the objectives. Although surrounded by rather complicated internationals political situations, it was necessary for them to ponder over inner causes that the Mongolian themselves might have possessed in their thoughts of independent state in terms of international politics and economics.