

Ch'ing forces, it was very difficult and dangerous to advance against areas that bristled with the *yü-chai* of the Nien.

The Nien Rebellion has been characterized by Fu I-ling as an anti-centralization rebellion of feudal power induced by the medieval *t'u-hao* 土豪, or local strongmen, and he said, in contrast with the Taipin movement, the Nien Rebellion cannot be included among peasant rebellions. One of his main arguments is that *yü-chai*, as the base of the Nien, were ruled by *t'u-hao*.

But, I think, it is incorrect to think there were already many *yü-chai* ruled by *t'u-hao* in the area of the Nien before the outbreak of the rebellion. Construction of *yü-chai* mushroomed in response to expansion of the rebellion. This fact shows us that the organization of the Nien and the rule of *t'u-hao* should be distinguished. Nien members constructed forts around their communities, nevertheless they made up their own organization against the rule of *t'u-hao*, and their fortified villages were not equal to the fortifications constructed under gentry supervision.

Thus, I think, the Nien Rebellion should be classified as a peasant rebellion, though Nien members were often deeply related by clan connections.

After the suppression of the rebellion, however, the rule of *t'u-hao* based on *yü-chai* was likely to be rather strengthened in North China villages.

The Soviet Armed Intervention in the

Mongolian Revolution

by Fujiko ISONO

It has been maintained that the Soviet armed intervention in the Mongolian Revolution of 1921 was exemplary of the Bolshevik desire for expansion. Soviet Russia, however, was then overburdened with economic and social difficulties. In April 1920, the Soviet leaders had to create the non-Bolshevik Far Eastern Republic to ward off the Japanese, who had refused to evacuate Siberia; but the conflict with Japan over the nature of the Republic caused discord within the Republic's government.

It was at this moment, in July, that representatives of the Mongolian

People's Party, recently founded in Urga with the help of Russian revolutionaries, appeared in Verkhneudinsk to request Soviet support for liberation from China. The Soviet government found itself in a dilemma. They could not turn down the Mongols' appeal without discrediting their own claim to be the champion of the oppressed peoples; at the same time, they could not afford to antagonize the Chinese, then the most important nation in the Far Eastern anti-imperialist struggle. The Mongol delegates were kept waiting in great impatience for four months.

Suddenly, at the end of October, the Mongols were assured of Soviet support, because Ungern-Sternberg had entered Mongolia to use it as the base for counter-revolutionary offensive. In February 1921, he captured Urga from the Chinese and revived the Government of the Living Buddha. The Soviet leaders were convinced that Ungern was a tool for Japanese ambition. Japanese activists in Siberia were giving Ungern assurance of Japanese support, defying the official policy against an immediate expansion.

The Chinese refused Soviet proposals for a joint campaign against Ungern, and Soviet troops marched on Urga with the Mongolian People's Army, defeating Ungern and the Mongol troops of the Living Buddha's government, achieving a rapid revolution (July).

Though the Soviet fear of Japanese offensive was, at that time, somewhat exaggerated, the creation of the Mongolian People's Republic, in view of the later Japanese invasion of China, served to secure Soviet survival by preventing Japanese occupation of Outer Mongolia.

An article on the same subject, Fujiko Isono "Soviet Russia and the Mongolian Revolution of 1921", is found in *Past and Present*, Number 83, May 1979 (Oxford, England).

On the Mādhyamika Philosophy of Tsoñ kha pa

by Shiro MATSUMOTO

The Mādhyamika philosophy of Tsoñ kha pa (1357-1419), the founder of the *dGe lugs pa* sect of Tibetan Buddhism, was criticized by Go ram pa (1429-1489), a scholar of the *Sa skya pa* sect, in his *lTa bañi śan hbyed* (TŚ). The aim of this paper is to clarify the theories on the Mādhyamika