



# **International Law and Political Concepts in Early Twentieth Century Tibet and Mongolia**

**4–5 December 2025**

La Maison de l'Asie, 22 avenue du Président Wilson, 75116 Paris

Organised by Fabienne Jagou and Uradyn E. Bulag

Within the frame of the ANR Project “Building Nationalism in Inner Asia: The Empowerment of the Tibetan Revolution in the Early Twentieth Century” (ANR-21-CE27-0025-Natinasia) hosted by the French School of Asian Studies (EFEO)

Considerable attention has been devoted to the interplay of international law and the transition from the Qing empire to the Republic of China. However, less widely acknowledged are the roles of Tibetans and Mongolians in imagining their own national communities. The prevailing academic narrative, largely influenced by Chinese perspectives, often portrays their independence movements as mere secessionism, products of external instigation by the British and Russians. This conference aims to shift the focus to recognize and explore closely the agency of the Tibetan and Mongolian peoples in shaping their own destinies during the first decades of the twentieth century.

Central to our inquiries in the conference is the extent to which international law informed not only their respective declarations of independence but also the ways in which Tibetans and Mongolians employed these new concepts to understand their respective places in the new global order. How, for instance, did political actors in Inner Asia communicate new conceptions of state to their peoples, their regional rivals, and the international community? And through what channels did Tibetans and Mongolians exchange and influence each other's conceptions of nationalism, the state, and independence?

By delving into these questions, this conference seeks to introduce a more nuanced understanding of the historical and legal contexts surrounding the early twentieth century Tibetan and Mongolian aspirations for nationhood.

**Thursday 4 December 2025**

9:30:

Welcome Address

**Session I: Independence**  
Moderator: Aurore Dumont

10:00–10:30

Uradyn E. Bulag

**Hosting the Sovereign: Bataille, Excess, and Mongolia's Double Independence from the Qing and Tibet (1904–1913)**

10:30–11:00

Dakpa Kunga

**The recreation of the Manchu imperial style nation-state model proposed by Qing court minister Fiyanggū in 1902**

*Coffee break*

11:30–12:00

Batsaikhan Ooknoi

**Restoration of Mongolian Statehood in 1911 and Buddhism: the 8<sup>th</sup> Bogd Jebtsundamba Khutuktu**

12:00–12:30

Scott Relyea

**A Political History for Tibet: Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa and the Dalai Lama's 1913 Proclamation**

12:30–13:00: Discussion

Lunch on site

**Session II: Political Language**  
Moderator: Xénia de Heering

14:00–14:30

Ugyan Choedup

***Mi Rigs*: The Early Emergence of Tibetan Nationalist Vocabulary**

14:30–15:00

Zumber Orluud

**Mongolian Independence and International Law, 1911–1914**

*Coffee break*

15:30–16:00

Darig Thokmay

**From Priest–Patron to Nation-State: Shifts in Tibetan Political Language**

16:00–16:30

Bianca Horlemann

**The Gansu Mission to Lhasa in 1919/20 and how Tibetan Independence is Reflected by the Language Used in Contemporary Sources Dealing with or Stemming from this Mission**

16:30–17:00: Discussion

**Friday 5 December 2025**

**Session III: Conception of Law and People**

Moderator: Béatrice Jaluzot

10:30–11:00

Makoto Tachibana

**Imagining the Territory: International Law, Effective Control, and Custom Duties**

*Coffee break*

11:30–12:00

Lobsang Yongdan

**Sacred Bonds: Reinterpreting the *Chöyön* Relationship between Tibet and the Qing**

12:00–12:30

Zolboo Sandagjav

**A State of “*Jinkini Arad*” (Genuine People): Rise and Fall of “Mongolian National Democrats” in 1924–1928**

12:30–13:00: Discussion

Lunch on site

**Session IV: Diplomacy**  
Moderator: Bianca Horlemann

14:00–14:30

Ling-wei Kung

**Information, Translation, and Power: Iuming Suez (1881–1940) and the Transformation of Sino-Tibetan-Indian Relations**

14:30–15:00

Wada Daichi

**The 13th Dalai Lama's "Diplomacy" with Buddhists in Beijing**

*Coffee break*

15:30–16:00

Fabienne Jagou

**The Making of Modern Tibetan Diplomacy: Sovereignty, Negotiation, and International Recognition (1888–1914)**

16:00–16:30

Yumiko Ishihama *in absentia*

**Support for the 13th Dalai Lama by the Japanese Buddhist Community**

16:30–17:00: Discussion

\*Please note that unless otherwise indicated, meal attendance is for conference participants only\*

Contact information: [natinasia@efeo.net](mailto:natinasia@efeo.net)



**Institut d'Asie Orientale**  
Lyon Institute of East Asian Studies  
UMR 5062