

ENVISIONING THE POTALA STATE MODELED AFTER THE VATICAN STATE: SEEKING THE GOODWILL OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT

TENNYSON SAMRAJ

Burman University, Canada

<https://doi.org/10.37602/IJSSMR.2023.6204>

ABSTRACT

The intent of this paper is to present a trifold solution to the tripartite concerns of Tibetans, namely: (1) the exile of His Holiness the Dalai Lama from Potala Palace on March 31, 1959 to India, (2) Tibetans' aspiration for a self-governing free civil state, and (3) China's claim of sovereignty over Tibet. Tibetans can achieve these aspirations by seeking the goodwill of the Chinese government and by promoting the following resolutions: (1) the creation of the Potala State modeled after the Vatican State, from the areas adjoining the Potala palace. Here the Dalai Lama — like the Pope, can be both the temporal head and spiritual leader. The Dalai Lama would be the temporal leader of the Potala palace and would be the spiritual leader of the Tibetan people who follow Lamaism; (2) granting Tibetan people a Hong Kong style government where self-government and self-legislative authority lies with the Tibetan people; (3) accepting China's sovereignty by consigning foreign policy of Tibet to the Chinese Government. This would appeal to the Chinese goodwill to let the Tibetan people have their values preserved by self-governance without bringing Chinese sovereignty into question. To create a religious enclave for the Tibetan people similar to the Vatican State within the confines of a secular state is to envision a secular Tibet which accepts the importance and significance of Lamaism to the international community at large.

Keywords: Potala Palace, Vatican state, Potala state, China's goodwill and TGIE

1.0 INTRODUCTION: A PLAUSIBLE SOLUTION

Tibetans' concerns and aspirations can be resolved in the context of Chinese hegemony and goodwill.¹ China as a nation is known for its pragmatism: in fact, "the story of China is a story of change"². Here are some ideas that can achieve Tibetans aspirations for gaining religious, social, and economic freedom within the framework of Chinese hegemony. What the Dalai Lama expects must be understood in the context of what needs to be done for Tibetans. Tibetans and the Chinese Government can solve the problem if the issue of sovereignty is not debated.³ On 23 May, 1951, the seventeen-point agreement of the central people's government and the

¹ China as a super power is known for its dynamism and pragmatics. Its economics is capitalistic, allows for democracy with its party and china allows for a functioning civil government in Hong Kong.

² CCTV news June, 27, 2016.

³ Melvyn C. Goldstein, Geoff Childs and Punhung Wangdai, (2010) 57. The question of sovereignty is a difficult question to resolve. It depends on when and who is asking this question. The question is can conquest create sovereignty and can de facto independence negate sovereignty.

local government of Tibet on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet was signed and ratified by a telegraph by Dalai Lama on 24 October, 1951⁴. This Tibetan aspiration still remains unresolved. International organizations like UNO have not succeeded in ending the conflict because the starting point has always been the question of Tibet's sovereignty. Nationalism is a given aspiration in modern society where land, religion, race, language, and ideology play a significant role. In Tibet, there are two issues: political freedom and religious freedom. To resolve Tibet's issues, both of these concerns must be separated. From a secular context, the Dalai Lama's statement to relinquish his political title (Ganden Phodrang) to the Tibetan Parliament is a decision in the right direction.⁵ What should be noted is that the Dalai Lama is a religious leader, and as such, his role must only be religious. In 1989, the Dalai Lama was awarded the noble peace prize for his non-violent fight for Tibet's liberation. The question is, "Will Tibetans achieve their 'aspirations' in a non-violent way?"

How do we solve the question related to religious and political freedom? Tibet's religious freedom can be achieved by creating a Vatican-style city-state, where the Potala Palace and the area surrounding the palace are declared as a sovereign state. Here the Dalai Lama and its religious leaders can have limited sovereignty. The rest of Tibet could appeal to China to invite the Tibetan Government in Exile (TGIE) to form a Hong Kong style democratic state⁶. Tibetans under TGIE can have free elections to form a government while allowing their foreign policy and defense to remain in the hands of the Chinese government. Tibet, apart from the areas around the Potala Palace, must be a secular state.⁷ A secular state, as we know, does not mean that it neglects the importance of religion. It simply means that it does not patronize or support any particular religion. Why is a Vatican-style state for the Potala Palace and a Hong Kong style secular state for the rest of Tibet the solution? Lamaism is a peaceful religion. Lamaism, in practice and teaching, can show the world that there can be a limited but defined state for Lamaism. However, if both religious and political freedom is granted to Tibet, it would create a fundamental state. There is no place for a fundamental state in the secular world. We cannot say enough of the pragmatism of China as a nation and as a superpower. China has made political and economic changes as needed. It has given economic freedom to its citizens. It has allowed Hong Kong to rejoin with mainland China with limited political freedom. In addition, it has engineered economic ties with Taiwan. With Chinese goodwill, Potala Palace state, like the Vatican state, can be actualized. The relationship and connection between China and Tibet has a long history. The relationship is checkered, for both China and Taiwan claim control over Tibet. Chiang Kai-Shek, when driven to Taiwan, asserted that Tibet was part of China⁸. It seems that Tibetans enjoyed *de facto* independence from 1913⁹, which Tibetans were hoping would be a *de jure* independence after World War II¹⁰. After the Chinese revolution, it was Mainland China that has asserted control over Tibet,¹¹ not Taiwan.

⁴ Seventeen Point Agreement. <https://tibet.net/the-17-point-agreement-what-china-promised-what-it-really-delivered-and-the-future-2/>

⁵ Masahide Tsujimura, (2014) 41. (In 1950 he was called upon to assume full political power.)

⁶ The British government returned Hong Kong back to China after a 99 year lease. China has allowed Hong Kong to have an elected civil government since July 1997.

⁷ Masahide Tsujimura, 48-49

⁸ David M Crowe, (2012), 1106

⁹ Jayshree Bajoria The Question of Tibet (2008), 2. Was it a factual given?

¹⁰ David M Crowe (2013), 1116-7. Was it a legal right?

¹¹ Jayshree Bajoria, The Question of Tibet, (2008), 2.

In the light of all the attempts to solve Tibet's questions this paper attempts to present a realistic solution keeping both China's claim and Tibet's aspirations in perspective. The use of the Vatican state model to resolve Tibet's aspiration provides a détente of how to deal with other religious conflicts in the world in the context of a secular state. In the case of Tibet, to create an enclave of a religious, spiritual, or fundamental state within the confines of a secular state would be an achievement to both the host country and the international community of the importance of Lamaism within a Tibetan secular state. The best way to strengthen a secular state is to allow for a spiritual or fundamental enclave within the confines of a secular state.

2.0 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The study of the historical precedence of the religious aspiration of the Catholic Church to gain a small but sovereign state, namely the Vatican state,¹² within the state of Italy is limited to the study of the Tibetan aspiration. The provision that Mussolini presented to the Papal church was unprecedented.¹³ Because of this historical precedence, other religious aspirations can hope to have a similar provision. If we can envision the Potala state modeled after the Vatican state, we can also envision a Khalsa State for the Sikhs¹⁴ adjoining the area of the golden temple of Amritsar or for a Caliphate State for the Muslim faith adjoining the Mecca area.¹⁵ This study of the historical precedence of the Vatican state can provide many religions a similar platform upon which the religious leadership can define and defend their beliefs for their believers. This will stop the rise of fundamental states around the world. This precedence can provide the basis for solving religious conflicts, and truly provide the impetus for a secular state. One question not discussed here, is, should fundamental enclaves be given membership to the United Nations Organisation?

2.1 Six Point Resolution for the Tripartite Concerns

The Tibetans' concerns can be addressed by six resolutions. (1) Petition China to create a new state called the Potala state (like the Vatican state). Here the Dalai Lama would be the temporal head of the Potala State and the spiritual leader of Lamaism. (2) Invite the TGIE to form a government like Hong Kong, to preserve the Tibetan culture and tradition in the context of a secular state, and create a new constitution taking into consideration current possibilities that can redefine Tibet's aspirations in the context of what is possible. (3) Allow Tibetans under the diaspora to return to their homeland, for displeased people tend to leave their homeland during conflicts and want to return when conflicts end. (4) Declare Tibet as a land of peace,¹⁶ as envisioned by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and allow Tibetans to define and defend their faith as an enclave within Tibet without demanding for a fundamental state for Tibet. (5) Acknowledge China's claim that Tibet is an integral part of China, and whereby consign foreign and defense matters to the Chinese Government. (6) Appeal to China's good will and

¹² Thomas Bokenkotter (2004), 386

¹³ Thomas Bokenkotter (2004), 386

¹⁴ Tennyson Samraj, (2020) "Envisioning The Khalsa State Modeled after the Vatican State: Seeking the Goodwill of the Indian Government". International Journal of Social Sciences and Management Review.

¹⁵ Some would argue for two Muslim Caliphates—one for the Sunni Muslims and one for the Shias Muslims .

¹⁶ Dalai Lama, "Five Point Peace Plan", Address to the US Congressional Human Rights Caucus September 21, 1987. <https://www.dalailama.com/messages/tibet/five-point-peace-plan>

expect China to direct and dictate the results. Understand that “the story of China is a story of change.”

2.2 The Creation of the Potala State Modeled after the Vatican State

In 1929, Italy had given the Catholic Church both religious and political freedom when part of Italy was carved out and given to the Church to be the spiritual headquarters of the Catholic world.¹⁷ The unification of Italy saw the need for the papacy to secede many of its former territories gained throughout the history of the church. Under King Victor Emmanuel III and Mussolini, Pope Pius XI and the Cardinal Secretary of state, Pietro Gaspari negotiated and created the Vatican state.¹⁸ The Vatican state¹⁹ came into reality in 1929 by the Lateran Treaty between the Holy See²⁰ and government of Italy.²¹ What must be noted is that the Vatican state is distinct and different from the Holy See²², which dates back to the early church and is the central Episcopal See of 1.2 billion believers around the world. There is no reason not to see this possibility as a solution to the Tibetan crisis. This would allow the Dalai Lama to retain and practice his role as the political head of the Potala Palace and be the religious leader as has been the practice for over the past two hundred years. Potala Palace has been both the political and spiritual capital for the Tibetans from the time of the fifth Dalai Lama²³ (who started the construction of the modern Potala Palace).²⁴ The White Palace or Potrang Karpo,²⁵ part of the Potala Palace was the site of the government. The Red Palace or the Potrang Marpo²⁶ was and is now completely devoted to religious study and Buddhist prayers. Can a Vatican-style Potala state take care of Tibetans political aspirations? Will the rest of Tibet be satisfied with a Hong Kong style government?

How and why the Vatican state was created sets a precedence on how and why the Potala State can be actualized. According to the Lateran Treaty, the Holy See would have “full ownership, exclusive dominion, sovereign authority, and jurisdiction” over the city-state. Some interesting aspects have made this agreement last. First, part of the agreement was that the Vatican state remains a neutral state.²⁷ They recognized the leadership of the Pope and His obligation to allow believers around the world to visit the Vatican state. This called for the necessity for neutrality. While believers from different parts of the world were welcomed to Rome, the Pope and its people would remain neutral in matters of politics. The Catholic Church remained neutral during World War II and benefited by not being bombed by the allied forces.²⁸ Second,

¹⁷ Umberto Toschi, (1931), 529. This is a walled city-state within the city of Rome, this is a 108 acre enclave on the right bank of Tiber River, with less than a thousand citizens. This small country is both an ecclesiastical or sacerdotal-monarchical state administered by the Pope—who is called the Bishop of Rome. All empowered with leadership and authority are Catholic clergy of different national origins. From 1377 popes resided at the Apostolic Palace called as the Quirinal Palace in Rome. Within Vatican City are the heritage sites such as St. Peter's Basilica, the Sistine Chapel and the Vatican Museums. (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vatican-City>)

¹⁸ Thomas Bokenkotter (2004), 386

¹⁹ Stato Della Citta Del Vaticano—Italian expression for a walled enclave.

²⁰ Robert Nevelle (1962), 38-56 (Latin: Sancta Sedes—Title for the world Catholic Church)

²¹ Ibid. 18

²² Ibid., 38-56

²³ Dhussa, Ramesh Chandra, (2009), 2

²⁴ The Potala Palace,--The highest Ancient Palace. 1

²⁵ New World Encyclopedia, http://web.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Potala_Palace

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Herbert Wright (1944), 455

²⁸ Ibid. 455

the foreign policy and defense were to be in the hands of the Italian government while the integral security was taken care of by Swiss guards. It was also decided that they could send ambassadors of their choice to different countries.

Can what was and is good for the Pope and his people be good for the Dalai Lama and his people? ²⁹ Sovereignty and neutrality have made the Vatican state meaningful to both Italy and the Catholic world. Historically, Tibet's sovereign head has held both the political and spiritual title, but in today's world, we have to separate the state from religious inclinations. If the Potala Palace state is created, the Dalai Lama would be able to maintain a temporal role within the Potala Palace while the rest of Tibet would be a secular state. A secular form of government and democracy is a given if there is to be peace. In such a world, the Potala state can enjoy the same freedom, as the Vatican State, with limited sovereignty if neutrality is maintained. Why would such a sovereign state have meaning? To the Tibetan people, this would be a realistic goal to achieve. It would comply with the nature of Lamaism — which preaches, practices, and propagates pacifism to the world at large. Nothing would be a better fit for Tibetans than the creation of a limited sovereign (Potala) state modeled after the Vatican state.

2.3 Invite the Tibet Government in Exile (TGIE) to form a Secular State

The TGIE (Tibet Government in Exile) government located in Dharmasala has long held to the idea that the Dalai Lama is the theocratic head – i.e. the spiritual and political leader.³⁰ But in 1988, the Dalai Lama counseled that he should have no part in the Government,³¹ and on March 10, 2011, the Dalai Lama officially stepped down and handed the power to the TGIE.³² This makes it possible for the TGIE to not only negotiate with China but can now hope to return back to Tibet along with those who fled in the diaspora. It is presumed that the TGIE can negotiate with China for a Tibetan state like how the Hong Kong state operated after it was returned to China by the British after 99 years of the lease³³. Neutrality of the Vatican State understood in the context of suzerainty would imply that the foreign and defense policy be in the hands of China. Again, the Vatican state enjoys security without any expense. Similarly, Tibet can expect the same from China. Tibetans can enjoy the same privileges of a limited sovereign state if they choose to subject their foreign policy to the Chinese Government.

While it is argued that a limited sovereign state would make the Dalai Lama the head of the Potala Palace, the rest of the Tibetan kingdom can be granted a Hong Kong style government based on the “one country, two systems principle.”³⁴ Hong Kong is an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China except in defense and foreign affairs.³⁵ China took back Hong Kong and let them operate with limited political freedom. Like the Hong Kong government, the Tibetan government can expect China to let the will of the Tibetan people prevail by the chief executive and council.³⁶ Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region (SAR) and is

²⁹ Religious leaders play an important role in the lives of their believers, and they must be given a rightful place, but as believers we need to advise our religious leaders to abstain from having a role in politics.

³⁰ Yan, Sun (2011), 337

³¹ David M. Crowe, (2012), 1115

³² Masahide Tusjimura, (2014), 41

³³ Hong Kong the facts, (2016), 1

³⁴ Ibid. 1

³⁵ Government structure (2016)1

³⁶ Ibid 1

considered an integral part of China although they have autonomy over their currency, passports, legal, and parliamentary system.³⁷

Within the ranks of the communist party of China, democratic methods are present. Those interested in government can, as workers, join the communist party. It is only as members that they have political rights. China is not the totalitarian state it used to be. Tibetans can expect China to let them choose their public policy by vote, while the foreign policy and defense are under Chinese government. China can reign as a sovereign power without ruling the Tibetan people. China has shown the enormous capacity to change. China has given its citizens economic and religious freedom and in recent times given its citizens the freedom to travel.

Given the reality of the hegemony of superpowers, the Tibetans must work towards their independence within this context. The US, Russia, and China, as superpowers, want certain countries under their influence. The international community that seeks to help Tibet's aspirations must work within this framework. The hegemony of China is a given, and like other superpowers, it has its area of influence. Superpowers cannot be pressured into any change but they can and will respond to challenges posed to them. Tibetans can expect religious, social, and economic freedoms and can hope to actualize their religious aspirations. They can achieve freedom from want, fear, and war without achieving freedom from hegemony. Superpowers exact power in their region. This is a given and must be accepted if Tibet is to gain its dreams of a homeland.

Tibetans should know that by such an approach both China and Tibet both stand to gain. Self-government and the basic fundamental rights to own, travel, believe or practice their faith are in the best interest of both China and Tibet. China needs to realize that they cannot legislate morality. The best way to regulate behavior is to give citizens legislative authority. This would give Tibetans a way to regulate their way of life and national aspirations. Unresolved national aspirations of the Tibetans have become an international concern, but if their concerns are defined in the context of legislative authority, then results can be expected. International communities cannot take sides. There is no known *modus operandi* or method of operation that can guarantee success. Tibetans must adopt a new paradigm and adapt existing plans to achieve their goals.

2.4 Declare Tibet as a Land of Peace

The Dalai Lama's claim and hope to make Tibet a land of peace is a good one³⁸. The following provides the basis that can make it so: (1) Tibet should envision a secular state. Secularism means respect for all religions.³⁹ A secular state cannot support any particular faith at the expense of other faiths. Both religion and the state play an important role in the wellbeing of its citizens. Government regulates behavior and religion defines the moral life of its citizens. The question is not whether we need a government: the question is, "Should a particular religion be the basis for regulating behavior?" We cannot see the need for religion without the need of respecting all religions. Any religion is one among many. Unless each religion accepts

³⁷ What country is Hong Kong in? (2016),1

³⁸ Dalai Lama, "Five point peace Plan", Address to the US Congressional Human Rights Caucus September 21, 1987. <https://www.dalailama.com/messages/tibet/five-point-peace-plan>

³⁹ Masahide Tsujimura, (2014),48-49

this and understands that this need can be actualized by different religions, there will always be tension in society. Conversion cannot be expected on the notion that a particular religion has a monopoly on truth. If we want to live in peace and consider one's country as a land of peace, then secularism must be fundamental. If religion is meaningful, then religion must be defined in the context of secularism. Religion, independent of secularism is a formula for chaos.

(2) Potala Palace state can monitor its own security like the Vatican state. While the Dalai Lama talks about peace and forgiveness, in the real world, one radical person can harm and subjugate an all-peaceful religion. Currently, the Dalai Lama carries out his duties in Dharmasala in India because of the security provided by the Indian government, augmented by his security guards. Therefore, from a realistic perspective, this would mean that the Potala Palace state should recruit security guards of their own, like the Vatican state has recruited Swiss guards. So, there are only two options, either the Dalai Lama establishes a regular force to oversee the security for the Potala Palace, or it gives the Potala Palace state a chance to create a peaceful, non-police state.⁴⁰ This would indeed make Tibet and Lamaism both a region and a religion of peace.

(3) Lastly, Potala Palace State can choose to relate to the rest of the world as they deem necessary. As a state, the Dalai Lama can choose which countries it wants to have relationships with and exchange ambassadors as goodwill representatives without any political bias.

2.5 Consign Foreign and Defence Policy to China

Even though the Dalai Lama conceded that China could be in charge of Tibet's foreign policy in 1987,⁴¹ the Strasbourg Proposal⁴² or the 5-point Tibet plan⁴³ was rejected by China because Tibet was and is considered an integral part of China.⁴⁴ In the context of China's claim and the Dalai Lama's willingness⁴⁵ to let the foreign policy be in the hands of the Chinese government, Tibet can have social or religious independence and still be an integral part of China. If Tibetans do not challenge China's claim, they can negotiate religious, social, and economic freedom. If guns make the weakest and the strongest equals,⁴⁶ religious freedom, or the freedom of conscience makes all humans equally human. Unless religious freedom is achieved, we cannot be free. True freedom is freedom of conscience⁴⁷ within the context of the law. For Tibet to consign their foreign policy to the Chinese government is to accept strict neutrality to matters related to foreign affairs.

2.6 Appeal to China's Goodwill.

⁴⁰ A state without any security or peace officers.

⁴¹ David M Crowe (2012), 1115

⁴² Ibid 1115

⁴³ Contained five components—(1) Transform Tibet into a zone of peace, (2) Stop Chinese population transfer into Tibet. (3) Respect the Tibetans people's fundamental rights. (4) Protect Tibet's natural environment (5) negotiate with China in a peaceful way the status of Tibet. In the light of his relinquishing the political leadership how must we view the Strasbourg proposal? (David M Crowe, 1114)

⁴⁴ David M. Crowe (2012), 1114

⁴⁵ Rebeca Novick (2009), 2

⁴⁶ American constitution—the second amendment

⁴⁷ American constitution—the first amendment

Can the aspirations of the Tibetan people be a just cause for a just appeal to China's goodwill? At the turn of the century, Tibet was an autonomous state. What kind of independence did they have, *de facto* or *de jure*?⁴⁸ Was it under China's suzerainty, or was it under Chinese sovereignty? This depends on whom you ask. Does *de facto* independence of Tibet negate sovereignty of China? Does conquest negate sovereignty? History teaches us that there is no permanency of nations or empires. After the Dalai Lama left the Potala Palace, the UN general assembly adopted at least four resolutions for Tibet in 1959, 1961, 1965 and 1991.⁴⁹ All of them suggest that Tibetan's demand for their religious and social rights are legitimate. The question is, who is to settle this issue? As long as superpowers have veto powers, Tibetans' aspirations cannot be resolved. Tibetans' aspirations would be achievable if Tibetans accept China's claim that Tibet is an integral part of China and appeal to China's goodwill to establish a Potala State. Tibetans' aspirations would be difficult if Tibetans try to ignore China's claim. Chinese government can direct and dictate desired results.

China represents a dynamic new world of what started as a communist revolution. Though China is a communist state, it has adopted capitalism as the basis for its economic mode of business. It has adopted the principle of the right to life to include the right to have a place to live. What is noted is that we should never forget the importance of the communistic ideal of the right to life to include the right to have a place to live. The western world must revise the right to own in the context of the right of every citizen to have a place to live. Why? The world's population is growing, and the constitutional right to life cannot be defined independent of the right for a place to live in. The free world must address the right to life, within the context of a space or place to live in. The right to own must be redefined from time to time for we cannot expect to hold more land than we need when many do not have a place to live. The merits of socialistic ideals cannot be ignored. Yes, we need to work for our needs, but we cannot work to own excessive land when many are homeless. We need to share the planet, or there will not be a planet to share. Capitalism, unchecked, will collapse. Socialism, as practiced in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, can teach us that when governments take responsibility to provide work and provide space to live for everyone, it becomes a safe country.

3.0 POLICY IMPLICATION

The historical precedence of the creation of the Vatican state provides a basis for policies related to issues associated with the church and state. The international community that is interested in establishing secular states can learn from the Vatican state experience that mainstream religions can be given statehood and thus avoid the creation of a fundamental state for largely religious societies. The course or principle of action adopted or proposed is that we define different religious aspirations in different parts of the world in the context of the historic provision the Italian government created to allow the Catholic Church to define and defend the life the church. This will accomplish the following: (1) this would allow different religions around the world to create an enclave to live and practice their faith in a temporal state within the context of a secular state, separating religious laws from legal laws. (2) This would allow religious bodies to exchange ambassadors to countries that have many of their believers and followers living in them — for instance, the US has an embassy both in Rome and in the Roman

⁴⁸ Tibetan Sovereignty Debate, Wikipedia (2016) 1.

⁴⁹ Resolution 1353 (XIV), 21 October 1959; Resolution 1723 (XVI), 20 December 1961; Resolution 2079 (XC), 1965; Resolution 1991/10, 23 August 1991.

See (the Vatican state). (3) This would allow many of the religious issues to be resolved with the concerned religious leaders who are responsible for their believers. This would avoid fighting with faceless or radical religious groups of different religions. (4) Allows each religion to speak with one authoritative voice the concerns and issues related to their faith and followers. The historical precedence of the provision of the Italian government to provide a small but sovereign state can provide a basis for many religions to create an enclave to define and defend their faith.⁵⁰

4.0 CONCLUSION

By relinquishing his political powers, the Dalai Lama gave the Tibetan people the possibility of achieving their political and religious aspirations. Presenting Tibetans' concerns in the context of the goodwill of China can achieve their dream. China can be instrumental in making Tibet a land of peace, and Lamaism can indeed provide the basis for Tibet to be a land of peace. The six-fold resolve can provide three intended results: (1) declare the area around the Potala Palace as the Potala State (like the Vatican State) and accept the Dalai Lama as both the temporal leader over the Potala Palace and the spiritual leader of Lamaism; (2) allow the TGIE to form a civil or secular state in Tibet; and (3) maintain China's claim of sovereignty by subjecting the foreign policy to China.

While the Dalai Lama can be both the religious leader and the head of the Potala state, TGIE could provide Tibetans with a secular state. Even though Lamaism is the religion of the Potala Palace state, Tibet would have to be a secular state. This will avoid the trap of fundamentalism. In a secular state, no particular faith can have preference. This leads to conflict, not only with other faiths but also within one's own faith. As we see in most institutionalized religions, fundamentalism breeds arrogance and civil unrest over beliefs. The Dalai Lama understands that religion cannot be the only reason for nationalism or the aspiration of a state⁵¹. It will run into problems both within and with the outside world. Mere religion can be divisive. A secular state is a foundation that will check the rise of fundamentalism. Religion alone cannot be the basis for nationalism. A secular state would allow for legislative authority to write rules as to how they choose to preserve their lifestyle and values.

Separating the aspiration of social and religious freedom from political freedom would enhance the chance for Tibetans to live in peace and freedom. Once the political aspirations for a state are separated from the religious aspirations, Tibet can indeed be free and secular. This would comply with the nature of Lamaism which preaches, practices, and propagates pacifism to the world. This would indeed make Tibet a "land of peace." Nothing better would fit the Tibetan paradigm than a limited sovereign state based on the model of the Vatican State. With China's goodwill, Potala Palace and the surrounding area can be declared as a state, similar to the Vatican state and TGIE can establish a Hong Kong style government. Religious and social freedom can be obtained in the context of limited political freedom. Every community has the right to live as they see fit. Tibetans have a right to preserve their values, language, religion,

⁵⁰ While Rome is an secular city the Vatican city is a fundamental state. One can expects no other religion to establish itself in the Vatican state but the city of Rome can allow different believers to co-exist within the city of Rome. This is what we can expect also for the with Potala state. Lamaism will be fundamental in the Potala sate while Tibet can be considered as secular state.

⁵¹ Masahide Tsujimura, (2014), 49

and country. Empires have collapsed trying to establish universal laws for human life⁵². We can talk and hope for a Potala state and a Tibetan self-governing state that defines and defends Lamaism in the context of China's sovereignty. History has taught us that there is no permanency of nations. It has to be defined and defended constantly. What Tibetans expect must be understood in the context of what China can do for them rather than on what China cannot do for them. The historical precedence of the creation of the Vatican state can provide a template for a détente in resolving religious aspirations within the context of secularism. The Vatican state experience can provide the basis for the creation for a fundamental enclave, namely the Potala State to define and defend Lamaism within the context of a Tibetan secular State.

JOURNALS

- Anand, Dibyesh. (2000). *(Re) imagining nationalism: Identity and representation in the Tibetan diaspora of South Asia*. Contemporary South Asia, 9 (3), 271-287. doi: 10.1080/713658756
- Crowe, D. M. (2013, February 5). The "Tibet question": Tibetan, Chinese and Western perspectives. Nationalities Papers, Vol 41 (No. 6), 1100-1135. doi: 10.1080/00905992.2013.801946
- Dhussa, & Chandra Ramesh. (2009, Fall). *Tibet: A Nation in Exile*. American Geographical Society's Focus on Geography, Vol. 52 (Issue 2), 1-6. doi: 10.1111/j.1949-8535.2009.tb00241.x
- Goldstein, M. C., Childs, G., & Wangdui, P. (2010, January). *Beijing's "People's First" Development Initiative for the Tibet Autonomous Region's Rural Sector-- A Case Study from the Shigatse Area*. The China Journal, No. 63, 57-75. doi: 10.1086/tcj.63.20749194
- Samraj, Tennyson, "Envisioning The Khalsa State Modeled after the Vatican State: Seeking the Goodwill of the Indian Government". International Journal of Social Sciences and Management Review. Volume: 03, Issue: 06 "November – December 2020" <https://doi.org/10.37602/IJSSMR.2020.3604>
- Sun, Yan. (2011, October). *The Tibet question through the looking glass of Taiwan: Comparative dynamics and sobering lessons*. Asian Ethnicity, Vol. 12 (No. 3), 337-353. doi: 10.1080/14631369.2011.605546
- Toschi, Umberto. (1931, October). The Vatican City State from the Standpoint of Political Geography. The Geographical Review, Vol.21 No.4 (October,1931), 529-538. doi:10.2307/209364

⁵² The Persian, Greek, and Roman empires collapsed trying to establish universal laws to govern human behavior. The ancient question put forth to king Darius of Persia when he tried to legislate universal laws of the empire boasted that the laws of the Meds and Persians were intractable. But the king soon found out that even the laws related to the disposal of the dead would not be universalised. The Egyptians wanted to mummify the dead, the Indians wanted to burn the dead, the Persians wanted to bury the dead and some in the empire wanted to eat the dead.

- Tsujimura, Masahide. (2014). the Politics of "Compassion" of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama: Between "Religion" and "Secularism" *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, Vol 21, 41-55.
- Veg, Sebastian. (2009). *Tibet, Nationalism, and Modernity. Two Chinese Contributions.* Current Affairs, China Perspectives.
- Wright, Herbert, *The status of the Vatican state.* American Society of International law. Vol.38, No 3 (Jul.,1944) pp452-457
- Yu, F.L.T., & Kwan, D. S. (2013, June 2). *Social Construction of National Reality: Tibet and Taiwan.* *Journal of Chinese Political Science/ Association of Chinese Political Studies*, 259-279. doi:10.1007/s11366-013-9249-z

NEWS AND REVIEWS

CCTV news June, 27, 2016

"China admits its overseas Tibet propaganda efforts a failure." (2015, January-April). Tibetan Review.

Exile administration proclaims Dalia Lama Year 2014. (2014, January/February).Tibetan Review

The Dalai Lama not disappointed by Norway snub, thanks China for publicity. (2014, May/June). Tibetan Review.

The Tibet issue as it remains. (2015, January/February). Tibetan Review.

WEBSITES

Bajoria, J. (2008, December 5). The Question of Tibet. Retrieved July 16, 2016, from <http://www.cfr.org/china/question-tibet/p15965>

Boland, R. (n.d.). What Country is Hong Kong in? Retrieved July 16, 2016, from <http://gohongkong.about.com/od/travelplanner/a/hongkongcountry.htm>

Dalai Lama, "Five Point Peace Plan", Address to the US Congressional Human Rights Caucus September 21, 1987. <https://www.dalailama.com/messages/tibet/five-point-peace-plan>

Fox, F.J. (2000). The Catholic Church in the United States of America. Retrieved January 07, 2018, from <https://www.catholiceducation.org/en/culture/history/the-catholic-church-in-the-united-states-of-america.html>

Government structure: <https://www.gov.hk/en/about/govdirectory/govstructure.htm>, (2016)

Hessler, P. (1999, February). Tibet through Chinese Eyes. Retrieved July 16, 2016, from <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1999/02/tibet-through-chinese-eyes/306395>

- Hong Kong-the Facts. (2015, August). Retrieved July 16, 2016, from <http://www.gov.hk/en/about/abouthk/facts.htm>
- Lama, J. Y. (2015, September 15). The Tibet Question and the Rise of China. Retrieved July 16, 2016, from <http://www.indrastra.com/2015/09/OPINION-Tibet-Question-and-Rise-of-China-by-Jigme-Yeshe-Lama-214.html>
- Murphy, F. X. (n.d.). Vatican Politics: Structure and Function. Retrieved August 2, 2016, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010100>
- Novick, R. (2009, November 20). The Tibet Question: A Chinese Think Tank Dares to Ask. Retrieved July 16, 2016, from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/rebecca-novick/the-tibet-question-a-chin_b_212981.html
- Seventeen Point Agreement. <https://tibet.net/the-17-point-agreement-what-china-promise-d-what-it-really-delivered-and-the-future-2/>
- The Tibet Question. (n.d.). Retrieved July 16, 2016, from http://www.case.edu/affil/tibet/staffPub/f_affairs.htm
- Tibetan sovereignty debate. (n.d.). Retrieved June 5, 2016, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tibetan_sovereignty_debate
- Wright, H. (n.d.). The Status of the Vatican City. Retrieved August 2, 2016, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2192386>
- Zayul, L. N. (n.d.). International Resolutions and Recognition on Tibet (1959 to 2004). Retrieved from <http://tibet.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/International-rsolutions-on-Tibet.pdf>

COMPILATION AND BOOKS

- Bokenkotter, T. (2004). *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*. New York: Doubleday.
- Coulombe, C. A. (2003). *Vicars of Christ a History of the Popes*. New York: Citadel Press.
- George Sher, (2001) *Moral Philosophy* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth
- My Land and My People: The Autobiography of His Holiness the Dalai Lama*. Ed. David Howarth. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962. ISBN 978-0446674218
- Nevelle, R. (1962). *The World of the Vatican*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Zayul Lobsand Nyandak, , *International Resolutions and Recognition on Tibet (1959-2004)* Department of Information and International Relations. Central Tibetan Administration Dharmasala, India.