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“We Alone Can Save Japan”

Soka Gakkai’s Wartime Antecedents and Its Postwar Conversion Campaign

Between 1945 and 1951, the Nichiren Buddhist lay organization Soka Gakkai, which had disbanded during the Pacific War, regrouped and burgeoned in a massive proselytizing campaign led by its second president, Toda Jōsei. This effort intertwined three aims: to spread faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* as the basis for Japan’s postwar reconstruction; to establish an ideal government based on Buddhist principles; and to build a national ordination platform as Japan’s sacred center. Driving it was Toda’s conviction, inherited from his teacher, Makiguchi Tsunesaburō, that Japan was suffering a profound malaise and could only be saved by embracing Nichiren’s teaching. That message formed a powerful link between wartime and postwar Soka Gakkai organizations. It drew Makiguchi into conflict with wartime ideology, leading to his arrest; amid postwar hardships, it found eager reception and shaped what would become Japan’s largest religious movement.

KEYWORDS: *kōsen rufu*—*Lotus Sūtra*—Makiguchi Tsunesaburō—Nichiren—Nichiren Shōshū *shakubuku*—Soka Gakkai—Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai—Toda Jōsei

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BETWEEN late 1945 and 1958, the Nichiren Buddhist lay organization Soka Gakkai, which had dispersed toward the end of the Asia-Pacific War, regrouped and burgeoned to more than eight hundred thousand member families in a concentrated proselytizing campaign known as the “great march of conversion” (*shakubuku no daikōshin* 折伏の大成進). Directed by the organization’s second president, Toda Jōsei 戸田城聖 (1900–1958), the “great march” lay the foundation for today’s Soka Gakkai as Japan’s largest religious organization.¹ It also coincided with Japan’s postwar reconstruction. The timing was no accident; what drove the campaign was Toda’s conviction that only the spread of Nichiren Buddhism—or more precisely, its Nichiren Shōshū 日蓮正宗 lineage, with which Soka Gakkai was then affiliated—could secure peace and happiness for the Japanese people.

More than any other premodern Japanese Buddhist teacher, Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–1282) stressed the social impact of individuals’ Buddhist practice, asserting that the spread of faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* would one day transform Japan into an ideal buddha land. The modern period has seen two significant attempts to realize this goal: one launched by adherents of Nichirenshugi 日蓮主義 (“Nichirenism”), which flourished in the late nineteenth through mid-twentieth century, and the other by the postwar Soka Gakkai. Both were lay movements, with remote roots in the Nichiren Buddhist lay associations (*kō* 講) of the late Tokugawa period (1603–1868). Tanaka Chigaku 田中智学 (1861–1939), the Nichirenshugi founder, welded Nichiren Buddhism to projects of nation-building and imperial expansion and incorporated state ideology into Nichiren doctrine, including the mythos of an unbroken, divinely descended line of emperors and an eternally unchanging *kokutai* 国体 (“national essence”). For Tanaka, the *Lotus Sūtra* and the Japanese *kokutai* were inseparable, like body and spirit: the *Lotus Sūtra* would “open” and give life to the *kokutai*, while imperial Japan would carry the *Lotus Sūtra* to the world (ŌTANI 2001, 97–103; STONE 2019). The early Soka Gakkai, while bearing some similarities to Tanaka’s movement, forged a different, oppositional Nichiren Buddhist identity, in which Japan and its people were suffering strict karmic retribution for having abandoned the true dharma of the *Lotus* and could only be saved by embracing Gakkai teachings. This article explores the formation and development of that identity, focusing on the

1. Soka Gakkai today claims 8.27 million member families. Like most self-reported religious statistics, this figure is inflated. About 2 to 3 percent of Japan’s population, slightly less than four million persons, may be more accurate (MCLAUGHLIN 2019, 3).

roughly two decades between 1937 and 1958. The first part traces its beginnings in the clash between the organization's first president, Makiguchi Tsunesaburō 牧口常三郎 (1871–1944), and the wartime government. The second part considers the role of that identity in the “great march of conversion,” the Gakkai's controversial entry into electoral politics, and its aim of establishing a national ordination platform. It pays particular attention to how Toda interpreted Japan's defeat, the Allied Occupation, and the task of national reconstruction in light of Nichiren's teaching.

Makiguchi, Nichirenist Exclusivism, and Wartime Persecution

Soka Gakkai history begins with Makiguchi Tsunesaburō, an educator honored today for his humanistic pedagogy (on Makiguchi, see IKEDA 1969; MURATA 1969, 71–84; and MIYATA 1993). For Makiguchi, the purpose of human life could be summed up as happiness, which he defined as the creation of value. Value had a hierarchy of beauty, gain, and good: “Beauty” was a personal, subjective experience; “gain” furthered individual interests; and “good” pertained to society as a whole. The aim of education, in Makiguchi's eyes, was to cultivate individuals able to create value and, in particular, to integrate the pursuit of personal benefit (gain) and the wellbeing of society (good), and to discriminate among lesser, middling, and greater levels of good (BETHEL 1973, 47–87). His theories won admiration from such luminaries as the folklorist Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男 (1875–1962) and the diplomat and educator Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稲造 (1862–1933). But Makiguchi, who had only attended normal school in Sapporo, was excluded from elite Tokyo academic circles by his lack of university credentials. Much of his career was spent as a principal or assistant principal in Tokyo primary schools. In 1920, while head of Nishimachi Primary School, he hired a young schoolteacher from Hokkaido named Toda Jōsei, who became his disciple.²

Makiguchi was critical of the state pedagogical model, which, being designed to produce imperial subjects, stressed rote learning and obedience to authority over fostering individual abilities. He often clashed with school administrators and officials. In 1928 he was in effect forced out of the profession by transfer to a primary school slated for closure the next year. He then devoted himself to writing his magnum opus, *Sōka kyōikugaku taikei* 創価教育学体系 (System of Value-Creating Education). Toda had left teaching in 1922 to enter business; in 1923, he now opened the Jishū Gakkan 時習学館, a private tutoring school for primary students preparing for the competitive middle school entrance examinations, where he put Makiguchi's teaching principles into practice. Toda also

2. Toda's given name was Jin'ichi 甚一. He changed it to Jōgai 城外 (“outside the fortress”) around 1923 and again to Jōsei 城聖 (“sage of the fortress” or “sage who is a fortress”) after his release from prison (NISHINO 1985, 84–86, 203–204). For convenience, I use “Jōsei” throughout.

authored a bestselling mathematics textbook, parlaying the proceeds into multiple business enterprises. Together the two founded Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai 創価教育学会 (Value-Creating Education Society) to promote Makiguchi's program of educational reform.³

Makiguchi had been exposed to several religious traditions, including Christianity and Zen, without committing to any; around 1916 he had also attended meetings of Tanaka Chigaku's Kokuchūkai 国柱会 ("Pillar of the Nation Society") but did not join (ŌTANI 2019, 589). Then in 1928 he was converted to Nichiren Shōshū by Mitani Sokei 三谷素啓 (1878–1932), a fellow school principal and a leader in the lay association Taiseikikō 大石講 affiliated with the Nichiren Shōshū temple Jōzaiji 常在寺 in Tokyo. He began serious study of Nichiren Shōshū doctrine under the guidance of Horigome Nichijun 堀米日淳 (1898–1959), who would later become the sect's sixty-fifth chief abbot (MTZ 10: 423). In Nichiren Shōshū, Makiguchi discovered a metaphysical basis for his value theory. He now understood the Wonderful Dharma (*myōhō* 妙法, "Mystic Law," in Soka Gakkai English-language publications) of the *Lotus* to be the fundamental principle of the universe, inherent in all things, that enables its devotees to create value without limit. Toda, following Makiguchi, also embraced Nichiren Shōshū.

Overview histories often treat Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai as a precursor organization narrowly focused on educational aims. But its character began to change after Makiguchi's conversion. Members uninterested in religion drifted away, while the group itself expanded beyond educators to include a more occupationally diverse membership. By the time of its first general meeting in 1937, Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai had reconstituted itself as a lay organization of Nichiren Shōshū, inflected through Makiguchi's value theory. By then the war with China had begun. As the government stepped up its mobilization of citizens behind the war effort, Makiguchi rallied Gakkai members to the "life of supreme good" (*daizen seikatsu* 大善生活), dedicated to the practice and promulgation of the Wonderful Dharma. Makiguchi's new vision, and his organizational strategies, would profoundly shape the postwar organization. But what was the Nichiren Buddhism to which he had converted?

NICHIREN, NICHIREN SHŌSHŪ, AND THE "LIFE OF SUPREME GOOD"

Nichiren taught a doctrine of exclusive devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra*, widely revered for its promise of universal buddhahood. The Tendai school, in which Nichiren had trained, considered it the Buddha's "perfect" (that is, complete) and ultimate teaching; all others were provisional. Like many of his contemporaries,

3. Soka Gakkai dates the founding of Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai to 18 November 1930, the publication date of volume one of Makiguchi's *Sōka kyōikugaku taikei*. The group itself was not formally established until 1937.

Nichiren understood himself to be living in the degenerate Final Dharma (*mappō* 末法) age, when obstacles to liberation are severe. In this evil era, he asserted, only the *Lotus Sūtra* is profound and powerful enough to open buddhahood to all; the Buddha had preached it expressly for this dark time when people would need it most. Nonetheless, he saw the *Lotus Sūtra* being abandoned in favor of “lesser” teachings—such as Shingon, *nenbutsu*, and Zen—that in his understanding had long since lost their salvific power. On this error, Nichiren blamed the disasters of his age: famine, epidemics, earthquakes, internecine power struggles, and the threat of Mongol invasion. To reject the *Lotus Sūtra* and embrace some inferior, provisional teaching amounted in his eyes to the grave sin of maligning or slandering the dharma (*hōbō* 謗法), that would spell ruin for individuals and the country in this life and create misery for lifetimes to come (STONE 2012). He advanced this theme in his famous admonitory treatise *Risshō ankoku ron* 立正安國論 (Establishing the True Dharma and Bringing Peace to the Realm).

Nichiren's *Lotus* exclusivism underlay the aggressive proselytizing for which he is well known. Buddhist sutras, he noted, acknowledge two teaching methods: *shōju* 攝受, a mild method of leading others gradually without challenging their present opinions, and *shakubuku* 折伏, a confrontational approach that directly rebukes attachment to provisional and false views. The choice of methods, Nichiren said, should depend on the time and place. For Japan in the evil age of *mappō*, where slander of the dharma held sway, *shakubuku* was indicated. Japan thus holds an ambivalent position in his teaching: an evil, deluded place whose inhabitants slander the true dharma but also the place where the Buddhism for the Final Dharma age had first arisen and whence it would spread to the world.

The essence of the *Lotus Sūtra* for this era, Nichiren taught, comprised “three great secret dharmas” (*sandaihihō* 三大秘法) implicit within the origin teaching (*honmon* 本門) or latter half of the *Lotus Sūtra* text, which presents itself as the teaching of the primordially awakened Śākyamuni Buddha (MURATA 1969, 51–61; STONE 1999, 267–290). These three are the *daimoku* 題目 (title of the *Lotus Sūtra*) said to contain the entirety of the sutra within itself and chanted in the mantric formula *Namu myōhō renge kyō* 南無妙法蓮華經; the *honzon* 本尊 (object of worship), a calligraphic mandala that Nichiren devised with *Namu myōhō renge kyō* inscribed down the center, surrounded by the names of representative figures of the *Lotus* assembly; and the *kaidan* 戒壇, or ordination platform, to be erected by official decree at a future time when *kōsen rufu* 広宣流布, the universal spread of the *Lotus Sūtra*, will have been achieved. It was fateful that, among all the various temple lineages, lay associations, and new movements of Nichiren Buddhism, Makiguchi should happen to embrace Nichiren Shōshū. In terms of numbers, it was a minor sect, but it had grown out of the first schism among Nichiren's

followers, when Byakuren Ajari Nikkō 白蓮阿闍梨日興 (1246–1333) is said to have broken with Nichiren's other direct disciples over what he saw as departures from Nichiren's teachings and unacceptable compromises with local religion. Nichiren Shōshū orthodoxy holds that Nikkō was Nichiren's sole legitimate dharma heir and that Nichiren's teaching has been authentically transmitted only in Nikkō's lineage. Over time, Nichiren Shōshū developed distinct doctrines setting it apart from other Nichiren Buddhist schools. It takes Nichiren to be the true or original buddha (*Nichiren honbutsu ron* 日蓮本仏論), enlightened since the beginningless past, and regards Śākyamuni as a provisional buddha (MURAKAMI 1967, 58–66; MURATA 1969, 63–67; STONE 1999, 334–343). Nichiren Shōshū has also adopted a purist stance toward ritual forms, accepting only Nichiren's calligraphic mandala—often referred to by the honorific term *gohonzon* (“revered object of worship”)—as the legitimate object of veneration and prohibiting devotion to other buddhas, bodhisattvas, or even the Japanese kami. While Nichiren inscribed many of these mandalas, and the *gohonzon* is revered across Nichiren Buddhist lineages, Nichiren Shōshū recognizes only the *daigohonzon* 大御本尊, a mandala enshrined at its head temple, Taisekiji 大石寺, at the base of Mt. Fuji in Shizuoka. Written with incised gilt characters on a roughly six-foot block of black-lacquered camphorwood, it is called the *Ichienbudai sōyo no daigohonzon* 一閻浮提総与の大御本尊, the “supreme object of worship bestowed on the entire world (Jambudvīpa)” (MURAKAMI 1967, 66–82).⁴ Individual copies are enshrined in believers' homes. Nichiren Shōshū holds that, at the time of *kōsen rufu* when Japan has converted and the *kaidan* has been built, it will enshrine this *gohonzon* and none other. Shōshū's exclusivistic orientation played a formative role in both the wartime and prewar Soka Gakkai.

Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai now fervently pursued *shakubuku*. Full membership was restricted to those who converted at least two persons per year (MIYATA 1993, 186). The chief proselytizing venue, then as now, was the local discussion meeting. These gatherings were termed “discussion meetings for experimental confirmation of the life of supreme good” (*daizen seikatsu jikken shōmei zadankai* 大善生活実験証明座談会) and highlighted member testimonials. Makiguchi (and Toda himself, in the postwar period) saw the efficacy of Nichiren Shōshū Buddhist practice as “scientifically” or empirically verifiable through the evidence of personal experience: Those who revere and uphold the Wonderful Dharma gain merit (*kudoku* 功德), while those who oppose or reject it receive karmic

4. Nichiren Shōshū holds that this mandala was inscribed by Nichiren himself as the purpose of his advent. Questions about its authenticity have not diminished its significance for Shōshū believers. See Luigi Finocchiaro, “The ‘Honmon Kaidan Daigohonzon’ of Nichiren Shōshū Taisekiji.” The Nichiren Mandala Study Workshop. www.academia.edu/42752205/The_Honmon_Kaidan_Daigohonzon_Of_Nichiren_Sh%C5%8Dsh%C5%AB_Taiseki_ji (accessed 16 February 2021).

retribution or “dharma punishment” (*hōbachi* 報罰 or simply *bachi*) in the form of personal loss or suffering. Benefits reported in the group’s monthly journal, *Kachi sōzō* 価値創造 (Value Creation), included easy delivery in childbirth, recovery from illness and alcoholism, business prosperity, improved human relations, and the peaceful death of relatives. At the same time, Makiguchi understood punishment as a compassionate working of the dharma, prior even to benefit. A religious principle without the innate power to punish wrongdoing could not possibly protect the good (MIYATA 1993, 144–147). Warnings about the misery that stems inexorably from rejecting the Wonderful Dharma were fundamental to his *shakubuku* approach. In *mappō*, Makiguchi explained, people’s minds are warped; they hate even hearing of the *Lotus Sūtra* and condemn it without understanding. Thus, out of compassion, one must destroy their mistaken views and “awaken them to their original mind” (MTZ 10: 208–209).

In addition to holding discussion meetings and lectures, each chapter recommended at least two committed young men to be chosen for “volunteer corps” (*teishintai* 挺身隊) to conduct special missions, such as converting persons of social influence, reviving the practice of lapsed members, and admonishing Nichiren Shōshū priests deemed insufficiently committed to propagation. The women’s division formed a similar volunteer corps (IKEDA 1969, 168–169; HIGUMA 1971, 64–65). Targets of *shakubuku* included not only persons of other religions or of no religion but also those attached to the “old-style faith” (*kyūshiki shinjin* 旧式信心) of Nichiren Shōshū temple families (*danka* 檀家). Although *danka* embraced the correct object of worship, theirs was not “the life of supreme good” devoted to teaching others of the Wonderful Dharma, the bodhisattva practice for the Final Dharma age stressed by Nichiren.

A “BLASPHEMOUS” TEACHING

As the war advanced, official ideology increasingly asserted the sacrality of the emperor and the Japanese *kokutai* as an absolute metaphysical essence. The Religious Organizations Law (*Shūkyō Dantai Hō* 宗教団体法), enacted in 1939, empowered the Ministry of Education to dissolve any religious body engaged in activities deemed inimical to the *kokutai*. A 1941 reform of the Peace Preservation Law (*Chian Iji Hō* 治安維持法), originally enacted to suppress Leftist movements, extended the purview of the Special Higher Police (*Tokubetsu Kōtō Keisatsu* 特別高等警察, or simply *Tokkō* 特高), to religious groups. Makiguchi himself did not directly criticize the imperial project. But neither, unlike many religious leaders, did he form patriotic support groups among his followers to help educate citizens against “dangerous ideas” or to promote the war effort. Nor, unlike Tanaka’s Nichirensugui, did he mythologize the *kokutai* or incorporate it into Nichiren’s teachings. Privately he began to speak of military service as

karmic retribution for slander of the dharma (MATSUOKA 2005, 248–249). Here Makiguchi invoked a passage from the *Benevolent Kings Sūtra* (T 245, 8: 833c10–11), quoted in Nichiren’s *Risshō ankoku ron*, to the effect that one who injures the true dharma, even if reborn in human form, will be destined to serve as “a slave in the army.” Makiguchi denounced as false the ethos of “obliterating the self to serve [the state]” (*messhi hōkō* 滅私奉公); the true way is to seek happiness for oneself and others together (MTZ 10: 8, 85, n. 18; MATSUOKA 2005, 249–250). In May 1942, *Kachi sōzō* was ordered to suspend publication. Surveillance of the Gakkai increased the following year.

According to Nichiren Shōshū teaching, once one has embraced *Namu myōhō renge kyō*, continuing to revere other objects of worship or engage in other religious practices becomes denigration or slander of the true dharma. Thus, as a condition of receiving the *gohonzon*, new Gakkai converts were required to destroy or otherwise remove from their homes any religious scrolls, images, or paraphernalia related to other religious forms, a practice known as *hōbō barai* 謗法払い or *toriharai* 取り払い.⁵ Evidently this practice was seen as socially disruptive, as an indictment against Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai reported complaints that “in severe cases, divorce has occurred when the wife, being a believer, performed *hōbō barai* while her husband was absent” (TG July 1943, 128). But the deeper objection to *hōbō barai* involved Gakkai attitudes toward the kami. Nichiren himself had strictly subordinated the Japanese deities to the *Lotus Sūtra*, regarding them as its dharma protectors. Unlike other branches of the Nichiren tradition that had developed a more accommodating attitude toward local religious culture, Nichiren Shōshū traditionally prohibited kami worship and shrine visits, a position the Gakkai strictly enforced, even with respect to the *taima* 当麻, talismans issued by the imperial Ise Shrine. Ise, which enshrined the sun goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大神, divine ancestor of the imperial line, formed a pillar of wartime ideology. By the 1940s, pressures on citizens to enshrine Ise talismans as a sign of loyalty had become near compulsory, and refusal was deemed an insult to the *kokutai*. Nichiren Buddhist organizations were forced to compromise or face dissolution. Honmon Butsuryūkō 本門仏立講, which like Soka Gakkai enforced *hōbō barai*, eventually made an exception for the Ise *taima*, as did Nichiren Shōshū (MIYATA 1993, 213, 236).

5. Makiguchi used the term *toriharai* to avoid confusion with Honmon Butsuryūkō, another lay Nichiren group, then affiliated with Honmon Hokkeshū 本門法華宗, which employed the term *hōbō barai* for the same practice (TG August 1943, 159; MTZ 10: 210). Nichiren Shōshū used the term *hōbō barai*, as did the postwar Soka Gakkai. At present, this practice is still required within Nichiren Shōshū, while the Soka Gakkai has relaxed its stance. Honmon Butsuryūkō (now Honmon Butsuryūshū), founded in the nineteenth century, is an important precursor to modern *Lotus* and Nichiren-based lay societies. Like Soka Gakkai, it began as a lay association within a traditional sect of Nichiren Buddhism but eventually became independent (ŌNISHI 2014).

Accusations against Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai unfolded as part of what some Nichiren Buddhists have termed the “Showa-era persecution” (*Shōwa hōnan* 昭和法難), the most virulent attack on Nichiren Buddhism since the seventeenth century (ŌHIRA 2014; STONE 2018). Government censors and rightwing watchdogs, poring over Nichiren’s writings, had discovered his claim that devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra* must supersede even loyalty to the ruler. The Ministry of Education demanded the deletion from Nichiren’s writings of more than two hundred passages deemed inimical to the *kokutai* or to the imperial house. Nichiren’s *gohonzon* was also deemed blasphemous, because it positions the national deities Amaterasu and Hachiman in a lower register of the mandala.⁶ In 1941, the rightwing newspaper *Kōdō nippō* 皇道日報 launched a series of vitriolic attacks on the Nichiren sect, demanding its dissolution. Nichirenshugi also came under fire, as ideologues began to notice that even this seemingly patriotic Buddhist movement held that the *kokutai* must be grounded in the *Lotus Sūtra*. The problem was one of competing absolutes. For promoters of imperial ideology, the Japanese *kokutai* was the fundamental essence that was to subsume and enlighten the entire world. Nichiren Buddhism confronted them with a rival totalizing project to unify and uplift humanity in the Wonderful Dharma of the *Lotus Sūtra*, and was thus seen as blasphemous (ŌTANI 2019, 567–568; STONE 2018, 34–35).

Nichiren Shōshū faced particular difficulties. The 1939 Religious Organizations Law had sought to merge religious groups originating from the same founder, and by 1941, the fifty-six lineages of Japan’s thirteen Buddhist sects had been amalgamated into twenty-eight.⁷ Nichiren Shōshū only narrowly escaped a forced merger with Nichirenshū, whose doctrines it considered heretical. Trouble also emerged within its own ranks, in the person of one Ogasawara Jimon 小笠原慈聞 (1875–1955), a priest who had allied himself with influential Nichiren Buddhists of other sects favoring the merger and was agitating for doctrinal revision subordinating the *Lotus Sūtra* to the national deities in line with *kokutai* ideology. Expelled for his activities, Ogasawara denounced Nichiren Shōshū to the Ministry of Education (NISHINO 1985, 156–158, 166–167; MIYATA 1993, 221–230). In June 1943, Nichiren Shōshū leaders summoned Makiguchi to the head temple and urged him to have Gakkai members accept the Ise talismans as a temporary expedient. Makiguchi refused absolutely. According to Toda’s account, on the return journey, Makiguchi told him that, whatever the

6. This was not a new criticism. During the anti-Buddhist *haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈 movement of the early Meiji period, Nichiren Buddhist temples had been forced to hide their mandalas or paper over the names of the Japanese kami (ONO 2014).

7. Within Nichiren Buddhism, Hokkeshū, Honmon Hokkeshū, and Honmyō Hokkeshū 本妙法華宗 merged under the name Hokkeshū, while Honmonshū and Kenpon Hokkeshū 顯本法華宗 merged with Nichirenshū (ŌHIRA 2014, 259).

consequences to Nichiren Shōshū, the time had come to “admonish the state” (*kokka kangyō* 国家諫暁), alluding to a Nichiren Buddhist practice of warning rulers against the danger to the country of reliance on provisional teachings and admonishing them to embrace the *Lotus Sūtra* alone (TJZ 3: 106–107; on *kokka kangyō*, see STONE 2020). Soon after, Makiguchi, Toda, and nineteen other leaders of the Soka Gakkai were arrested on charges of lèse-majesté and violation of the Peace Preservation Law.

MAKIGUCHI ADMONISHES THE STATE

Makiguchi was confined to a small, concrete cell and repeatedly questioned over several weeks. A record of his interrogation has been preserved.⁸ This remarkable document indeed places him squarely in the Nichiren tradition of “admonishing the state.” Several passages show how he interpreted Japan’s present and future in light of Nichiren Shōshū teachings.

The *Lotus Sūtra* was suited to the Japanese people, Makiguchi explained, as seen from its long tradition in Japan and the fact that it is propagated nowhere else. Nichiren Shōshū “takes the heart of the *Lotus Sūtra* to be encompassed in *Namu myōhō renge kyō*, the object of worship, and recognizes no other worship, faith, or sect apart from this” (TG August 1943, 141, 143; MTZ 10: 189, 191–192). With *kōsen rufu*, its universal spread, everyone from the emperor down to the common people without exception would take faith in it: “At that time, our country’s politics, economics, and all other fields of activity will be conducted according to the truth of the *Lotus*. That truth will be transmitted by the legitimate chief abbot [of Nichiren Shōshū] to the emperor and displayed in governance, so that a society and nation truly based on the *Lotus Sūtra* will be realized” (TG August 1943, 150; MTZ 10: 200). This, Makiguchi said, would represent “the merger of Buddhism and government” (*ōbutsu myōgō* 王仏冥合) based on the three great secret dharmas of the origin teaching; Japan would come to be “governed according to the mind of the original buddha.”

However, Japan’s present reality typified the evil and pollution of the Final Dharma age:

The present conflict in China and the war in East Asia have come about, ultimately, because this is a country that slanders the dharma. However, if the

8. This document, the *Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai kaichō Makiguchi Tsunesaburō ni taisuru jinmon chōsho bassui* 創価教育学会会長牧口常三郎に対する訊問調書抜粋, appears in TG (August 1943, 137–161), the monthly record of the Special Higher Police. I also cite the annotated version included in MTZ 10: 183–260. According to the editors (184), it was compiled chiefly from Makiguchi’s written responses to his interrogators and is therefore included in his complete works. It represents an exceptionally straightforward statement of his religious views. For commentary, see Irō (2009; 2011).

emperor and the common people embrace the mandala of the original buddha ... they will not only escape war, hunger, disease, and other disasters, but each individual will enjoy utmost peace and happiness in daily life.... Japan's politics, economics, culture and other activities will all accord with the truth of the *Lotus Sūtra*, and an ideal society in which all embrace the Wonderful Dharma will be constructed. (TG August 1943, 151; MTZ 10: 201–202)

Japan's fate, in other words, rested entirely upon embrace or rejection of the Wonderful Dharma.

Makiguchi's was a vision seriously at odds with a state orthodoxy that elevated the *kokutai* to a supreme position while relegating religion to an internal, private sphere. In a broad sense, his understanding was shared across Nichiren lineages. Records of the Special Higher Police reveal that Nichiren Buddhists of all sects, clerics and lay believers alike, vigorously resisted attempts to censor Nichiren's writings or remove the Japanese deities from the mandala, deluging government ministries and public officials with letters of protest. Often, they argued that such acts of suppression amounted to "slander of the dharma" and would cause Japan to lose the war (STONE 2018, 33–34). However, Makiguchi's position differed subtly but significantly, in his assertion that the war itself was *already* the consequence of dharma slander.

Unequivocally he subordinated both emperor and kami to the Wonderful Dharma. "The emperor is a common mortal (*bonbu* 凡夫)," Makiguchi declared. "He too makes mistakes.... But if he embraces the *gohonzon* ... his wisdom will gradually unfold, and he will be able to govern without error" (TG August 1943, 152; MTZ 10: 203). Queried about the relationship of the *gohonzon* and Japan's deities, Makiguchi expressed his concurrence with the Nichiren Shōshū position that to worship any god or buddha apart from the *gohonzon*, to visit their temples or shrines, or to receive their talismans, amounts to dharma slander. Since slandering the dharma obstructs benefit and invites unhappiness, he explained, Gakkai members were instructed to burn or otherwise dispose of all such objects. Makiguchi frankly admitted that more than five hundred heretical objects, mostly Ise talismans, had been burned on his direct instructions (TG August 1943, 161; MTZ 10: 212–213).⁹

9. Makiguchi acknowledged that his doctrinal reasons for prohibiting kami worship could invite misunderstandings. He told members that because each successive emperor inherits the virtue of the Sun Goddess, the emperor and Amaterasu are one (*ichigenron* 一元論); thus, respect for the emperor is sufficient, and it is unnecessary to visit Ise or worship Amaterasu independently. He also insisted that one should approach the kami with an attitude of respect but not of prayer (TG August 1943, 155–156; MTZ 10: 206–207; MIYATA 1993, 232–234). Makiguchi's "monism" was less an affirmation of emperor reverence, as Brian VICTORIA (2014, 14) reads it, than an effort to discourage Ise worship.

At the time of his arrest, the Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai numbered only about fifteen hundred persons nationwide.¹⁰ With the arrest of its top leadership, it soon dissolved. Prison conditions were harsh. Weakened by age and lack of food, Makiguchi died in Sugamo Prison in Tokyo on 18 November 1944, the precise anniversary of the Gakkai's founding.

Soka Gakkai internal histories, emphasizing the “unity of teacher and disciple” (*shitei funi* 師弟不二), often assert that Makiguchi and Toda alone held fast to their conviction; the others who were arrested, lacking sufficient faith, caved under pressure, recanted, and were released. But one other imprisoned Gakkai leader, Yajima Shūhei 矢島周平 (1907–1982), also maintained his faith. Yajima's case involved multiple ironies. This was his second arrest under the Peace Preservation Law. In 1933, he had been detained in a roundup of 131 teachers in Nagano Prefecture accused of Communist activities. Later he converted to Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai, as did several of his former comrades. Makiguchi stood as the guarantor of their moral reform (*tenkō* 転向) with local security officials and argued that “Red youth” could be fully rehabilitated only by embracing true religion, namely, Nichiren Shōshū.¹¹ After the war, Yajima joined Toda in rebuilding the organization, even serving temporarily as its general director while Toda dealt with a business crisis; Yajima was also the first editor of Soka Gakkai's study journal, *Daibyakurenge* 大百蓮華. In 1953 he left Soka Gakkai to join the Nichiren Shōshū priesthood, taking the name Shūkaku 秀覚.¹² He became abbot of Shōinji 正因寺 in Ōmiya, Saitama. One should also retrieve from obscurity the name of Fujimoto Hidenosuke 藤本秀之助 (d. 1944), like Makiguchi, a convert of Mitani Sokei. Fujimoto had become a Nichiren Shōshū priest (dharma name Renjō Nichigo 蓮城日護). Fiercely outspoken, he was arrested in 1943 for preaching “blasphemous” teachings such as “Nichiren is greater than the emperor” and “as long as one chants the *daimoku*, there is no need to revere the kami.” He also allegedly declared that Japan had started the war; that Hitler, Mussolini, and Prime Minister Tōjō were gangsters; that the war in Asia was retribution for failure to make Nichiren Shōshū the national religion; that it was wrong to target

10. This is the figure given by Makiguchi during his interrogation (TG August 1943, 160; MTZ 10: 212); the indictment issued against him also states the organization's membership as “one thousand and several hundred persons” (TG December 1943, 164). However, MURATA (1969, 82) and NISHIYAMA (2017, 137) both give it as three thousand, and MURAKAMI (1967, 111) and IKEDA (1969, 179) as five thousand.

11. See his 1935 “Sekka seinen no kanzen tenkō wa ika ni shite kanō naru ka” 赤化青年の完全転向は如何にして可能なるか and Miyata Kōichi's editorial headnote (both at <http://hwo01.spaaqs.ne.jp/miya33x/paper16-1.html>, accessed 16 February 2022). This article illustrates Makiguchi's approach in using contemporary topics as points of entry into arguments for the sole validity of Nichiren Shōshū.

12. HIGUMA (1971, 216) suggests that this move marked the beginning of a plan on Toda's part to seed the priesthood with young men raised in the Gakkai.

the U.S. and Britain, countries that had taught Japan; and that attacks by these nations should be understood as karmic punishment that would strike even the emperor, just as saliva spat into the sky will land on one's face. Fujimoto died in Nagano Prison on 10 January 1944 (TG September 1943, 133–135; MIYATA 1993, 242–243). Were one to include examples from other Nichiren lineages, the list would expand.¹³

Considerable controversy surrounds Makiguchi's stance (MIYATA 2000, 2002; MATSUOKA 2005, 244–257; SHIMAZONO 2006; VICTORIA 2014). Did he oppose the war or endorse it? Was he a champion of democracy and human rights who challenged the entire imperial enterprise, or did he object solely to the government's religious policy? These questions are complicated by shifts in Makiguchi's attitude over time; by considerations of whom he was addressing and in what context; and by the extreme danger, in the last years of the war, of making any public utterance susceptible to interpretation as an offense against the emperor or the *kokutai*. More fundamentally, one should note the pitfalls inherent in attempts to frame Makiguchi's position in such terms. The effort tends retrospectively to impose a liberal postwar ideal onto the wartime period and risks lapsing back into the crude binary of "resistance" versus "collaboration" that for decades straitjacketed the study of modern Japanese Buddhism. It also obscures what Makiguchi really stood for. He was neither an antiwar activist nor an advocate for religious freedom or other human rights. As SHIMAZONO (2006, 255) has observed, Makiguchi's was a "stern resistance," but a resistance that "did not necessarily take democratic social ideals as its standard." Rather, his overriding concern was the propagation of the Wonderful Dharma, whose spread must underlie any true social transformation and without which neither individual citizens nor Japan itself could flourish. Makiguchi's view of Japan was thus subsumed entirely within a particular, exclusivist Buddhist identity: Japan was to be the object of salvation by Nichiren Shōshū. This identity represents a crucial link between the wartime Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai and its postwar successor.

13. Several cases occurred within Honmon Hokkeshū, where six clerics were arrested in connection with a passage in a seminary textbook deemed insulting to the Sun Goddess. Among them, the scholar-priests Kariya Nichijin 刈谷日任 (188–1962) and Kabuhashi Taishū 株橋諱秀 (d.u.), respectively the textbook's author and editor, were incarcerated for more than a year and released only after the war ended (OGASAWARA [1949] 1984, 51–122). Hara Shinpei 原 真平 (d.u.), a learned lay devotee who had supported them, was arrested in 1944 under mysterious circumstances and died in prison the following year (OGASAWARA [1949] 1984, 150–152). Three lay devotees—Uemura Gyōjirō 上村行次郎 (d. 1945), Egusa Zensaburō 江草膳三郎 (d. 1945), and Sano Ryōta 佐野亮太 (d.u.)—were arrested for refusing to make shrine visits. Uemura and Egusa, detained in a Hiroshima jail, died in the atomic blast. Sano was released after the surrender (OGASAWARA [1949] 1984, 159–162).

The Great March of Shakubuku

Toda now formed an immovable resolve. His prison experience has acquired mythic stature. The harsh, ongoing interrogations and his grief on learning of Makiguchi's death; his efforts to chant at least ten thousand *daimoku* daily, using a rosary he had made by stringing milk bottle caps; his struggles to read the unpunctuated Chinese text of the *Lotus Sūtra*, mysteriously delivered to his cell from the prison library, are all part of Soka Gakkai origin lore. Twice, it is said, Toda had mystical experiences: Once, wrestling with the meaning of an obscure sutra passage, he was struck by the sudden insight that "Buddha is life itself!"; another time, he found himself suddenly present at the *Lotus Sūtra* assembly in the air above Eagle Peak and vowed to dedicate his life to the mission of propagation.¹⁴ Before the war, having built up a business empire of seventeen companies, Toda had acted as the Gakkai's general director and financial mainstay, but by his own account he had not seriously pondered Nichiren Shōshū teachings until his imprisonment. "I wanted us to win the war," he said in a 1956 interview. "I didn't think we'd be defeated. I didn't have the convictions that I do now. That was because I had no grounding in doctrine and didn't study..." But then, he continued, "I considered the connections: Our gains in proselytizing had coincided with Japan's [early] victories; the persecution of the Gakkai coincided with the country's turn toward defeat; and the bombing of the homeland began following the first president's [Makiguchi's] death in prison" (OGUCHI 1956, 36). Like his teacher Makiguchi, Toda had come to see Japan's fate as hinging on the embrace or rejection of Nichiren Shōshū, a conviction that would drive his post-war efforts.

Toda was released on 3 July 1945, just weeks before the surrender, into a Tokyo ravaged by firebombing (on Toda, see MURATA 1969, 85–117; HIGUMA 1971; NISHINO 1985). Almost immediately, he set out to rebuild the organization and to reestablish his business enterprises as a financial base. Members who had dispersed after Makiguchi's arrest now regrouped around him. Convinced that defections among the leadership after Makiguchi's arrest stemmed from an inadequate doctrinal foundation, Toda began a series of lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra* for a small group of followers. What he envisioned, however, was not simply a recovery of the prewar organization but a radical expansion of its mandate, and he accordingly renamed it Soka Gakkai, dropping the word "education."

14. Toda did not write extensively about these experiences, except in his fictionalized autobiography, *Shōsetsu ningen kakumei* (2: 235–238, 248–255). His successor Ikeda Daisaku describes them in his own novelized account of Soka Gakkai (*The Human Revolution* 4: 2–11, 13–16). Curiously, Ogasawara Nichidō 小笠原日堂, one of the six arrested Honmon Hokkeshū priests, also had a vision of the *Lotus* assembly while chanting *daimoku* in a prison cell (OGASAWARA [1949] 1984, 61).

Toda formally became the Soka Gakkai's second president on 3 May 1951. At the time, he famously declared: "While I live, I will convert 750,000 families.... If I don't fulfill this vow within my lifetime, don't hold a funeral for me. Just dump my ashes into the sea off Shinagawa!" (HIGUMA 1971, 178).¹⁵ Thus was launched the dramatic proselytizing effort known as the "great march of *shakubuku*." Gakkai membership at the time has been estimated at only about five thousand persons (NISHIYAMA [1975] 2016, 240). By Toda's death in 1958, it surpassed eight hundred thousand families. This second part of the present article examines Toda's vision for the *kōsen rufu* of Japan and the strategies he deployed in striving to realize it, including Soka Gakkai's controversial entry into politics.

TOWARD THE *KŌSEN RUFU* OF JAPAN AND EAST ASIA

In a 1951 essay, Toda sketched out his vision of a this-worldly buddha land. It would be

secure and peaceful, with no dropping of atomic bombs and no aerial bombardment. In a world where the Wonderful Dharma has spread, there can be no murder or death by starvation. Nor can there be capitalist exploitation nor labor disputes under the red flag, nor any such thing as three families without homes of their own living crammed together in an eight-mat room. And within the family itself, there will be no quarreling between parent and child, or between husband and wife, and no desperate struggles just to survive.

(TJZ 3: 151)

As this passage suggests, Toda's image of *kōsen rufu* was shaped by Japan's wartime experience and postwar privations. Here we will summarize his thinking about Japan's present and future as expressed in his speeches and writings from the time of the "great march."

Toda represented Japan's defeat as a reprise of its earlier history. "In Nichiren Daishōnin's time, the 'disaster of foreign invasion' [predicted in the sutras] occurred, in the form of the Mongol attacks. But thanks to his presence, only a portion of Kyushu and [the small outer islands of] Iki and Tsushima were involved in the fighting. This time, the disaster of foreign invasion manifested itself fully" (KŌENSHŪ 1: 337). In both cases, the underlying cause was the same: failure to embrace the Wonderful Dharma of the *Lotus*.

In the *Risshō ankoku ron*, Toda explained, based on scriptural warnings, Nichiren had cited "three disasters" afflicting those countries where the true

15. This statement is not recorded in the account of Toda's inaugural meeting given in Soka Gakkai's newspaper, *Seikyō shinbun* 聖教新聞. When it first appears in the official Gakkai record is unclear.

dharma is neglected—soaring prices, sickness, and foreign invasion.¹⁶ All three were clearly rampant in postwar Japan, in the form of inflation; surging rates of tuberculosis and polio; and the Allied Occupation itself. Toda acknowledged the bitter humiliation of defeat, “a stain on our three-thousand-year history. How painful, to have to see foreign troops reviewed in front of the Imperial Palace! For the Japanese people, there could be no greater shame. This is not one person’s fault but that of all Japanese. How can we ever face our ancestors?” (KŌENSHŪ 1: 337–338). Yet at the same time, he saw defeat as an unprecedented opportunity. No longer was there a military government or a Privy Council to obstruct propagation. Precisely because Japan had lost the war, Toda asserted, *kōsen rufu* could now be quickly achieved (KŌENSHŪ 1: 290). Just as Nichiren had seen earthquakes and other calamities as signs, not only of the country’s dharma slander but also of the rise of the true teaching for the *mappō* era, Toda read the trials of postwar Japan as presaging the spread of Nichiren Shōshū.

From an outsider perspective, Toda’s monocausal attribution of the war and Japan’s defeat to “slander of the dharma” easily appears naïve and reductive. Toda was surely aware of the multiple factors at play in these events, yet he nonetheless chose to address Japan’s situation from the standpoint he deemed fundamental, that of Nichiren’s *Risshō ankoku ron*. For his followers, it proved compelling. It made sense both of the defeat, with its attendant social disruption and loss of moral direction, and of the terrible sacrifices the war had exacted. It bypassed complex geopolitical issues and diffused painful questions of war responsibility. Slander of the dharma was “the fault of all Japanese”; all shared in it alike. More importantly, Toda’s perspective empowered devotees: It was not politicians, bureaucrats, or government leaders but ordinary men and women of the Soka Gakkai, who, by their proselytizing efforts, were rectifying the underlying cause of the country’s sufferings once and for all. To spread Nichiren’s true teaching and to rebuild Japan were the same task. “Nichiren Shōshū is the only religion that can save Japan” (KŌENSHŪ 1: 292), Toda asserted. That salvation would encompass not only soteriological but also natural and political realms, just as Nichiren had promised. “To banish typhoons, floods, fires, and other disasters from Japan, to stop being America’s underling, there is no other way but to achieve *kōsen rufu*” (KŌENSHŪ 1: 342).

Kōsen rufu would eventually embrace all humanity. But it was impossible, Toda noted, to address the whole world all at once. The logical starting place was Japan, which already had a karmic connection to the Wonderful Dharma (*Ōbutsu myōgoron* 2). At the same time, Toda gave thought to the *kōsen rufu*

16. Toda here conflates two scriptural references cited by Nichiren: “three inauspicious events” mentioned in the *Daji jing* 大集經, which are high grain prices, warfare, and epidemics (TEIHON 1: 212), and a list of seven disasters, including “foreign invasion,” predicted in the *Yaoshi jing* 藥師經 (T 450, 14.407C13–16 1: 211).

of Asia, and East Asia in particular. At the inaugural meeting of the Soka Gakkai Young Men's Division, he announced: "Our aim is not so small as just the single country of Japan. Nichiren Daishōnin commands us to bring this great teaching to Korea, China, and India" (KŌENSHŪ 1: 55). And in an essay written at the outbreak of the Korean War (1950–1953), he expressed deep sympathy for the Korean people, likening their suffering to those Japan had undergone a few years earlier and attributing it ultimately to the same cause: Buddhism, which had once brought peace to East Asia, had become formalized or lost altogether, and the purpose of the Buddha's advent was forgotten. "In an age when not a single person knows the true essence of Buddhism ... the people have fallen into the depths of misery" (TJZ 3: 76), Toda said. He voiced a desire to invite India's Prime Minister Nehru, as well as China's Zhou Enlai, Chiang Kai-shek, and Mao Zedong to Taiseikiji and to have those world leaders understand that "this is what the Buddhism of East Asia is like" (KŌENSHŪ 2: 175).

"I believe Japan has the mission, the responsibility, and the duty to explain to the world the essence of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which exists only in our country," Toda wrote (*Nihon minzoku no shimei*). Although no longer inflected by the rhetoric of empire, there are echoes here of prewar and wartime Nichirenshugi rhetoric about Japan's "divine task" to unite first East Asia, and then the world, on the basis of Nichiren's Buddhism. Japan would be saved by the Soka Gakkai and then both, being united, would shoulder the mission of saving other countries.

MOTIVATIONS AND STRATEGIES

Toda's vision entailed a massive commitment to *shakubuku*. Today Gakkai members often use this term in a broad sense simply to mean proselytizing. For Nichiren, it had the narrower meaning of rebuking others' attachments to provisional teachings in order to have them embrace faith in the *Lotus Sūtra*. The practice was largely suppressed under Tokugawa rule (1603–1868) as a perceived source of social conflict but was revived by lay Nichiren associations of the latter nineteenth century, notably Honmon Butsuryūkō, and later, within modern Nichirenshugi. But Toda Jōsei mobilized hundreds, thousands, and eventually tens of thousands of persons to pursue it on nationwide scale. What motivations did he offer, and what strategies did he implement?

As others have noted, Toda taught that *shakubuku* produces infinite merit or benefit (*kudoku* 功德, *riyaku* 利益). Many Japanese religions, old and new, promise this-worldly benefits (READER and TANABE 1998); however, that promise held particular appeal for the early Soka Gakkai membership, who, like followers of other postwar new religious movements, were often described as beset by "sickness, poverty, and [family] strife" (*hin byō sō* 貧病争). They came chiefly from among the lower ranks of urban workers. Many had poured into the cities from

rural areas, seeking work. A majority were in their thirties and forties; women outnumbered the men three to two. With limited education, severed from family and community, they often slipped through the safety nets otherwise provided by labor unions, health insurance, and social welfare programs—in short, those hardest hit by the war and least benefited by the economic recovery (NAKANO 2014, 297–300; MCLAUGHLIN 2014, 68–72). In the Gakkai, they found fellowship, and Toda, who had personally wrestled with poverty and illness, confidently assured newcomers that faith in the *daigohonzon* would change their circumstances. By the laws of karma, present suffering stems from past misdeeds, but by chanting *Namu myōhō renge kyō* and teaching others to do the same, one could quickly transform one’s destiny (*shukumei tenkan* 宿命転換) and “turn poison into medicine” (*hendoku iyaku* 変毒為薬). Toda communicated in down-to-earth terms that his listeners could readily grasp. Instead of buddhahood, he spoke of “absolute happiness” (*zettaiteki kōfuku* 絶対的幸福) or “human revolution” (*ningen kakumei* 人間革命).¹⁷ Where Makiguchi had stressed the reality of dharma punishment, Toda now placed greater emphasis on benefit.

In the prewar period, among Nichiren groups, Honmon Butsurūyō in particular had touted practical benefits but did not emphasize the mission of *kōsen rufu*. Tanaka’s Kokuchūkai had stressed the goal of realizing the buddha land in this world but in principle eschewed prayer for personal benefit (ŌTANI 2019, 54–55). Toda skillfully united the two emphases (NISHIYAMA 1989, 166–167). Significantly, he stressed that *shakubuku* was not merely the source of benefit but a holy mission, entrusted to his later followers by Nichiren himself, the Buddha of the Final Dharma age. Toda urged members to see themselves as the *jiyū no bosatsu* 地涌の菩薩, the bodhisattvas who, at the assembly of the *Lotus Sūtra*, had burst forth from beneath the earth and received the Buddha’s mandate to propagate the sutra in a future evil age. From that perspective, Toda said, they themselves had vowed in the past to shoulder whatever hardships they now faced, in order to save others struggling in the same situation. “Why were we born into this troubled world at a time when daily life is so hard? It’s because all of us received Nichiren Daishōnin’s command and, as a matter of destiny, were born here with a role to play in *kōsen rufu*” (KŌENSHŪ 1: 118). Present trials were in fact a proof of one’s compassionate bodhisattva vow to appear in this world and lead the way for others burdened by similar hardships. Thus the battle for *shakubuku* would simultaneously overcome one’s personal sufferings, expand the Soka Gakkai, and save Japan—and ultimately, East Asia and the world.

17. The term “human revolution” was first used by Nanbara Shigeru 南原繁 (1889–1974), post-war president of the University of Tokyo, in a 1946 radio broadcast; the phrase was immediately picked up by the media and later adopted by Soka Gakkai (NAKANO 2019, 92).

Seen in this light, ordinary Gakkai members, many of them disenfranchised and left behind in the move toward recovery, were in fact a privileged group, the very ones shouldering the future of Japan and all humanity. This perspective ennobled even the humblest life and infused struggles against mundane hardships with transcendent meaning. Herein lay a major source of the Soka Gakkai's appeal. Sociologist of religion Nakano Tsuyoshi has noted a "process of religious psychology" that enabled followers "to understand 'poverty, illness, and strife' in terms of a particular religious principle, reestablish on its basis the meaning of their existence in this world—that is, their self-identity—and thus overcome their difficulties." This process, he suggests, may more adequately account for the explosive growth of postwar new religious movements than other, more often-cited factors, such as the promise of worldly benefits or the compensatory fulfillment, achieved through organizational roles, of thwarted social aspirations (NAKANO 2014, 304–305). Gakkai members would likely understand such a process not merely as "psychological" but as grounded in the reality of the Wonderful Dharma.

However, motivation alone was not enough. On assuming the Soka Gakkai presidency in 1951, Toda implemented a series of sweeping organizational reforms to facilitate the "great march." Chapters were reorganized and ranked A, B, or C according to size, thus promoting internal competition to win converts. A new vertical structure facilitated communication by creating increasingly smaller divisions—districts, groups, and units—within each chapter. In addition to chapter affiliation, members were also organized by age and sex into the men's, women's, young men's, and young women's divisions; the youth division was placed directly under the president's leadership. Toda now sidelined several of Makiguchi's former disciples, placing his expectations on a younger generation of leaders, converted since the war, who would shoulder the Gakkai's mission after his death. Just as the prewar organization had formed "volunteer corps," he entrusted youth, especially young men, with special leadership tasks, including organizing *shakubuku* campaigns and challenging rival religious groups to religious debate (MURAKAMI 1967, 119–120, 129, 143–148).

Toda also revamped doctrinal study to support *shakubuku*. The study journal, *Daibyakurenge*, had been launched in 1949, and the Gakkai newspaper, *Seikyō shinbun* 聖教新聞, began publication in 1951. The following year, Soka Gakkai published *Nichiren Daishōnin goshō zenshū* 日蓮大聖人御書全集, a collection of Nichiren's writings edited by Hori Nichikō 堀日亨 (1867–1957), a respected scholar and briefly the fifty-ninth chief abbot of Nichiren Shōshū. In contrast to the four-volume *Shōwa teihon Nichiren Shōnin ibun* (TEIHON) published by Nichirensū, a critical edition used for scholarly purposes, the Gakkai version is designed for practitioners' daily use, issued in a single, soft-cover volume with thin pages (resembling the Bible), with Nichiren's writings in Sino-

Japanese (*kanbun*) rendered in Japanese syntax (*yomikudashi*).¹⁸ Toda standardized Soka Gakkai's study program by establishing a study bureau in which members advanced in rank (assistant professor, associate professor, and so on) via a series of exams on fixed curricula, a system reflecting his experience as a teacher and author of textbooks for state exam preparation. At the entry and lower levels, members studied basic Buddhist concepts and Nichiren's letters of encouragement to his followers, while those more advanced received instruction in Nichiren's treatises and the formal doctrines of Nichiren Shōshū (HIGUMA 1971, 190–193; McLAUGHLIN 2019, 122–127). Toda also reframed the Gakkai's interpretive lens for understanding Nichiren's Buddhism, setting aside Makiguchi's value theory in favor of a "life philosophy" (*seimeiron* 生命論) inspired by his experience of insight in prison: "Buddha is life itself," and all things participate in the "universal life force" of *Namu myōhō renge kyō* (HIGUMA 1971, 138–152).¹⁹

The "live ammunition" (*Gakkai no jitsudan* 学会の実弾) of the proselytizing campaign was the *Manual of Shakubuku* (*Shakubuku kyōten*), first published in 1951 and reissued in eight editions and thirty-nine printings between 1951 and 1969 (McLAUGHLIN 2012, 286–287; ITŌ 2004, 252–253). Along with overviews of Nichiren Buddhism, the history and doctrines of Nichiren Shōshū, and Toda's foundational essay "Life Philosophy," it contains short critiques of other religions: Shinto, Christianity, several new religious movements, and other Nichiren sects. Stronger on polemics than analysis and simplistic to the point of caricature, these summaries nonetheless virtually guaranteed that no user would be at a loss for words with a potential convert. The *Manual* also contained sample arguments to use with those indifferent to religion, those opposed to it, spiritual seekers, those practicing a different religion, and Nichiren Shōshū temple members. Interspersed throughout are exhortations to utmost effort: "If you truly desire Japan's recovery and the establishment of East Asia as a buddha land, then you should have others embrace the Wonderful Dharma as soon as possible, even by a single day or hour. Advance for the sake of *shakubuku*, without begrudging your life" (*Shakubuku kyōten*, 301–302).

18. The year 1952 marked the seven hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Nichiren sect (traditionally dated to 1253), and the first volume of the Nichirenshū critical edition was also published that year. There may have been some sense of competition on the Gakkai side to publish first.

19. Discourses of "life philosophy" have circulated widely since Japan's early modern period in religious, philosophical, and scientific circles, and encompass a range of interpretations. They draw on multiple sources, including Buddhism, Confucianism, agrarian religion, and vitalistic strands of Western thought. In Soka Gakkai presentations, universal "life" or "life force" (*seimeiryoku* 生命力) often replaces classic Mahāyāna formulations such as emptiness and interpenetration of the dharmas (STONE 2003b, 74–75). Toda's "life philosophy" is outlined in a 1949 essay of that name (TJZ 4: 5–22). For analysis, see SHIMAZONO (1999); NISHIYAMA (2017, 147–151).

A RADICAL TIMETABLE AND EARLY SOKA GAKKAI MILITANCY

For Toda, “even a single day or hour” counted. Around 1954, he began to speak of the need to accomplish *kōsen rufu* of Japan within twenty-five or twenty-six years—a far more ambitious goal than merely (!) converting 750,000 families. Timetables for *kōsen rufu* are a modern phenomenon. The first was proposed by Tanaka Chigaku, who at the turn of the twentieth century outlined a fifty-year plan for world conversion, following an envisioned unification and reform of Nichiren Buddhism (*Shūmon no ishin*, appendix). “The buddhahood of the land,” Tanaka declared, “is not like heaven or the pure land, which are never actually expected to appear before our eyes. We predict, envision, and aim for it as a future reality that we will definitely witness” (*Nichirenshugi kyōgaku taikan*, 4: 2268; STONE 2019, 640). But even Tanaka’s goal was not as pressing as Toda’s. “If we don’t accomplish *kōsen rufu* in the next twenty-five or twenty-six years,” Toda asserted, “then we won’t be able to” (KŌENSHŪ 1: 293). Toda did not spell out the reasons for this urgency, but he likely sought, within the narrow window of a generation, to mobilize the efforts of those who knew firsthand the bitterness of war and defeat and would thus wholly commit themselves to rebuilding Japan through *shakubuku*.

Observers have often commented on the militancy of the early Soka Gakkai. Youth division units had military titles, corps flags (*butaiki* 部隊旗), a staff headquarters (*sanbōshitsu* 参謀室), and marching bands; lyrics of Gakkai songs were often set to the melodies of army songs. Young men’s division leaders would stage “attacks” (*kōgeki* 攻撃) on other religious groups, infiltrating their meetings to engage and “defeat” them in religious debate. Gakkai martial display reached an apex in October 1954 at an all-Japan youth division meeting at Taiseikiji, where Toda, mounted like the emperor on a white horse, reviewed his “troops” while a chartered Cessna circled overhead. More than thirteen thousand young men and women in formation sang the “Song of Disciples” (*Dōshi no uta* 同志の歌) and pledged to fight till the end as Toda’s direct disciples for the *kōsen rufu* of Asia, marching on over the bodies of their fallen comrades (HIGUMA 1971, 222; SHIMADA 2004, 72–73). In the 1920s, the youth of Tanaka’s Kokuchūkai had also been organized into military-style corps, given corps flags and insignia, and charged with direct responsibility for proselytizing (ŌTANI 2001, 299–301). Whether Toda drew on Kokuchūkai precedent in this regard is not clear. In any event, as Levi McLaughlin notes, Soka Gakkai militant forms would have been “familiar signs of legitimate authority to converts who came of age within the wartime Japanese state.” Toda, he argues, “repudiated Japan’s wartime state by claiming its functions and rerouting them toward eschatological Nichiren Buddhist aims” (McLAUGHLIN 2019, 47–48).

Soka Gakkai militancy likely had multiple dimensions. Toda understood his organization to be waging an actual war: a war against wrong religion. “Wrong religion and teachings bring unhappiness in life. Correct religion brings happiness.... That’s all I want people to understand,” he said (KŌENSHŪ 2: 147). Traditional temple Buddhism had lost its power, while the new religions that flourished after the war simply fleeced people of their money. Toda was especially harsh toward other Nichiren groups. “On the way to *kosen rufu*, we will encounter many enemies,” he warned. “The reason is because only Nichiren Shōshu can save the people of Japan. Christianity must be eradicated. The *nen-butsu* sects must be eradicated. Risshō Kōseikai, Reiyūkai, all must be destroyed” (KŌENSHŪ 2: 51). At the same time, both the *Lotus Sūtra* and Nichiren predict that those who spread the true dharma in the evil latter age will meet with hostility, something Toda could attest to firsthand. He seems always to have considered that persecution such as he and Makiguchi had experienced could happen again, and he urged his disciples to be ready to give up their lives if needed.

Shakubuku, while in principle rooted in compassion, could in practice be quite aggressive. A passage from the *Shakubuku kyōten* (197) reads, “The persons you are attempting to convert are either ignorant [of Nichiren’s teaching] or versed [only] in wrong teachings. They do not have the same qualifications as you who now embrace this great dharma, so you should not debate them as though you were on equal footing. Explain calmly and let them hear you, and if they still oppose [your efforts], subdue them with the power of the lion king.” McLAUGHLIN (2019, 49–50) writes, “Members campaigned from door to door, and veteran adherents speak of being driven away from houses by residents who doused them with water and pelted them with stones.” Discussion meetings often became “high-pitched sessions that went on long into the night, at which members would anger their neighbors with loud chanting and visitors were pressured to convert on the spot.” Despite Toda’s admonitions to the contrary, prospective converts were sometimes urged to perform *hōbō barai*, the removal from their homes and destruction of “heretical objects” such as talismans, altars, and even ancestral tablets, before other family members had consented, provoking outrage and recriminations (MURATA 1969, 105–106). The similarity to complaints registered against the prewar organization suggests a continuity with earlier high-pressure conversion tactics. In January 1952, less than a year into the “great march,” Toda to his chagrin was required by the Special Investigations Bureau of the Department of Justice (Hōmufu Tokushinkyoku 法務府特審局) to promise in writing that Soka Gakkai members would refrain from illegal use of violence or threats in conducting *shakubuku* (HIGUMA 1971, 208; MURAKAMI 1967, 136).

The zeal displayed during the “great march of *shakubuku*” bore fruit in unprecedented growth and established the patterns of proselytizing that would

make Soka Gakkai “not only Japan’s largest active religion but most likely the largest independent Japanese organization of any kind” (MCLAUGHLIN 2014, 52). At the same time, its confrontational stance alienated the larger society it wished to save and engendered a distrust that has yet to fully dissipate. Toda’s conviction that *kōsen rufu* of Japan had to be secured within the next twenty-five years goes a long way toward explaining the urgency of the early *shakubuku* campaign. It also sheds light on the Gakkai’s controversial entry into politics.²⁰

THE ORDINATION PLATFORM AND ELECTORAL POLITICS

In 1954, Soka Gakkai established a Culture Bureau aimed at fostering members able to play key roles in the fields of economics, journalism, the arts, and especially, politics. The original aim in entering politics was to win public support for erecting a national ordination platform (BAFFELLI 2011; MCLAUGHLIN 2014). Toda explained: “From among you, Diet members will appear, a petition will be made for a national ordination platform, a Diet resolution will be passed, and even the emperor will come to know the greatness of the *gohonzon*. Only then will *kōsen rufu* be achieved” (KŌENSHŪ 2: 27).

Nichiren had entrusted the building of the *kaidan* to his future disciples. At the time of *kōsen rufu*, he wrote, when the ruler and his ministers have embraced the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *kaidan* should be erected “by imperial edict and official decree” (TEIHON 2: 1864). Ordination platforms in Nichiren’s day were sites for ordaining priests responsible for nation-protecting rites, so, for him, the *kaidan* likely signified the future official acceptance of his teaching and would seal the achievement of *kōsen rufu* in Japan. At the same time, the *kaidan* would have universal significance as the place where “all people of the three countries [India, China, and Japan] and the entire world (Jambudvīpa)” will come to pay reverence (TEIHON 2: 1864). Thus, it would represent both the actualization of Japan as a buddha land and the world’s spiritual center.

After Nichiren’s death, rival lineages disputed both the meaning of the *kaidan* and whose head temple would house the eventual edifice (HONGE 2015, 2–9). But like *kōsen rufu* itself, the *kaidan* had for the most part remained a vague future ideal. Not until the modern period was it envisioned in concrete terms, first within the Nichirenshugi movement and then by the postwar Soka Gakkai (NISHIYAMA [1975] 2016; STONE 2003a). Tanaka Chigaku had linked the *kaidan* to his vision of a reformed Nichiren Buddhism as the spiritual basis of

20. Early militancy may also have helped solidify the Gakkai’s traditional gender norms, in which men go out into society while women protect the home front. Although the voluntary efforts of the Married Women’s Division sustain the Gakkai, women are generally excluded from leadership positions above the local level or outside their own division (MCLAUGHLIN 2014, 69–70; MCLAUGHLIN 2019, 31).

Japan-led world unification. Establishing it, he said, would require converting the entire nation from the emperor down to the common people. Japan having converted, the Diet would then pass a resolution—the modern equivalent of an “official decree”—to abrogate the constitutional guarantee of religious freedom and make Nichiren Buddhism the state religion. The emperor would act as sponsor (*ganshu* 願主) for the building of the *kaidan*, and *ōbutsu myōgō*, or ideal government grounded in Buddhism, would be realized. Politics, ethics, society, art, culture—all would be unified on the basis of the Wonderful Dharma. Tanaka coined the term “national ordination platform” (*kokuritsu kaidan* 国立戒壇), and he founded a political party, the Rikken Yōseikai 立憲養正会, as a first step toward its realization (ŌTANI 2001, 297–299, 322–329).

Toda’s vision of the *kaidan* bore some resemblance to, but also differed from, Tanaka’s. The *kaidan* was not to be built by a unified Nichiren sect but by Soka Gakkai alone; it would be located at the Nichiren Shōshū head temple, Taiseikiji, and enshrine the *daigohonzon*. Like Tanaka, Toda thought a majority in the Diet would be necessary to mandate its construction, and he employed Tanaka’s term “national ordination platform.”²¹ But he rejected the idea that the emperor would play a key role. In his inaugural address, he had said,

Some think that *kōsen rufu* can be achieved by having the emperor accept a *gohonzon* and issue an imperial edict [for the building of the *kaidan*] as soon as possible, but that is a foolish idea. Today, *kōsen rufu* means that each of you must grapple with false teachings and convert the people of this country through *shakubuku* one by one, having everyone embrace the *gohonzon*. Only then will the national *kaidan* be established. (KŌENSHŪ 1: 51)²²

Also like Tanaka, Toda saw electoral politics as a means toward achieving this. Occupation reforms permitted religious groups to engage in political activity, and Soka Gakkai was by no means the first or only group to seize this opportunity (BAFFELLI 2011, 219; NAKANO 2019, 89–93).²³ However, Soka Gakkai is the only

21. This has been changed to *honmon no kaidan* in TJZ, the posthumously edited collection of Toda’s works (SHIMADA 2004, 47).

22. Toda did, however, accord the emperor a symbolic role, in a series of references made in 1954, to the “Shishinden gohonzon” 紫宸殿御本尊, a mandala held by Taiseikiji, that Nichiren is said to have inscribed for conferral upon the emperor at the time of his conversion. It was to be enshrined in the Shishinden, the main ceremonial hall of the Kyoto Imperial Palace. For Toda, the fact that Taiseikiji alone among all Nichiren temples possessed this mandala was proof that only Nichiren Shōshū carried the true transmission of Nichiren’s teaching (KŌENSHŪ 1: 308–309, 340, 344, 347, 357).

23. Nakano Tsuyoshi discovered, among the SCAP archives in Washington, D.C., an announcement of the founding of a “Nichiren Party” (Nichirentō 日蓮党, not connected with Soka Gakkai). Nakano suggests that it was probably drafted by Niizuma Seiichirō 新妻清一郎 (d.u.), a Nichirenshugi advocate and political activist who ran for office unsuccessfully on

religious body in Japan to have successfully sustained its political involvement. Fifty Gakkai candidates ran for local elections in 1955, of whom forty-seven were elected, to two prefectural assemblies and more than twenty city councils. Gakkai members campaigned for votes with the same passion that they converted new believers. Indeed, both efforts converged in the same ultimate aim.

Toda often spoke of Nichiren Shōshū teachings as able to transcend the global standoff between capitalist and Communist ideologies, but he did not formulate a concrete platform, nor did he stress civil rights or democratic ideals. In his earliest essay on the topic, he interpreted *ōbutsu myōgō* as the expression of Buddhist compassion in government. He denounced Japan's present government for its willingness to sacrifice some members of society as an acceptable price for economic prosperity. In terms of sacrificing its own citizens, the wartime regime had been "the worst government in the world," but without a foundation in the true dharma, even worse ones might arise. Government, he said, must embody the spirit of Nichiren, who had regarded the common sufferings of all people as his own (*Ōbo to buppō*). Toda initially rejected the idea of the Gakkai forming its own party as likely to encourage "politics for the sake of politics," rather than for *kōsen rufu*. "Those of our members who enter politics should each choose and join the party that accords with their own convictions," he said. "Even if they divide along conservative versus reformist lines and debate issues fiercely, even if disputes occur among their fellow Gakkai members who elect them, that's fine" (*Seikyō shinbun* 168, 3 April 1955, 1). However, this approach proved impracticable. In 1956 elections, Gakkai candidates ran as independents. In 1964, under Toda's successor Ikeda Daisaku 池田大作 (b. 1928), the Kōmeitō 公明党 party was formed, pledging itself to the ideals of pacifism, clean government, public welfare, and the fusion of Buddhism and government (BAFFELLI 2011, 223–226; NAKANO 2014, 303; McLAUGHLIN 2014, 66–68). Kōmeitō would eventually become a major opposition party and a key partner in coalition government.

A national *kaidan* and compassionate government in Japan were not Toda's only goals in having the Soka Gakkai enter politics. Participation in regular electioneering campaigns, he believed, would strengthen members' solidarity, display the organization's strength to society, and protect the Gakkai against political suppression (NISHIYAMA [1975] 2016, 240). Another reason had to do with Japan's geopolitical circumstances. Under the guidance of wise and farsighted statesmen, Toda believed, Japan could play a leading role in East Asia, establishing it as a "third power" that could break the standoff between the U.S. and the Soviet

multiple occasions before and after the war, representing a succession of different parties. It declares Nichirenshugi to be the essence of Japanese culture and the basis of Japan's democratization, human revolution, and world peace—the earliest known use of the term "human revolution" in a Nichiren Buddhist context (NAKANO 2019, 90–92).

Union (KŌENSHŪ 2: 229, 290). At the same time, he saw Japan's present position, sandwiched between the two superpowers, as precarious. "Should there be a clash between East and West," he said, "it's clear that Japan would be reduced to ashes" (KŌENSHŪ 2: 289). Discussing the *kaidan* in a 1956 interview, he commented:

The purpose of the national *kaidan* is to pray for the nation's peace and security. What frightens me is the atomic bomb. Both Russia and America must absolutely be stopped from using it. My thinking is that, to achieve that, we must pray for the protection of the Buddhist law. (PQR 1956, 12)

Thus, Toda may have understood the national *kaidan* as an apotropaic bulwark against atomic weapons.²⁴

Toda's goal of the national *kaidan*, and the Gakkai's entry into politics, both drew criticism as violating constitutionally mandated religion-state separation and fed public fears, fanned by the media, about Soka Gakkai as a threat to democracy. With mounting frustration, Toda reiterated that the Gakkai had no intention of seizing power or making Nichiren Shōshū the state religion; its political activities were aimed solely at establishing a national ordination platform, open to all. But his reassurances did little to allay public mistrust. In the Ikeda era, in response to social pressures, Kōmeitō and Soka Gakkai officially separated, and the ideal of a "national" ordination platform was abandoned in favor of one built "by the people" (*minshū kaidan* 民衆戒壇). Soka Gakkai's donation to Taiseikiji of the Shōhondō 正本堂, a magnificent sanctuary completed in 1972, and attendant controversy over whether it should be defined as the *honmon no kaidan*, exacerbated underlying tensions between the Gakkai and the Nichiren Shōshū priesthood, leading to their 1991 split and to the Soka Gakkai's ensuing struggle to redefine itself (NISHIYAMA [1975] 2016; MCLAUGHLIN 2014; STONE 2003a).

After Toda's death, the Gakkai continued to expand rapidly but also began to transform. Its movement for peace education; its international outreach and grassroots diplomacy; its NGO membership in the United Nations; its research centers, vast cultural activities, and kindergarten-through-university educational system; and the formation of Soka Gakkai International all developed under Ikeda. As Japan itself emerged as a world economic power, Soka Gakkai's self-representation became more self-consciously international and geared to liberal values. References to "saving Japan" and "the Japanese people" that

24. Soka Gakkai would not launch its peace activities until the Ikeda era. An address Toda gave to youth division members in 1957, a few months before his death, is now retrospectively celebrated as that movement's inception. However, its tenor differs greatly from later Gakkai discourse of "world peace." Toda charged his listeners to convey to the world his "first declaration" that those who employ nuclear weapons are demons, Satan, enemies of humanity and, whether they win or lose, should be put to death (KŌENSHŪ 2: 346–348).

had characterized the Toda era gave way to a rhetoric of “Buddhist democracy,” “humanistic socialism,” and “global democracy” (TSUKADA 2015, 140–141). Nonetheless, the Soka Gakkai’s present prosperity grew from the achievements of the great march of *shakubuku*, when the pain of war and defeat, attributed to “slander of the dharma,” were still keenly felt, and the spread of Nichiren’s teaching was inseparably intertwined with rebuilding Japan. That moment in its history merits closer study, not only from a leadership perspective drawn from textual sources, as outlined here, but through the eyes of rank-and-file participants, by ethnographers who can interview still living informants or their descendants.

Summation

Sociologists of religion variously interpret the significance of the “great march.” Some see it as a utopian or millenarian movement shouldered by non-elites. Soka Gakkai empowered the marginalized, enabling them to reconstruct their social identity as bodhisattvas charged with a heroic mission (NAKANO 2014, 304–307). Another suggestion sees the early Soka Gakkai’s campaign as entailing an element of class struggle; however, in absorbing lower-level urban workers excluded by lack of education from labor unions, it in effect inhibited the growth of revolutionary Leftist movements in Japan (SHIMADA 2004, 88–90). Yet another view notes the early Gakkai’s similarities to other totalizing forms of wartime and immediate postwar social organization. Especially following the outbreak of the Pacific War, the government sought increasingly to mobilize citizens and unite their energies behind the war effort; around the same time, as though in response, Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai united its members in an all-out proselytizing effort aimed at the goal of *kōsen rufu*. In the postwar period, a similar ethos, demanding individuals’ total commitment of time and energy to the goals of their own organization, was solidified by Japanese corporations and new religious movements, Soka Gakkai included (SHIMAZONO 2006, 266–267).

We can also understand the early Soka Gakkai and its wartime predecessor within the history of Nichiren Buddhism, as attempts to translate and implement Nichiren’s mandate of *risshō ankokoku* for the modern secular age. Nichirenshugi and Soka Gakkai were both serious experiments in this endeavor. Nichirenshugi gained broad appeal by promoting a reading of Nichiren inflected through issues of modernization, nation-building, and *kokutai* ideology but, having linked its fortunes to the imperial project, lost traction after Japan’s defeat. Both Maki-guchi’s Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai and Toda’s postwar Soka Gakkai similarly upheld Nichiren’s vision of a buddha land to be realized in the present world. But they also took seriously his call to counter “slander of the dharma,” which they rigorously interpreted through the lens of Nichiren Shōshū, arguably the most exclusivist of Nichiren traditions. Their position, that only Nichiren Shōshū could save

Japan, placed them at odds with the ideological mainstream, whether wartime imperialism or postwar liberal values. From their perspective, Japan had gone fundamentally astray and was suffering the repercussions of having rejected the Wonderful Dharma. Only by converting to Nichiren Shōshū could Japan fulfill its potential to lead other countries in realizing an ideal world. In the last years of the war, that conviction brought the Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai into conflict with the official orthodoxy and led to its disbanding. In the harsh aftermath of defeat, that same conviction became the driving force for unprecedented expansion. Later, under Ikeda, Soka Gakkai would reach its peak growth, routinize, and modulate its confrontational stance, broadening its range of social engagement. But Toda's "great march" was a formative moment that, for Gakkai members, birthed a new, postwar Japanese Buddhist identity and mission. It both focused and challenged normative understandings of religion's social and political roles and would shape Soka Gakkai's image for decades to come.

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- MTZ *Makiguchi Tsunesaburo zenshū* 牧口常三郎全集. 10 vols. Daisan Bunmeisha, 1981–1987.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, eds. 85 vols. Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1935.
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