

THE SŌKA GAKKAI'S SEARCH FOR THE REALIZATION OF THE
WORLD OF *RISSHŌ ANKOKURON*

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The solution of man's problems, the creation of a better world, and the quest for a higher realm or better way of life are among the goals of the world's major religions. These questions are important to Buddhists and dominate the thinking and writing of Buddhist scholars. Japan's Nichiren school of Buddhism whose sects base their teachings on the doctrines of the thirteenth century Japanese monk, Nichiren, is one of the many forms of Japanese Buddhism that tries to offer both a diagnosis and a solution to mankind's suffering. Today Japan's Sōka Gakkai, a multi-million member lay organization of the Nichiren Shō sect, claims to have reinterpreted Nichiren's teachings and offers what it feels is the only solution to twentieth century man's inability to live in a stable and peaceful world.

The Sōka Gakkai today claims to act as Nichiren's successor. It holds that Nichiren diagnosed the cause of man's afflictions and proposed the cure, but that only the Sōka Gakkai can act as the vehicle to bring mankind to salvation. Nichiren claimed that he lived in a world of hatred, greed and warfare; the Sōka Gakkai states that these conditions have not changed and that its version of Nichiren Buddhism is man's best hope for a better world. With perhaps ten million members in Japan and another million abroad, strong influence over Japan's third largest political party, and extensive wealth and control over its own huge mass media complex, the Sōka Gakkai is a force to be reckoned with in Japan. Of particular interest and importance is its extensive "peace movement" which more than anything indicates the direction the

Gakkai is taking and the depth of its commitment to following Nichiren's view of the world as presented in his treatise *Risshō ankokuron* (The Establishment of Righteousness and Security in the Country) which today serves as the Sōka Gakkai's major guide in its view of society.

NICHIREN

Nichiren (1222-82)¹ lived in a desperate period of Japanese history.² The city of Kamakura, for example, was beset by a series of disasters such as plagues, droughts, famines, typhoons, fires, earthquakes, political plots, uprisings, and the terrifying spectacle of an eclipse and appearance of a comet which were regarded by many as a sign of bad fortune (Tamura 1975, pp. 43-44; Rodal 1980, p. 8). Nichiren described the scene:

There was an earthquake worse than any ever before experienced. On the first day of the eighth month of 1258, there was a typhoon; in 1259, a terrible famine; in 1260, a plague; and in 1261, an epidemic which lasted through all four seasons of the year without relief. More than half the populace died. Meanwhile, the rulers, aghast at the suffering, had various rites and services performed, following both Buddhist and non-Buddhist practices. Nevertheless, there was not the slightest sign of a result and the famine and plague worsened (Quoted in Rodal 1980, p. 8).

The sad plight of his countrymen compelled him to write his famous treatise, *Risshō ankokuron* which he presented to the Shogunate in 1260 (Tamura 1975, pp. 43-45). In it Nichiren recommended the traditional notion that Buddhism was to be accepted as a political tool as well as a means to individual salvation. Several of the sutras were known as "nation-protecting sutras" (鎮護国家經 *chingo kokkakyō*) which promised the protection of various gods to the country that reveres the sutra (Rodal 1980, p. 9).

Trying to find the cause of the national calamities and social unrest in Japan, Nichiren came to the conclusion that a stable, peaceful nation could only come about after the correct Buddhist teachings had been totally accepted by the nation (Tamura 1975, pp. 60-64). He felt that redemption could be gained here and now in this world. The sentient world could become a Buddhist paradise (Rodal 1980, p.10), if people would turn to the true Buddhism. This process could be started with the accession of an ideal ruler, a wise Confucian-Buddhist king, who was a believer in the Dharma and who would lead the country to faith. As L. R. Rodal states:

Behind this concept lay the Confucian notion of rule by sages, which held that the national morality was dependent on the ruler's morality. If the ruler would convert, Nichiren felt, the country would become a true Buddhist nation. "In the world governed by the sage king, morality will prevail. In the world governed by the foolish king, immorality will triumph." For Nichiren, two obligations coalesced: the Confucian duty of putting his wisdom to the use of the ruler, and the bodhisattva course of working for the salvation of all living human beings. He set about composing a memorial to the *bakufu* in which he recommended the *chingo kokkakyō* which promised to be most effective for the times: the *Lotus Sutra* (p. 11).

Nichiren based his teachings on the doctrines of the *Lotus Sutra* which is one of the most important works of Mahāyāna Buddhism and is the holy scripture of the Tendai and Nichiren sects of Japan. Followers of these sects regard it as the final and most important set of the Buddha's teachings. They place special emphasis on what they regard as Śākyamuni's greatest teaching--that all people bear the potential for Buddhahood within them; consequently, all people are equal before the Buddha. Thus, all men, even the worst sinners, can be saved, and salvation is not limited to the diligent few who put a special emphasis on their study and knowledge of Buddhism. Śākyamuni promises to bring enlightenment and true happiness to all those who have profound

faith in his teachings and powers and who invoke any part of the sutra as a sign of their faith (See Soothill 1930, pp. 43-44).

Nichiren was one of the leading exponents of the concept of *mappō* (the Age of the Latter Law).³ He states that the *Lotus Sutra* offered man the only real chance for salvation during *mappō*. He believed the *Lotus* to have the power of saving all people, even the wicked, and that it was especially designed for a period when the world was dominated by evil. Nichiren wrote that "the *Lotus* represents the true teaching of the Buddha. Buddha himself realized that . . . with the coming of *Mappō*, this sutra must be spread to the rest of the world to save humanity" (Murano 1954, p. 37). The *Lotus* is indeed "expounded for the sake of us sinful man living at the beginning of *mappō*" (Armstrong 1952, p. 239), and an all-out effort must be made to introduce the *Lotus* to the rest of humanity.

Nichiren believed that the *Lotus* was the one vehicle that could provide mankind with an escape from the agony of *mappō* to a new era of eternal peace and happiness. He was sure that no one else had understood the "true" doctrines of the *Lotus*, so he felt that he had an absolute obligation to spread its teachings to his fellow man. He had a genuine concern for his countrymen and Japan and seems to have been shattered by the distress and misery of the people around him. He was convinced that if all Japanese joined him in worshipping the *Lotus*, their pain would ease.

As a means of bringing these thoughts to the attention of the shogunate, Nichiren addressed the *Risshō ankokuron* as a treatise to the most powerful person in the government, Hōjō Tokiyori. In the treatise Nichiren contends that Japan's secular leaders, especially high government officials, have brought misery to the Japanese because of their support of "false" religious sects. They must withdraw their support of these sects and give Nichiren and his followers a free hand to propagate the only religious doctrines that will bring peace and happiness to Japan. He further emphasizes that only he himself and his followers have the power and ability to save the Japanese and that they must take the sole initiative in this drive. He wrote the *Risshō ankokuron* in the form of a dialogue between an intelligent Buddhist priest, who is

Nichiren himself, and a guest who asks many leading and provocative questions which Nichiren answers in detail. The guest sets the tone for the whole discussion by noting at the outset the presence of national calamities and human sufferings. Nichiren replies:

I racked my brain and read sutras (to find out the cause of the calamities). At last I have reached the following conclusion. The (government and) people of this country are standing against the Right Law. They believe wrong teachings. Therefore, gods have deserted this country and saints have left us. They will never return to us again. Maras and devils have come instead. Therefore, the calamities have taken place. . . . (The Buddha says:) When my teaching is about to be eliminated (in a country), . . . my precepts will be forgotten, . . . the earth will quake, . . . the mountains will erupt. Dragons in heaven will not send rain. Seedlings will die. . . . Everything will be dried up all over the country, and many ill omens will be seen from time to time. . . . All gods who are compassionate towards all living beings will leave that defiled country and go to some other place.⁴

A nation that disregards the *Lotus Sutra* and supports false doctrines will be visited by seven calamities: "The sun and moon do not move regularly (and) the seasons do not follow one another regularly;" the stars and planets will "change their appearances from time to time;" the nation will be ravaged by great fires; great floods will drown people; great winds will cause havoc; droughts will kill all plants; and the country will be disrupted by foreign invasions and internal rebellions.

The Kamakura region had been ravaged by a series of natural disasters and the people were suffering. Nichiren attributed these disasters to the blindness of the leaders and people in neglecting true Buddhism. But he reserved his harshest attacks not against political leaders, but against other religious sects, especially the Amidists. Nichiren concludes that these practitioners of false religions have led the people and government away from the true

teachings and powers of the *Lotus Sutra*. His solution is easy: "If we hurry to stop alms to heretics and give alms instead to monks and nuns of the true faith, if we cleanse the kingdom of these bandits," Japan will be transformed into a Buddhist utopia.

At the end of *Risshō ankokuron* Nichiren gives one an idea of what his Buddha world or paradise will be like. It will be a realm which does not suffer from the seven calamities and which is guarded by good gods. The country will be safe and peaceful, there will be no natural disasters and crops will be bountiful. All the people will live together in great happiness and harmony, assured of peace in their present and future lives (Tamura 1975, pp. 43-44; 60-64).

NICHIREN'S SUCCESSOR: SŌKA GAKKAI

"Ningen kakumei" (The Human Revolution), the second movie of the film series that the Sōka Gakkai is producing on its own history, begins with shots depicting the chaos in Japan during the life of Nichiren. Earthquakes send whole mountainsides down on helpless villages, destroying houses and killing hundreds of people. Fierce soldiers charge across the countryside fighting one another and killing innocent civilians. The announcer declares that this is the age of depravity described in *Risshō ankokuron*.

The audience is then shown clips of Japan's devastation during World War II. Whole sections of Tokyo and other cities are destroyed. Thousands of homeless, dazed people wander around seeking food and shelter with little or no success. There is not a happy face to be seen anywhere. The announcer solemnly announces that this too is the age described by the *Risshō ankokuron*.

During the last forty years the visible scars of the Pacific War have disappeared from Japan. People are well fed and well dressed. Tokyo, Osaka, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki have all been rebuilt. There are signs of prosperity everywhere as tall skyscrapers dominate the horizon, new and flashy cars clog the streets in increasing numbers and color television sets entertain

people of all classes throughout the country. Nevertheless, a Sōka Gakkai official told me that "postwar Japan is no better off than it was thirty years ago and in some respects is even worse off. The Japanese are an unhappy, insecure race."⁵

Many modern Japanese social scientists would agree with this statement. Kanō Tsutomu, the editor of *The Japan Interpreter*, feels that the Japanese are experiencing a severe identity crisis; traditionally, they saw their nation not as a mere collection of individuals, but as an "entity that transcends the people both in time and space" with the Emperor as a symbol of that transcendence. Defeat in the Pacific War destroyed this image, but the Western values of individualism and democracy have not sunk deep roots in the Japanese psyche. "Psychologically a Japanese tends to be insecure, unsure of his ego-identity, unless he can define his relationship with others around him, his relative position in the community or the group(s) he belongs to" (Kanō 1976, p. 8).

The second and third presidents of the Sōka Gakkai, Toda Jōsei and Ikeda Daisaku, stressed similar ideas in their writings. Japanese society, they say, is like a ship without a compass "floundering on the high waves of social upheavals." They have also said that the Japanese share many common interests and traditions, but have no common principles. Rootless people are grasping for meaning in life, but without consensus each person is forced to rely on his own values and instincts. This shallow individualism has resulted in a cultural and moral breakdown in society (*Seikyō shinbun* No. 177, March 1976, pp. 6-21).

This led President Toda to reflect that wherever he went, people seem to be dominated by greed, anger and sheer foolishness. Both rich and poor exhibited traits of haughtiness, jealousy, and pride. The individual was so obsessed with his own petty interests that he showed little concern for his neighbors. Even the nation's leaders spoke of the need to reform and improve society, but perpetuated scandalous politics that brought out the worst in the citizenry (Toda 1960, pp. 200-01; 208-09).

Sōka Gakkai officials are convinced that their form of Nichiren Buddhism can change this and save Japan. They contend that the Nichiren Shō sect can teach man to revere the sanctity

of life, respect the rights and freedom of others, and build a common bond of friendship and fellowship based on love and trust. If the Japanese based their lives on the teachings of Nichiren, the present identity crisis would be overcome and Japan would become a symbol of peace and brotherhood for the world. Crime rates would decline, pollution would diminish, and a true welfare state would emerge.

President Ikeda, giving a lecture in 1961 on *Risshō ankokuron*, noted that:

All people in the world desire the tranquility of their land; they wish to be happy and peaceful throughout their whole lives. Therefore, many philosophers, thinkers and leaders have made efforts for the achievement of this state. This is the reason for the growth of religion. But disasters did not cease, wars broke out, and misfortune came in succession. This is because they did not know the highest Buddhism in the world. Now, the Sōka Gakkai alone knows the fundamentals, and so I positively state that it must be bravely advanced for the benefit of the individual, Japan and the whole world, making others understand the Daishōnin's [Nichiren's] Buddhism (Ikeda 1962, p. 269).

The Sōka Gakkai accepts Nichiren's assertion that when the people of a nation do not accept the True Law of Buddhism, sages will leave the country and guardian deities of Buddhism will not remain. Without their protection people suffer from hunger, thirst and pestilence. Ikeda insists that the basic cause for world problems today is that the Buddhist gods have departed, because "people ignore . . . the *gohonzon*⁶ transmitted in Nichiren Shōshū" (Ikeda 1962, p. 269). He adds:

The root cause for the confusion of a nation is attributed to the disturbance of Buddhist gods. Buddhist gods here signify thought. When the right way of thinking is ignored, prejudiced views and ideologies begin to be accepted by the general public. Big-headed thinkers and critics display their

knowledge, sticking to their own opinions. When thought becomes chaotic, the people fall into disorder, and as they are disturbed, their country becomes agitated. Thus, the nation goes into ruin and the race suffers misery. This is the principal of downfall (Ikeda 1962, p. 279).

The Sōka Gakkai also follows Nichiren's belief that national disasters can occur when a society refuses to accept the True Law (Ikeda 1962, pp. 275-276). Nichiren talked in terms of natural disasters like earthquakes, but the Sōka Gakkai is more sophisticated in its view of disaster. Social problems, rather than natural disasters, are the indicators of the need for society to adopt Nichiren's teachings.⁷

Many years ago President Ikeda once even went as far as to say that Japan's bitter defeat in the Pacific War came as a punishment for the Japanese government's support for false religions, and such sentiments are still held today.⁸

Thus, according to the Sōka Gakkai, things have not improved since the days of Nichiren. We are still in the age of *mappō* and the cause of our misery is the same. We refuse to realize the correctness of and need for the Buddhism of Nichiren. We worship false deities, practice false religions, and ignore the fact that salvation and the creation of a better world can be found through the brand of Buddhism expounded by the Sōka Gakkai. Salvation will come when more and more people realize the advantages and benefits of Buddhism.

Just as Nichiren appointed himself as the spokesman of the people when he wrote *Risshō ankokuron*, the Sōka Gakkai is today appointing itself as the guardian of the people. Its purpose is to spread the word of truth and salvation to all men, to warn them of the dangers that exist in the world today, and to show them how to escape this misery.

Just as Nichiren talked of the danger of war in *Risshō ankokuron*, the Sōka Gakkai feels that we live in a hostile and dangerous world ruled by men who through greed and ignorance will destroy the world. The Sōka Gakkai asserts that it must warn governments as well as the citizens of each state of the danger of

nuclear war and in a sense has declared itself the guardian of each peace loving citizen. The result is a *Peace Movement* with a twofold purpose: To alert us all to the danger of World War III and to offer us the solution to mankind's ignorance and greed—the true Buddhism of Nichiren that can save us all.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT

The issue of peace and war has always played a major role in the Sōka Gakkai's attitudes towards society. The Japanese government decimated the Sōka Gakkai's small pre-World War II membership by jailing much of its leadership because of the Sōka Gakkai's refusal to support the war effort or to obey laws pertaining to the control of religious organizations. Its first president and founder, Makiguchi Tsunesaburō, died in jail and its second president, Toda Jōsei, spent many miserable months in solitary confinement.

Today the Sōka Gakkai regards its peace movement as perhaps its most important activity. The character and direction of the movement was started by Makiguchi who "initiated a movement to achieve human revolution and to found an ideal society based on Buddhist principles." It was the second president, Toda, who in 1957 "issued an epoch-making declaration calling for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons. That appeal struck at the roots of the evil that lingers within man and set the basis for Sōka Gakkai's peace movement."⁹

The Sōka Gakkai's peace movement is unlike any other in Japan. It is based on the premise that enduring peace can only be achieved when there is a fundamental change in man's character. Man is plagued by evil karma and is thus trapped in a world of misery and suffering. His fate and state in life can be improved only if there is an improvement in his karma. According to the Sōka Gakkai, the *only* way to improve karma is to worship the *Dai-gohonzon*, a mandala¹⁰ which Nichiren is said to have inscribed shortly before his death. The *Dai-gohonzon* is imbued with the saving powers of Nichiren and the *Lotus Sutra* which it represents and all who pray before it will be saved if they are sincere.

Likewise society has a collective karma composed of all the individual karmas that are its makeup. Thus, the quality of society will improve along with the improvement of individual karmas. A person with a bad karma is prone to violence and hate; good karma people stress peace and love. The only way to arrive at peace is to gradually improve the karmas of all men. Because it has the key to the improvement of karma and thence the salvation of mankind, the Sōka Gakkai claims that it has the world's only genuine and effective peace movement. Ikeda Daisaku has written that:

The core of the message of the *Risshō ankokuron* is this: on a national, international, or worldwide scale, the only way to bring about lasting peace is to establish the reign of the true Buddhist Law. This work, Nichiren's first active approach to social problems, and the establishment of the Dai-gohonzon, the embodiment of peaceful wishes for all people, were profound reasons for Nichiren's appearance on this earth. In these things he showed that the ideal and true spirit of practical Buddhist action in society is the realization of lasting peace for all mankind. . . . The keynote of the Sōka Gakkai lies in the realization of the spiritual and material happiness of the individual through... faith practice and study, as well as in the advancement of peace and culture for society as a whole. This is the true spirit embodied in Nichiren Daishōnin's essay entitled *Risshō ankokuron*. . . . The most horrible of war's aspects is probably not the cruelty and evil of its effects, but the fact that it brings to the forefront the vilest, most atrocious elements of human life. War strips loftiness and respect from humanity and, through its wicked actions, covers man with filth. It is only natural that Buddhism, the aim of which is to guide all people to the highest, purest realms, is bound to oppose war directly. By a like token, the Buddhist believer who is eager to practice his faith in the truest way regards it as his mission to pour his entire soul into the task of building peace (Ikeda 1981, pp. 21-22; 237).

The Sōka Gakkai feels that it has the answer to peace. It defines peace as a new way of life that is devoid of war where man can devote all of his attention to positive creative energies and live in harmony with his fellow man. "Peace ought not to be thought of as a brief period of respite between wars."¹¹ Just as Nichiren petitioned the government with a diagnosis and cure for the problems, the Sōka Gakkai peace movement is meant to first educate mankind about the horror of war and then to show him how Buddhism can bring it eternal peace.

The first aspect of the peace movement consists of a variety of activities focusing on peace education, support of the United Nations, aid to refugees and attempts at personal diplomacy. Although the movement has attracted some public skepticism and is not without its detractors, it has brought a peace consciousness among some members, perhaps forced the Kōmeitō, its political party, to alter its stance on the US-Japan Security Treaty, and helped to improve ties between China and Japan.

Peace Education

Peace education may be the most significant aspect of the Sōka Gakkai's Peace Movement. Japanese students receive little education about World War II. All of them are well aware of the fact that the war was fought, that millions of Japanese died and that most of Japan's cities were reduced to rubble, and that Japan was the victim of the first atomic bombs. Yet there seems to be a deliberate effort in Japan's schools to ignore the war. Japanese students in my classes have little sense of Japan's failed attempt to seize northern China after 1937 or of the causes of the conflict with the United States. They are often shocked by the American preoccupation even today with Pearl Harbor and to find so much lingering hostility even among young Americans who are equally as ignorant about Pearl Harbor.

Each Japanese high school student takes a course in his nation's history and a highschool text *Nihonshi* is used by many schools. The book's authors, Kasahara Kazuo et al., present a concise narrative description of Japanese history, but only six pages are devoted to the Pacific War in both the 1973 and 1984

editions of the text, despite the fact that the war led to Japan's greatest tragedies. More attention is paid to World War I which was quite insignificant in terms of Japan's involvement. Blame for World War II is placed on the precarious state of world politics, Roosevelt's decision to block shipments of oil to Japan, and on Japan's frustrated war efforts in China. There are only two or three paragraphs on the American bombing of Japan and less than a page on the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There is no sign of emotion in the writing, no signal that millions of Japanese really did suffer.

The situation is no better in elementary schools. In Okinawa which was devastated by a fierce battle in early 1945 and occupied by the United States until 1972, June 25th is observed as a memorial day. It is the only chance that teachers have to discuss World War II and nuclear warfare. After discussing the battle for Okinawa with her fifth grade students, a teacher asked her students to write an essay on the modern implications of war.¹² The students expressed surprise about the ferocity of the battle for Okinawa and horror at the number of deaths in their home city of Naha. They speculated that the world is more prone to war today than it was four decades ago and demanded to know why people are always killing each other in war. Yet in reading these essays there is no indication that the students really understood the causes of World War II or what it was really like to live through the war. Too often the students simply mouth clichés about the horrors of war and the need for world peace. As limited as war education is in Okinawa, it is a lot more comprehensive than in Fukuoka Prefecture where school teachers have little or no opportunities to discuss the concept of war with their students.¹³

The Sōka Gakkai argues that peace education is a crucial ingredient to the establishment of a peaceful society. The premise of the peace education program is that young Japanese have no memories of the terror and suffering of World War II. It states that today far more money is being spent on more constructive, generally beneficial ends. "In short, humanity is devoting a vast amount of its resources and wealth to self-destruction" (Youth

Division 1982, p. 7). The Gakkai claims that one of the reasons for this development is the lack of knowledge among the young of the true face of war. "Today, in Japan, nearly four decades after the conclusion of World War II, the greater part of the population has never experienced the horrors of war directly and is therefore blessed in ignorance of humankind's oldest, most repugnant activities" (Youth Division 1982, p. 7). The Gakkai insists that such ignorance is dangerous and if people really want to know what war is like, they would work hard for its abolition.

The Sōka Gakkai's peace education program has led to the publication of a multi-volume series of books recounting the first-hand experiences of Japanese during World War II. In the 1970s members of Sōka Gakkai's Youth and Women's Divisions canvassed many older Japanese and collected a broad range of experiences from virtually every walk of life during the war. Their memories were published in a 56 volume series, *Sensō o shiranai sedai e* (To the Generations Who Do Not Know War) which was completed in 1979 and which required the labor of about 1000 people (Youth Division 1982, p. 8). Some additional volumes have been published since 1979. Selections from the first 56 volumes have been translated and incorporated into two English-language books, *Cries for Peace* and *Peace is our Duty*.

The main value of such Sōka Gakkai anti-war publications is the emotional reaction that they provoke. Their scholarly value is limited because the essays are placed in the books in a rather haphazard manner with no attempt at analysis. There is a great need for some discussion of the *causes* of war. It is valid to say that war is horrible and useful to remind people of its horrors, but one needs to go much deeper. Perhaps everyone is aware of the brutality and savagery of war, and yet mankind seems to resort to war to solve disputes. The Sōka Gakkai needs to deal with the causes of war as well. Nevertheless, these books are not without value to Japanese. Japanese textbooks completely ignore the emotional and human factors of war. Works such as these supply the missing ingredients.

The Sōka Gakkai has also put together a series of exhibits depicting the ugliness of war, especially nuclear war. One

exhibition, "The Nuclear Threat To The World," was held at the United Nations in New York and has subsequently been shown throughout Japan and Europe. It was sponsored by the United Nations Department of Public Information with the support of the Sōka Gakkai and the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Sōka Gakkai officials often proudly stated that, although there were other co-sponsors, much of the credit for material and work in putting together these exhibits belongs to the Gakkai.

The brochure prepared for the exhibit contains lurid pictures of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki including a graphic picture of a charred body of a young boy. The caption below the picture reads, "This boy seems to have been blown up by the force of the explosion when he was walking around the hypocenter (at Nagasaki) and burned to death. He was almost carbonized." There are graphic photographs of the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as well as a map of New York City displaying what would happen if a one megaton bomb were dropped over Manhattan. Every building on the island would be destroyed and there would be only a few badly injured survivors.¹⁴

There is a permanent exhibit of nuclear horrors run by the Sōka Gakkai outside of its headquarters in Yokohama. There are the expected pictures of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and eye-witness accounts of the death and destruction there. There are exhibits demonstrating the power of nuclear weapons and what would happen to the world should there even be a very minor nuclear war.

The Sōka Gakkai is also putting on exhibits about war in some of its regional headquarters. The Women's Peace Committee in Fukuoka has been holding exhibits for four years with new exhibits every six months that are said to have attracted up to 140,000 members through July of 1984. The exhibit at the time featured the experiences and feelings of Japanese women at home while their husbands, sons, or brothers were fighting in China and elsewhere. There were pictures, artifacts, and stories documenting the hardships one faced at home as well as at the front. There was also a film taken in Nagasaki at the time of the bombing as

well as a small-scale model of Fukuoka showing how lethal a similar bomb would have been, had it hit there.

According to a member of the Fukuoka Women's Peace Committee:

We had considerable difficulty in organizing this exhibit, and it took some ingenuity to succeed. One problem is a lack of funds. We had to do a lot with very little. We went to the local newspaper and got many pictures from their morgue. We borrowed and copied many pictures at low cost. We talked to many older women in surrounding neighborhoods and got many descriptions of the war as well as some artifacts that they had saved. At first these war survivors were reluctant to talk, but when they saw the earnestness of our purpose, they seemed eager to help us. We approached authorities in a museum in Nagasaki and easily persuaded them to let us borrow a copy of their film on the Nagasaki bombing.¹⁵

Apparently no school groups had yet come to see the exhibit, but some teachers had come as well as some parents with their children.

This exhibit, despite the small number of people who had come to see it, is significant. The organizers of the exhibit said that they had little meaningful training in history and had known very little about the war, since the oldest had only been a small child at the end of the war. By building their own exhibit these women were forced to learn a lot about the war. More importantly it made them feel that they were doing something constructive to further the cause of peace. One member stated: "There is so little that we as individuals can do. But working together we can produce exhibitions that can tell our neighbors of the tragedy of war. This sense of accomplishment encourages us by heightening our desire for peace and our support for the peace efforts of Ikeda Daisaku."¹⁶

On the other hand, it is hard to measure the effect that the education program has had on the average Sōka Gakkai member.

When one talks about the peace movement to hundreds of Sōka Gakkai members, one is told that all of them genuinely favor peace, but it is hard to measure the depth of this support. Sōka Gakkai leaders sternly admonish members who are not studying peace materials published by the Sōka Gakkai. At one study meeting of Sōka Gakkai Youth Division members at the main temple of Taiseki-ji, a Sōka Gakkai official strongly admonished students who had not read an assigned book written by Ikeda Daisaku. "We are the harbingers of peace, but how can we succeed if you are so complacent? Today we live in a rich and conservative country that is deliberately ignoring the threat to peace and life imposed by nuclear weapons. Only hard work on your part, the youth of the country, can start the process of public awareness of the horrors of war."¹⁷

The peace movement, on the other hand, seems to have somewhat radicalized some of the Sōka Gakkai's leaders. For example, there seems to be growing opposition in the Sōka Gakkai to the Kōmeitō's support for the United States-Japan Security Treaty. Party Secretary Yano Junya supports the treaty because of the necessity to maintain friendly relations with the United States and to ensure Japan's peace and security.¹⁸ Younger party activists, who are also enthusiastic Sōka Gakkai members, campaign against the deployment of tomahawks and nuclear weapons. They have complained that the party is attaching too much importance to the Security Pact's virtue as a deterrent when the danger is growing that Japan might be embroiled in a nuclear war because of the treaty. These protests forced the Komeitō in 1984 to begin a formal review of its policy towards the Security Treaty. If the activists do get the party to reverse its stand, then the peace movement will have had a genuine effect on Japanese politics. Other Sōka Gakkai leaders seem to have been caught up in the process and radicalized by the peace movement in the sense that they are taking a more hostile stance towards their government's defense policies and towards the nuclear and foreign policies of the Reagan administration, many of the same people who supported the re-election of Gerald Ford because he was "harmless."¹⁹

Other Efforts at Peace Education

The Sōka Gakkai is also apparently making an effort to foster member and public awareness of the United Nations. The Sōka Gakkai was registered as a non-government organization (NGO) associated with the UN Department of Public Education, and as a NGO it is supposed to assume the task of redisseminating information to a wider public. The Sōka Gakkai claims that it is furthering the cause of the United Nations by its attendance at annual NGO conferences, by its contributions to the UN Oral History Project, presentation of an exhibit called, "We and the United Nations" at sites all over Japan, and at public forums where support for the UN is urged.²⁰

The Sōka Gakkai has also been active in donating about half a million dollars in the past four to five years for refugees. The money has been given to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and was raised primarily by on-the-street fund-raising by younger members. One can readily find printed Sōka Gakkai material that points out the plight, needs and problems of refugees. Various divisions of the Sōka Gakkai have published pamphlets outlining the basic requirements for a good diet, where food for such a diet is grown, and showing deficiencies in the diets of people in much of the third world. The point is that hunger today is a real problem, that hungry humans are living in a very real hell, and that it is the duty and obligation of those in wealthier nations to help the less fortunate. Again, we see the Sōka Gakkai working to educate people about world problems.²¹

Again one finds an effort by the Sōka Gakkai to involve its ordinary members in the peace education process. This not only further binds them to the Sōka Gakkai, but encourages them to feel that their work matters. A half million dollars is not a great sum of money, but it can do some good and does provide members with the sense that their work is worth something.

THE SŌKA GAKKAI AND INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY
A GLOBAL BASIS FOR THE WORLD OF RISSHŌ ANKOKURON

The Sōka Gakkai claims that its desire for *Risshō ankokuron* is global in scale and that it must act as an international herald of peace. Its efforts in addition to its work with the United Nations includes numerous "voyages of peace" by Ikeda around the world to express his desire for more international communication and his dialogues "with all those who love peace."²² Several divisions of the Sōka Gakkai have been active in the promotion of international exchange with groups in other countries which include a recent trip by a large delegation of Sōka Gakkai youth members to China.²³ The Sōka Gakkai has put a great deal of effort in developing a special rapport with China and certain Sōka Gakkai officials stress that it was the Sōka Gakkai which played the crucial role in helping to restore diplomatic relations between China and Japan in the early 1970s.²⁴

Ikeda emphasizes that the increasingly powerful armaments of nations today make it absolutely imperative for all nations to work out a plan for lasting peace. He implies in his many books and essays on the subject that any lasting peace may be found in the Buddhism of Nichiren Shōshū. The Sōka Gakkai, as the personal representative of the "true Buddhism," must use its organizational abilities to teach man that the threat of warfare will only come to an end when the world is populated by a significantly large number of people who embrace Buddhist philosophy and who recognize the folly of strife and the need for all men to work together to solve mutual problems.

The Sōka Gakkai justifies the extension of its efforts to spread the world of *Risshō ankokuron* as follows.

The Human Revolution, a novel by President Daisaku Ikeda of the Sōka Gakkai International, begins with these words, "War is barbarous and inhuman. Nothing is more cruel, nothing more tragic." The revulsion towards war expressed in this statement has led Ikeda to undertake a series of journeys to foreign lands where he has met with political

and cultural leaders and enlisted their aid in promoting people-to-people diplomacy among the various nations. Ikeda believes that the key to international relationships lies not only in negotiations between governments but also in a steady cultural and educational interflow among peoples—an interflow that leads to the strengthening of personal ties among the citizens of various nations, regardless of differences in race and ideology.²⁵

The Sōka Gakkai feels that the world of *Risshō ankokuron* must be one of human friendship and trust. With this in mind since the late 1960s Ikeda has had meetings with and in many cases long dialogues with such national leaders as Deng Xiaoping, Hua Guofeng and Zhou Enlai of China, Alexei Kosygin and Nikolai Tikhonov of the Soviet Union, Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, Prime Minister Desai of India, Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, and the presidents of Panama and Mexico, as well as such American political figures as Edward Kennedy, Henry Kissinger, and George Ariyoshi. There have also been dialogues with such cultural and intellectual figures as Arnold Toynbee, Rene Huyghe, John K. Galbraith and Ezra F. Vogel. The Sōka Gakkai has published a number of these "dialogues" in book form including ones with Arnold Toynbee and Andre Malraux.²⁶

One must wonder what these "voyages of peace" have accomplished. Have they helped the process of peace in even the remotest way? In the case of China, the answer is a qualified yes, but one must be skeptical of the value of the other encounters. There is certainly no harm in having meetings with leaders of other nations. But there is no other indication of their "peace value" other than being a symbol of the need for world leaders and other leading citizens to open up lines of communication.

The obvious beneficiaries of these encounters are Ikeda himself and the Sōka Gakkai. Both want public respect and acceptance and have been subjected to ridicule and criticism by critics for decades. My own survey of 100 students at Waseda University, one of Japan's best universities, in 1984 showed great and deep hostility towards the Sōka Gakkai.²⁷

There was a limited sympathy and respect for the Sōka Gakkai's peace movement, the Kōmeitō, and its ability to help unhappy people, but the students were unanimous in their dislike for Ikeda and throughout the summer of 1984 one could read articles in the Japanese press linking him with various sex scandals. Ikeda is adored by his followers and vilified by many non-members.

Polly Toynbee, a left-wing British journalist for the *Guardian* and grand-daughter of Arnold Toynbee, created a small sensation in early 1984 after she had been invited by the Sōka Gakkai to visit Japan. Upon her return to Britain she wrote a lengthy article in the *Guardian* where she described Ikeda as someone who is:

Relatively uneducated . . . with a style of conversation (that is) imperious and alarming. . . . Worldly, he seemed, down to the tip of his hand-made shoes, earthy almost, without a whiff of even artificial spirituality. Asked to hazard a guess at his occupation, few would have selected him as a religious figure. I have met many powerful men—prime ministers, leaders of all kinds—but I have never in my life met anyone who exuded an aura of absolute power as Mr. Ikeda. He seems like a man who for many years has had his every whim gratified, his every order obeyed, a man protected from contradiction or conflict. I am not easily frightened, but something in him struck a chill down the spine (May 19, 1984).

It is easy to see where Miss Toynbee could get these impressions. When I met Ikeda at a dinner at Soka University in July of 1984, one could sense an almost electric air of anticipation from guests as it was announced that Ikeda and his entourage was about to enter the room. The dinner was a command performance by Ikeda; he was able to keep three intelligent conversations going at once, kept everybody's attention on him throughout, and had every request granted immediately. He does in fact exude an aura of absolute authority and seems to relish his power and prestige. There is perhaps some degree of vanity and arrogance in what he

says and does, but that is a trait that can be found in almost every famous person including virtually every religious leader of the past. Power can corrupt and there may indeed be some truth to the charges leveled against him in the scandal sheets. On the other hand, one gets the impression that he is very intelligent, by nature a kind man who cares deeply for those under him, who is sincere in his religious convictions, and who really wants to exert his power and influence for the public good. Power can be used for good or evil. One can readily call into question the intrinsic value of his peace efforts, but it would be harder to question his sincerity.

The one area that the Sōka Gakkai might be having some impact is its relationship with China.²⁸ It may seem odd for Japan's largest Buddhist organization that so vehemently denounces communism at home to strike up a close relationship with the leaders of the world's largest nation. Nevertheless, Ikeda announced a conciliatory set of proposals in 1968 that advocated increased trade with, diplomatic recognition of, and United Nations membership for the Beijing regime.²⁹

It is apparent that the Kōmeitō played some role in the process of negotiations that led to the establishment of relations between the Chinese and Japanese in late 1972. There were several visits by Kōmeitō teams in 1971 and 1972 and it is apparent that the Kōmeitō played the critical role of go-between between the Japanese government of Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei and the Chinese. It is said that there is a close personal friendship between Ikeda and Tanaka and that the Sōka Gakkai-Kōmeitō was doing Tanaka a favor in exchange for his help over an earlier scandal.³⁰ Yano Junya, Secretary-General of the Kōmeitō, has stated emphatically, "We were much more than a mere messenger boy in that negotiation process. We made many suggestions to both sides and played an active and constructive role in the process."³¹

Since 1974 Ikeda has made six trips to China and has met with many Chinese leaders. He arranged for a half dozen Chinese students to study at Sōka University, the first Chinese to study in China in the post-war period. Since then many Chinese have come

to Sōka University and students and faculty from Sōka University have gone for study and research in China. On his sixth trip last June Ikeda had a long meeting with Hu Yao-bang, Chinese Communist Party Secretary General, and was awarded an honorary professorship at Beijing University, a rare honor.³² There have been numerous visits by representatives of various Sōka Gakkai divisions to China including doctors from the Gakkai Doctor's Division who visited their counterparts in China. A team of cooks who are also Gakkai members visited China a few years ago. The visit led to the opening of the first Chinese-run Japanese restaurant in Beijing.

The Chinese and the Sōka Gakkai cultivate this relationship because each has something to gain and little to lose. Since 1972 the Chinese have regarded the Gakkai and Ikeda with some degree of trust and respect. Personal relationships with influential people in Japan, especially if they have valuable political connections, are worth the trouble and expense. Ikeda still has profound influence over the Kōmeitō and may still have ties with the huge Tanaka faction of the Liberal Democratic Party which still rules Japan. Friendship with the Gakkai gives the Chinese access to Japan's third or fourth largest newspaper (the Sōka Gakkai's *Seikyō shinbun*). The Gakkai press will almost always give the Chinese a very favorable press in Japan. The access the Chinese have at Sōka University is also meaningful. On the other hand, access to China's leaders gives the Sōka Gakkai a great deal of publicity and prestige, at least within its own media, as well as the opportunity to play an active role in mending Chinese-Japanese relations.

Of course, there are many other people and organizations that have played a critical role in Sino-Japanese relations as far back as the 1950s. Chinese students now study at a variety of Japanese universities and students and faculty members from many Japanese schools go to China. Nevertheless, China is certainly the one area in the Sōka Gakkai's peace movement abroad where there have been some meaningful results.

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

The ultimate success of any peace movement must be its impact on the public. The peace movement during the Vietnam War in the United States ultimately had a profound effect on public opinion, leading to the impressive strength of the candidacy of peace candidate Eugene McCarthy and President Johnson's decision not to seek re-election in 1968. The Sōka Gakkai peace movement is quite new and has grown during a period of comparative peace. The result is that it has had a seemingly strong effect on members but little on non-members.

Despite the massive publicity it has given to its own peace efforts and the obvious dedication and support given by much of its own membership, there seems to be a genuine problem with the public's perception of the movement. Few non-members are aware of the Gakkai's peace efforts and there is widespread skepticism over its goals. This factor is exacerbated by the fact that there appears to be a conspiracy of silence directed against the Sōka Gakkai in much of the Japanese press. For example, the Japanese press relishes publishing frequent lengthy articles about the Sōka Gakkai alleged "scandals," but they do not publish news about significant Sōka Gakkai events. For example, in June of 1984 when Ikeda was traveling through China meeting with important Chinese leaders, including the head of the Communist Party, Hu Yao-bang, there were only very brief articles in one or two newspapers.

A 1984 survey of 100 Waseda University students, all of whom were non-members, bears this out. One would expect these students to be among the best informed about public affairs, yet, of those surveyed, only 34 said that they were aware of the peace movement, while 61 stated that they had never heard of it. The remaining students were unsure if they had heard of it or not.

There was widespread skepticism over the Sōka Gakkai's motivations for starting the peace movement. A few respondents did have a positive image of the movement. "They are doing it to spread human love." "They are working towards the creation of a utopia on earth." "They are making a genuine effort to put their teachings into practice."

Most of the comments, however, were less kind. There was the widespread belief that the ultimate purpose of the movement was to "up the Sōka Gakkai's image. The Sōka Gakkai has a bad public image. By supporting man's natural desire for peace, they seek to improve their public image." Many of those surveyed felt that the ultimate aim of the movement was to increase, motivate, reinforce or unite Gakkai membership around a cause that all followers could understand. A few even charged that the peace movement was little more than a camouflage to extend the popularity of the Kōmeitō and to increase the political clout of Ikeda Daisaku.

The gulf between members and non-members is too great for the peace movement to have much immediate impact on the Japanese public as a whole. Too many people distrust and dislike the Sōka Gakkai to be able to put much faith in any program orchestrated by the Sōka Gakkai. On the other hand, according to the survey, the Sōka Gakkai's peace efforts won a higher percentage of approval than any other question on the Sōka Gakkai. Thus, in the very long run the peace movement will give the Gakkai a better public image. Only when the Gakkai has more respect, respect from the Japanese people, will people begin to listen to its peace proposals. Thus, it is doubtful that the peace movement has had much if any impact on the public.

Its impact on Gakkai membership, however, is much different. Increasing numbers of Gakkai members are learning more about World War II and the threat of nuclear war. They are involved in many educational programs about the United Nations, are actively pursued by Gakkai leaders to make donations for refugees and are indoctrined with the idea that war is bad and that all people can and should work for peace. In a country which is becoming increasingly indifferent to the thought of war, to have several million people working hard for peace and in support of the United Nations can be a very important challenge to other non-members to also begin active peace movements. In this sense the Sōka Gakkai peace movement is very successful and could be one of the sparks that could lead to a greater concern for peace in Japan.

CONCLUSION

Nichiren's theme of *Risshō ankokuron* is still very much alive in the Sōka Gakkai. Nichiren saw a nation living through difficult times and made a genuine effort to improve conditions for the Japanese. He believed that the only cure could come through the religious practices and beliefs of the people. Attention to false religions and neglect of the highest and truest form of Buddhism led to endless misery. Ignorance of the truth would lead only to greater misery. Thus, Nichiren felt it necessary to alert the Japanese government to the severity of the problem and to urge it to stop supporting the false religions. It was a courageous act to challenge the government and Nichiren suffered continual persecution as a result. But the more he was persecuted, the more he believed in the correctness of his cause. Nichiren proclaimed that in turning to the correct religion, man could live in a more peaceful and harmonious world.

Despite the apparent prosperity of the modern Japanese, the Sōka Gakkai sees as much misery in the world and genuine threats to world peace. Its diagnosis is the same of that of Nichiren: Sōka Gakkai members state flatly that world peace is impossible without the Buddhism of Nichiren. Japan's defeat and misery in World War II came as a result of the Japanese government's support of State Shinto, its lack of support for Buddhism, and its persecution of followers of the Nichiren Shō sect, including the founding leaders of the Sōka Gakkai.

The Sōka Gakkai seeks to educate the world about the efficacy of its form of Buddhism. Nichiren appealed directly to the Japanese government because of its power to influence Buddhist sects. The Sōka Gakkai states that since the government is now chosen by the people, it needs to appeal to and educate the public as a whole if it is to have any effect. It sees the abuse it receives from the Japanese press as symbolic of the persecution leveled against Nichiren and is determined, like its mentor, to continue fighting for the cause it sees as just. It is convinced that the era of *mappō* can be brought to an end and that it is the force that can lead man through the darkness and evil of this age into an

enlightened period of peace, harmony, and great human creativity. In this sense, the Sōka Gakkai's attempts to inherit Nichiren's cloak of *Risshō ankokuron* is very real.

NOTES

1. Nichiren (1222-1282) is noted as the founder of the Nichiren school of Japanese Buddhism and one of the leaders of the wave of "New Buddhism" of the Kamakura Period (1185-1333). He was a religious reformer, but he found new faith not by turning away from earlier forms of Japanese Buddhism, especially of the Tendai sect, but by returning to its earlier teachings. He spent much of his life as a kind of evangelist and self-proclaimed prophet who felt that he had found both the cause of man's misery and the true form of Buddhism that could cure such woes. He became convinced of his mission to save his country as well as Buddhism. For Nichiren, the *Lotus Sutra* is the basis of everything. It is the final and supreme teaching of the Buddha Śākyamuni that reveals the one and only true way to salvation. See Ono 1964 and Satomi 1963.

Today both the Nichiren Shō sect of Japanese Buddhism and its largest lay organization, the Sōka Gakkai, regard Nichiren as the true Buddha who came to the world in a period of great evil and misery and laid the foundation for man's ultimate salvation.

2. The Kamakura period (1185-1333) was one of the most chaotic in Japanese history. It followed the collapse of great peace of the Heian court at Kyoto and was known as an era of violence and disunity. In religion as in society as a whole one saw a preoccupation with worldly misery and despair. A new kind of leader, energetic and ambitious men like Nichiren, came forward. A new form of Buddhism which offered salvation through faith alone offered hope to many lower class people. The Amidists offered salvation to the faithful in a heavenly paradise (Pure Land) in the West while Nichiren offered salvation here and now to those who placed their faith in the teachings of the *Lotus Sutra*.
3. The idea of *mappō* (The Age of the Latter Law) is derived

from Buddhist scriptures which predicted that the effectiveness of the Buddha's teachings would gradually dwindle over two periods each a thousand years in duration. The third period (*mappō*) which would begin two thousand years after the death of Shakyamuni would be marked by turmoil and gloom and true Buddhism would be forgotten. Figures like Nichiren believed that *mappō* began somewhere in the 11th century.

4. Unpublished translation of Murano Senchū of the *Risshō ankokuron*.
5. Interview with Akiyama Tomiya in Tokyo, August 19, 1976. Mr. Akiyama is head of the Sōka Gakkai's International Bureau in Tokyo.
6. The *gohonzon* is an object of worship. According to the Sōka Gakkai, Nichiren defined the ultimate Law permeating life and the universe to be *Nam-myōhō-enge-kyō* (the title and hence essence of the *Lotus Sutra*) and embodied it in the form of a mandala perfectly endowed with all the Ten Worlds. He taught that one should have faith in this mandala or *gohonzon* as the object of worship for attaining Buddhahood. All members of the Sōka Gakkai are supposed to have copies of the *gohonzon* in their homes. *A Dictionary of Buddhist Terms and Concepts*, p. 141.
7. Interview with Harada Minoru (Director, Student and Youth Divisions of the Sōka Gakkai), 8 August 1976 in Hokkaido.
8. Interview with Kirimura Yasuji, Sōka Gakkai Vice President, on July 7, 1984 in Tokyo.
9. Sōka Gakkai Peace Committee, "In Pursuit of World Peace" (undated pamphlet), p. 4.
10. In Esoteric Buddhism a mandala is a diagramic picture which represents the cosmic nature of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and other divine beings. It is regarded as a symbol of the universe and is used as an aid in meditation.
11. Interview between author and Ikeda at Sōka University, July 15, 1984.
12. Interview with five elementary school teachers in Naha, Okinawa who are also members of the Sōka Gakkai's Peace Movement at Sōka Gakkai headquarters in Naha, June 25, 1984. One teacher provided the author with copies of essays her fifth grade students had written in school that day on war. June 25 is the anniversary of the Battle of Okinawa.

13. Interview with school teachers and members of the Women's Peace Committee at Sōka Gakkai headquarters in Fukuoka on June 28, 1984.
14. The Department of Public Information, the United Nations, *The Nuclear Threat to our World* (United Nations, 1978). Booklet made for UN exhibition of same title.
15. Interview with members of the Sōka Gakkai Fukuoka Women's Peace Committee, June 28, 1984 in Fukuoka.
16. Ibid.
17. From a talk to a group of Sōka Gakkai Young Men's Division Members by a group leader, July 24, 1984 at Taiseki-ji, head temple of Nichiren Shōshū.
18. Interview with Yano Junya, Secretary General of the Kōmeitō and member of the Lower House of the Diet, July 30, 1984 in Tokyo.
19. "Clean Government Party to Revise its Security Policy," in the *Asahi Evening News*, July 30, 1984, p. 1.
20. According to the *Japan Times* of July 6, 1984, the Sōka Gakkai made another donation of about \$435,000 that day to the UN.
21. Youth Division (of Sōka Gakkai) of Aichi Prefecture, "Tabemono-genzai-shōrai" [Food: Present and Future], 1983.
22. Sōka Gakkai Peace Committee, "In Pursuit of World Peace," (undated pamphlet), p. 12.
23. *Sōka Gakkai News*, April 1985, p. 3.
24. Interview with M. Ueno, Sōka Gakkai Vice-President, in Tokyo on 11 June, 1984.
25. "In Pursuit of World Peace."
26. Ibid.
27. Survey of 100 political science students at Waseda University conducted on July 17, 1984.
28. See my article, "Sōka Gakkai Diplomacy and China" to be published in the 1986 issue of the *Annals* of the SE Chapter, Association for Asian Studies.
29. "Chūgoku to yūkō kōryū no rekishi" [History of Friendly Relations with the Chinese]. Sōka Gakkai document published in 1984.
30. Interview with Tsukamoto Akira, July 30, 1984 in Tokyo. Tsukamoto is an experienced television journalist who has covered the Kōmeitō for over a decade at the Diet.
31. Yano interview.

32. *Seikyō shinbun*, June 6-11, 1985.

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