1. Introduction

I should like to discuss here some unique characteristics of Soka Gakkai that is a lay movement derived from a stream of Nichiren Buddhism in contemporary Japanese society mainly through the analysis of its peace movement. I shall compare the attitude that prevails in Soka Gakkai towards the State, war and peace with the orientations of traditional Buddhist bodies and other new Buddhist movements in Japan such as Rissho Koseikai. In general, therefore, it can also be said that this is a short review of the attitudes and activities of Japanese Buddhists toward the state, peace and war in modern Japanese history after the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

As you might know, Nichiren (1222-82) was a distinguished Buddhist monk of Kamakura period (1191-1333) in the twelfth and thirteenth century Japan. During this period, a number of creative Buddhist thinkers appeared, men like Honen, Shinran, Dogen, and Nichiren. These Buddhist Leaders came to be called the founders of “New Kamakura Buddhism of Japan”, partly because they grasped the essence of Buddhism faith through personal experience and on this basis opposed to the established forms of Buddhism which had largely been devoted to praying for the “spiritual stability of the state,” and partly because each of them presented in different ways Buddhism doctrine and practice in simplified, highly focused form, with the result that for the first time in
Japanese history Buddhism took root among the ordinary people.\(^{(2)}\) Nichiren Shosho was founded by one of Nichiren's six high priest disciples named Nikko as one of several Nichiren sects that trace their origins back to Nichiren himself and that comprise the Nichiren school of Buddhism in Japan today.

Soka Gakkai, was founded as lay believers' organization of Nichiren Shosho of Japanese Buddhism is 1930 by Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, a school teacher and scholar of education theory, and is now the biggest lay Buddhist Organization in Japan. Soka Gakkai founded and continues to influence the Komeito, 'the Clean Government Party', which is Japan's third ranking political party, holds approximately ten percent of the seats in the Diet. Soka Gakkai also founded several cultural institutions such as Fuji Art Museum, Soka University, and Min-on, the Association for promotion of music and dramas, and so on. In comparison with other Buddhist groups in western societies, there are a large number of members in many foreign countries, mainly in the United States and about 4,000 in Britain.

Among many features of Soka Gakkai, the remarkable ones are, first, that from a relatively early stage after the war Soka Gakkai have had a strong concern with politics, and it have acquired and exercised a significant influence of the political scene. Secondly, the direction in which it have exerted that influence has been in what might be called metapolitical issues which have transnational significance. The typical example of this is the so-called Peace Movements sponsored respectively by Soka Gakkai. In a little different way, other new religions in Japan such as Rissho Koseikai and Sekai Kyuseikyo have similar kinds of features and orientations. Therefore it is said that "the new movements in Japan have become very much aware of the dangers of modern political policies, and make peace and pollution central issues of public and political morality."\(^{(3)}\) Thirdly, a sociological feature of the movement of Soka Gakkai is that this movement is trying to construct an alternative religious and cultural world by Buddhist ideals and also an social structure based on Buddh-
In this sense, this movement seems to be said that it had reflected a typical response by religious group of the making of a 'counter community' under the competitive free market of religious beliefs in the secularized society.14

In order to distinguish there features, I will divide the topics here into three parts. The first is the reactions of Buddhist groups towards the State and war before and during the Second World War. The second deals with the changes seen in established Buddhist groups after the War and the peace movements which they developed with other religions, such as the one organized by member-religions of the Religious League of Japan (Nihon Shukyo Renmei), as one of the representative examples of a peace movement sponsored by religious groups in Japan after the War. The third is the peace movement of Soka Gakkai, the characteristics of which will be compared with those of the movements developed cooperatively by other religious bodies.

2. Buddhism and the State before and during the last war.

To discuss the action taken by Buddhism for peace in Japan in the past and the present, we must begin by touching on the responses of Japan's Buddhist groups in the context of Second World War towards the policies of Imperial Japanese Government and the conduct of that war. This endorsement of national policy, including war policy, by the authorities of all three major religions — Shinto, Buddhism and Christianity, was a contribution to national unity which the government had sought to exact from the relationship that it had systematically forged with religious bodies from the time of the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

In two instances the disposition of the Japanese government to war and its legitimation in religious terms became conspicuously apparent. They were the Manchurian Incident, which occurred in September 1931, and the assault on
Pearl Harbor which led to the Pacific War in December 1941. It is a well known fact that the Japanese government and the military encouraged each other in the further expansion of aggressive acts of war in both cases, and justified these national policies under the name of Imperialistic State Shintoism. This State Shintoism consisted of the government setting up all Shintoist Rituals and observances as the official cult of the State and ordering all citizens to observe them, thus utilizing the Shintoist ceremonial events to enhance nationalism. State Shintoism was based upon 'Shrine Shinto', but was different from its ancient form: it was recreated as a sort of new national religion by the government after the Meiji Period. In this Imperial State-Shintoist Establishment, Shrine Shinto was regarded by the government not as a religion but as the Japanese national ideology which transcended all other religions. The establishment of this national religion was intended to unite the nation under a single 'national polity' (KOKUTAI) idea which meant literally the 'body of state', in which the Emperor was regarded both as its personification and as a manifest deity (Akitsu-Kami) based on an extremist interpretation of Shinto mythology derived from the ancient chronicles called KOJIKI and NIHON SHOKI. In other words, the national polity (KOKUTAI) was the entity through which the Emperor embodied his inherited mythological charisma. Therefore the 'national polity' and an Emperor were naturally the sources of all authority whether legislative or executive, and therefore under his sovereignty the land and people of Japanese were also regarded as sacred. Thus, the structure of the Japanese State as a whole was signified mystically or religiously by the ideology of the Emperor system and the State Shintoism.5

While a token of freedom of religion was recognized by the Meiji Constitution of 1889, the extent of this freedom was strictly limited under such religiously characterized state authority. Any religious group that made an attempt to extend its freedom beyond that framework found itself the target of governmental suppression. The religious groups that were investigated, sup-
pressed, and whose activities were hindered include such new religions founded on the basis of Shinto tradition as Omoto-kyo, Tenri-kyo, Honmichi-kyo, Hitonomichi-kyodan and Konko-kyo, such Christian groups as Todaisha, Seventh Day Adventists and Holiness Church, as well as a few new Buddhist movements as Shinko Bukkyo Seinen Domei, and the forerunner of today’s Soka Gakkai known as Soka Kyoiku Gakkai (Value Creating Educational Society).

This society was one of a few Buddhist groups that were suppressed during and before the war. The Soka Kyoiku Gakkai began as a movement in 1930 when Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, the first President of the Society, retired from his career as a teacher and school master and began publishing his magnum opus, Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei (“A System of Value-Creation Education”). However, the society was not formally organized until 1937, when about six educators formed the Soka Kyoiku Gakkai (Value Creating Educational Society) with Makiguchi as its president. At the beginning, this society’s doctrines were based on Makiguchi’s philosophy of Value (Kachiron), or value creation, which he regarded as the most important element of human life. Although western philosophers such as Kant insisted that ultimate values of life should be truth, good, and beauty. Makiguchi challenged this view. As a scholar who had studied the social scientific perspectives of Positivism as advanced by Emile Durkheim and John Stuart Mill, he contended that truth was not a value but rather a cognitive concept, and that gain should be substituted for truth. Man achieved happiness through a search for beauty, gain, and good. The purpose of Makiguchi’s ideas was to teach individual and society how to acquire competence as creators of value and thus find happiness. In his view, man is the master of his own destiny, and he must learn how to manipulate his natural and social environment in an appropriate manner to better his standing in life. He must work hard to achieve lasting happiness in life both for himself and for society as a whole.
Makiguchi and Josei Toda, his trusted lieutenant, were converted to Nichiren Shoshu in 1928, and by the late 1930s they began to develop more interest in their faith. Makiguchi came to conclude that only the Buddhism of Nichiren as taught by Nichiren Shoshu could bring true happiness to the individual and peace to society, and that it saved the individual by giving him maximum benefit and saved the society by establishing the highest good. According to Makiguchi, Nichiren taught man the true way to salvation, and no other religion could possibly lead one to salvation.

Based on these convictions, Makiguchi and the Soka Kyoiku Gakkai opposed the measures incorporated in the Religious Organizations Law of 1939 that sought to impose religious control by forcing the amalgamation of denominations. That law was enacted for the purpose of strengthening the government establishment in preparation for entering the Pacific War. Soka Kyoiku Gakkai also adamantly refused to worship and enshrine the sacred tablets of Ise Grand Shrine which was the head Shrine of the Emperor family, saying that this was contrary to its religious teachings. As a result, President Makiguchi and other major staff members were thrown into prison. Makiguchi died while still in prison, but throughout all the investigations and interrogations to which he was subjected there, he continued to stress the spirit of Nichiren’s theory of the establishment of True Dharma and the Peace of the country. Makiguchi insisted that the source of the prevailing internal strife, famine, and epidemics, as well as the warlike attitude of the nation were all caused by mistaken religious ideology. And he never ceased in his efforts to point out the errors of State Shintoism. (7)

However, movements that criticized the attitude and policies of the government in the light of their own religious convictions and ideas and which took an active stance against the government before and during the war were extremely rare among Japanese religions. The Majority of Japanese religions, especially traditional Buddhism and even Christianity, accorded complete coopera-
tion and approval to all government policies from the Meiji Restoration until the end of the Second World War. They were, indeed, more or less in the mainstream of this tendency.

Let us have a look at the world of Japanese Buddhism since the Meiji Restoration. It suffered a great shock in the anti-Buddhist movement that arose immediately following the Meiji Restoration in 1868, but subsequent to the failure of the first attempt of the government to establish Shrine Shinto as the State religion, Buddhism was one of the earliest groups to recover its position. It responded to the prevailing rise of Nationalism by lending an active hand to such government policies as promulgation of the Imperial Way and to official attacks on Christianity. In this manner, Buddhism proceeded with zeal to maintain and expand its influential power. Rev. Sensyo Murakami (1851-1929) of the Jodo Shinshu Otani Sect is a typical example of those who continued to curry favor with the government. He insisted that it was thanks to the will of the Emperor that the anti-Buddhist movement had not proved to be a total disaster for Buddhism, and for that reason, Buddhist were obliged to extend their heartfelt gratitude to the Emperor.\(^8\)

Such an attitude and the theory that Buddhism and political authority were interdependent (Oho Buppo Huni Ron) or that Buddhism must be obedient to the state government or ruler (Koku-shu Ho-ju Ron) was an ideology that had existed as part of the tradition of Japanese Buddhism since it was first introduced from China by way of Korea in 6th century as a universal religion to legitimate the sovereignty of the newly united Japanese state system. And this theory was utilized again by the mainstream of Japanese Buddhism as an ideological basis for currying favor with governmental authority and for justifying its support of numerous wars of aggression. The Zen priest Daisetu Suzuki, who supported the Sino-Japanese war of 1894, had followed the similar idea of Zen Master Toin Iida that 'if the State is destroyed, who is left to protect Buddhism? .... There is nothing but fidelity in Buddhism,' in his Buddha-
Based upon this statement, Suzuki stated in his book *New Religious Ideology (Shin Shukyo Ron)*, 'Religion must first and foremost work to maintain the existence of the nation.' And he went on to insist that the Sino-Japanese War was a true religious activity for the purpose of punishing the violent nation of China and promoting the progress of the human race.

At the time of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, the pacifist Tolstoy made an appeal to the Japanese Buddhists to take a stand against the war on the basis of the Buddhist precepts against the taking of life. In response, Rev. Shuen Shaku, who had been the former teacher of Suzuki, represented Japanese Buddhists by answering that as true citizens of Japan, they could not help but support the war. It is said that Tolstoy was very disappointed with this answer. And this was not all. In May of the same year, a Japan Religionists Convention was held, attended by representatives of Shintoism, Buddhism and Christianity. It closed with the unanimous decision to support the national government in that war and to encourage collaboration among Japanese religions for carrying out national policies effectively.

Another important incident marked by this convention was the defection of Japanese Christianity. While a certain number of Christians had struggled to protect the freedom of conscience and their religion in the late 19th century, most of the opinions expressed by Christians at the convention were that there was no contradiction between Christianity and the National Polity: nor did they at any time go so far as to attack the oppressive tendency against the freedom of religion that was inherent in the State Shinto Establishment itself. The mainstream of Japanese Christianity was then making every effort to win the 'approbation' of Japanese society and governmental authority by seeking freedom of belief only within the confines of their own church. As a result, Christianity was accepted as an authentic religion and one which concurred with national polity in the Three Religions Amalgamation of 1912. The Deputy
Minister for Home Affairs, Takejiro Tokonami, called a joint meeting of representatives of the three religions of Shintoism, Buddhism and Christianity at which the decision to 'support the Imperial Way and further promote morality among the people' was reiterated, and cooperation with, and submission to, the governmental authority was attested to.

Subsequently the State Shinto Establishment was strengthened even further with the close support of other major religions, in which Sectarian Shinto, the Established Buddhist sects and Christianity were offered public recognition, protection and special privileges. These religions became the matrix from which active movements were set up by the government to establish nationwide unity, and a general endeavor was made to mobilize nationalist sentiment which eventuated in the warlike attitude of the 1930s. Then in accordance with the Religious Organizations Law, a policy of religious regulation was effected under which sects and denominations were consolidated into 13 sects of Sectarian Shintoism, 28 schools of Buddhism and two groups of Christianity—one Catholic and one Protestant. Along with the entry into the Pacific War in 1941, all these religious groups came together to organize a Wartime Patriotism Association. In September 1943, about thirty thousands delegates from these three religions had a joint meeting to establish officially the Greater Japan Wartime Patriotism Association. This association played an important role as an organ of the Greater Imperial Japan Ideology to stimulate the theory that it was a holy war and to effect the promotion of aggressive war activity. This was the actual situation of the relationship of Japanese religions and government with respect to war policy before and during the last war. Buddhism was very much a part of this scene.

3. Ecumenism and Peace Movements in Postwar Japan

On August 15, 1945, the Japanese government accepted the Potsdam Dec-
The declaration of the Allied Powers and unconditionally surrendered. From that time on until the recovery of independence with the conclusion of the Peace Treaty of San Francisco on April 28, 1952, Japan was under the administration of the Allied Powers. The reforms introduced by the occupation effected great changes in Japanese society and religion. In terms of my topic, it is worthy of notice that Peace Movements organized and led by cooperative religious bodies first started in this period. The typical example of this kind of movement was that of the "World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP)". I shall shortly trace the process of the development of this movement, and examine its characteristics.

First, I will glance at the religious policy of the Allied Powers and its consequences. Religious policy was one of the most important concerns in the Allied Occupation administration of Japan, and it is no exaggeration to say that the religious system of postwar Japan was defined by its implementation. Based on the important directives such as Potsdam Declaration of 26th July, 1945 and others, SCAP (The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) issued several new directives one after the other. The first relative to the religious system was the "Memorandum for the Removal of Restrictions on Political, Civil and Religious Liberties" (SCAPIN 93) of October 4, 1945, also known as the Civil Liberties Directive. The second was the "Memorandum for the Abolition of Governmental Sponsorship, Support, Perpetuation, Control and Dissemination of State Shinto (Kokka Shinto, Jinja Shinto)" (AG 000.3 CIE, SCAPIN 448) of 15th December in the same year, better known as the "Shinto Directive."(9)

The reform policy of the Occupation with regard to Japanese religion was based upon the three general principles of "freedom of religion," "strict separation of religion and state," and "extirpation of militaristic and ultranationalistic ideas." According to this policy, the Law for the Maintenance of Public Peace, by which many leaders of new religions had been thrown into
prison during the war, was abrogated. The Religious Organizations Law, which had been another instrument to restrict the religious freedom, was replaced by the “Religious Corporations Ordinance” promulgated on 28th December, 1945. This Ordinance set working rules for the establishment of religious corporations. A religious corporation could be established by providing certain specified regulations and by registering the corporation. Incorporation was effected by mere registration at the appropriate office and there were a few other administrative rules. The laws obstructing the religious freedom of religious groups were abolished, and by the amendment of this Ordinance on 2nd February, 1946, even Shrine Shinto, now separated from the state and liberated from its control, was given the opportunity of continuing existence as an ordinary religious corporation. Thus “equality of all religions before the law”, which was one of the objectives of the Shinto Directive, became a reality.

After the abolition of the state administration of shrines, i.e. of State Shinto, and the dissolution of agencies within government offices for this administration, the principle disciplines of the reform of religious system in Japan, such as “freedom of religion” and “the separation of the state and religion”, were codified in the articles of the New Constitution of Japan promulgated on 3rd November, 1946.

What subsequent development was seen in the world of Japanese Buddhism and the general world of Japanese religion under this new democratic system? Just how did they deal with the problem of peace that it the main theme of this paper? Unfortunately, immediately after the defeat in the war, most Japanese religious bodies appeared to be incapable of any sort of initiative towards any kind of positive action. They were accustomed to total submission to governmental policy and their attitude had become so firmly established that the majority of religious authorities did nothing but intone their agreement with national policy and their acceptance and defense of the new national polity. They simply waited for orders from the government.
On the other hand, the Japanese government attempted to utilize religion once more as a pillar of psychological support in the process of rebuilding of Japan. Not only was no apology made to the people concerning the responsibility for starting the war, but the government even began to preach the need for a general confession on the part of all citizens of the nation, and it called a meeting of all the leaders and representatives of religion to formulate a 'Japan Reconstruction Religious Action Proposal.' The government also changed the name of the 'Greater Japan Wartime Patriotic Association of Religions' which had served as a religious control organ during the war to the 'Religious Association of Japan' in October 1945 and tried to make use of its influence again. This group was officially formulated in February 1946 with the Minister of Education as its chairman and the religious affairs section chief of the Ministry of Education was appointed as its General Affairs Section Chief. These appointments are proof positive of the intention of this group. Up to this point there were absolutely no change in the relationship between government authority and the established religions, demonstrating a total lack of understanding of the principles of religious freedom and of the principle of separation between religion and the State.

But apparently the contents of the occupation policies gradually came to be comprehended to a certain extent, for in May 1946 this group underwent complete reorganization. It broke completely away from government control, and in accordance with the expressed desires of the various religious groups themselves, it was determined that it would be completely self-governing. Its name was changed to Religious League of Japan (RLJ). And its purpose was stated to be "a friendly tie-up between the various religious groups of Shintoism, Buddhism, and Christianity for the purpose of promoting the active development of a movement toward enlightenment, and to contribute toward the building of a cultural Japan based on moral principles and to serve in the establishment of world peace."
But the groups that joined together to make up this league at that time were the Sectarian Shintoist Federation, the Buddhist Federation (which later changed its name to the All Japan Buddhist Association), and the Japan Christian League -- exactly the same groups that had been involved in the forerunner organization before the war. But in June of the same year, the conglomerate organization of Shrine Shintoism (which had become equal with all other religious organizations under the law) known as the National Union of Shrine Shinto joined the RLJ, resulting in what can be referred to as an entirely new internal structure. However, it can also be said that this was merely a revised structure in which a fourth member—the National Union of Shrine Shinto—had joined together with the three groups of Shintoists, Buddhists, and Christians.

The peace movements of the established Buddhist groups in postwar Japan were conducted as the activities of this RLJ. The RLJ held peace conferences to educate the people in the spirit of the new constitution which stipulated the renunciation of war. The first of these numerous conferences was held in May 1947 at the Tsukiji Hongwanji Temple under the title of the All Japan Religious Peace Conference. It was followed by similar conferences in many parts of Japan. Then at the time of hydrogen bomb experiments carried out on Bikini Island in 1954, this body made a proclamation calling for the banning of all nuclear weapon tests, and carried out all sorts of the appeal activities. In 1960, they sent a Ban-the-Bomb Peace Mission to ten different nations including the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union to make an active appeal for world peace. Buddhist groups played an active role in all these activities of the RLJ. But in actual fact, it was not necessarily clear that the people involved took part as Buddhist believers.

One of the most important recent activities of the RLJ in relation to the problem of peace is their joining with the Union of New Religious Organization of Japan (UNROJ) and the active participation of this newly formed
groups in the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP). Before the war, the various new religions that did not fit within the framework of Sectarian Shintoism, Established Buddhism, or Christianity were despised as false religions or heathen heresies, and they were severely discriminated against, and particularly under the wartime establishment, they suffered suppression in the majority of cases. But after the war, these religions gained a position of legal equality with the older established religions. It was a gathering together of twenty four of these new religious groups in 1951 that resulted in the formulation of the aforementioned UNROJ. Some of the major groups involved in this Union in the beginning were the Rissho Koseikai, the PL Kyodan, the Sekai Kyusei Kyo, and Seicho no Ie (the latter two of which subsequently left the Unino). Then in 1952, the UNROJ gained official acceptance into the RLJ. This was an epoch-making event in the history of religion in modern Japan, as it meant that the new religions were given formal recognition as being equal in status to the established religions. But on the other side of this picture, it is necessary to note that while, to the established religions and government, this meant that the new religions were placed under their indirect control, it also resulted in the introduction of a new life force for the sluggish spirit of the established religions. Thus we see that everybody involved was mutually benefited by the new situation.

Within this UNROJ, the Buddhist type new religion called Rissho Kosei Kai played a leading role. Rissho Kosei Kai joined forces with the American Unitarians to promote peace and religious cooperation with a positive spirit. One of the result of their joint efforts was the opening of the First World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP-1) in Kyoto in 1970. In April 1972, the WCRP Committee of Japan was formulated within the RLJ with Rissho Koseikai Chairman Niwano as its chairman. He became the active promotional force behind its subsequent activities. It is an indisputable fact that the activities of this WCRP committee is one of the most conspicuous peace movements
developed by the religious world of Japan today.\(^{(11)}\)

4. Soka Gakkai and Its Peace Movements: The making of the counter community?

In contrast with the peace movements, developed on the basis of the religious leagues that I have so far described, I here deal with the unique activities that have been carried out by Japan's biggest Buddhist group called the Soka Gakkai which has developed as a lay organization. I will delve into the special characteristics of the peace movement of Soka Gakkai and the ideas behind them.\(^{(12)}\)

I will begin by summarizing the concrete activities toward the establishment of peace that have been carried out since the end of the war. These activities can be divided into three general levels. The first is the activities of each president toward peace, and their declarations for world peace and against war. As I mentioned before, the first president Makiguchi viewed the religious control imposed by State Shintoism before the war as the source of suffering and pain for the people of the nation and as the very cause of that terrible war, and he continued to deny State Shintoism from the standpoint of a true believer in Buddhism.

Makiguchi's ideals were inherited and carried on by the second President Josei Toda who went on to develop them further as an active Buddhist pacifist. To give an example, in the midst of the ceaseless nuclear arms race among powerful countries, Mr. Toda published his ' Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb Ban Proclamation'\(^{(13)}\) in 1957 in Yokohama. In this proclamation, he stated that the use of atomic or hydrogen bombs for any purpose whatsoever was a denial of the dignity of human life and of the right to live, and it was for this reason that they could in no way be allowed in this world of ours. This proclamation was an expression of his determination that we should never allow such a mis-
ery by war to occur again, and that if another world war were to occur all hu-
man beings would be exterminated by the enormous power of hydrogen bombs.
Mr. Toda bequeathed this proclamation to his followers with the injunction
that it should be kept as his most important last teaching. And it had indeed
been passed down during the years to follow as the very marrow of the peace
movements of Soka Gakkai.

During the time of the third President Ikeda, the Soka Gakkai peace move-
ment has spread worldwide. Mr. Ikeda himself has conducted talks with the
political, intellectual, and cultural leaders of the various nations of the world
for the purposes of formulating an international basis for the establishment of
peace. At the same time, he began to advocate the singing of a Sino-Japanese
Friendship Pact from the very earliest days. He has made propositions for the
abolition of nuclear weapons, as well as a broad range of other proposals con-
cerning such matters as the strengthening of the United Nations and the solv-
ing of environmental problems. In this manner, he has developed a far-reaching
'Peace Movement' for the purpose of continued protection of the right to live
for the peoples of the entire world.

The second level of the Soka Gakkai peace movement is made up of the
activities of its youth division. At the Men's General Conference in 1973, a
'Youth Division Appeal for the Protection of the Right to Live' was adopted.
In this context, slogans of (1)antiwar, (2)anti pollution,(3)promotion of human
culture were raised, and the Youth Division began Peace Movement activities.
They immediately set out to collect contributions for Vietnamese refugees and
for aid to the starving African, and they began the publication of anti-war
documents. They were particularly active in the collection of ten million signa-
ture in an appeal to abolish nuclear weapons and war in response to the dying
wishes of Mr. Toda to abolish atomic and hydrogen bombs. This petition was
handed over to the United Nations' Secretary General Waldheim by Mr.Ikeda.
The Youth Division Peace Movement spread into a broad range of fields in the
years to follow. Some of these include anti-war and peace rallies, peace lectures, anti-nuclear weapon exhibition, environment protection movements, constitution protection movements, and the United Nation support activities.

The third level of Soka Gakkai's peace movement activities is found in the implementation of the teachings of Nichiren in daily life and the fostering of the 'desire and will for peace' among the members and sympathizers in regular meetings, plus the activities toward the creation of an international culture and peace network through the Soka Gakkai itself and the various social organs it has established. A typical example of the former type of activity is the Peace Culture Festivals held both in Japan and the various other countries by Soka Gakkai. These Peace Culture Festivals brought about the formulation of Soka Gakkai International at a meeting of representatives of fifty-one nations of the world which was held on Guam Island in January 1975. This was followed by the opening of the First World Peace Conference during which a 'Peace Proclamation' was decided upon to pledge the restoration of the right to live and the establishment of permanent world peace. Since that time, activities to realize these purposes have been carried out on an international scale. World Peace Cultural Festivals attended by members and guests from many parts of the world, exceeding all national boundaries have been held in Chicago in 1981, in Tokyo in 1982, in Osaka in 1984, and another was held in Hawaii in 1985. This movement seeks to facilitate the participation and solidarity of as many people as possible and to express a clear and positive image of peace for future, resulting in the creation of mutual good will to establish permanent peace for our world.

An example of the latter type of activities can be found in some activities of the Soka University which works as an organ for cultural, educational, and personnel exchanges between scholars, universities, and in its maintenance of Peace Research Institute. Like many of the denominational universities of the Western world, Soka University is committed to the maintenance if certain
specific values, as well as to scientific and scholarly work, and among these values, the securing of world peace is primary. These sorts of activities by the Soka University are aimed toward the creation of a circle of mutual trust and cooperation among all the people and organization of the world who are striving to establish world peace. This can be referred to as an effort toward the creation of a 'Peace Structure' on an international scale that breaks through all national boundaries.

This is a summary of the activities developed by Soka Gakkai as Peace Movement. Now let us stop to take a look at the ideology and religious ideas upon which Soka Gakkai members base the promotion of these activities. The ideas they profess are based on the Buddhist spirit of the "Dignity of Human Life" and "Absolute Pacifism". The idea of the dignity of human life is expressed in the following statement of the Youth Division Appeal of 28th February, 1973. "Our movement is a realization of the ideals of the Buddhist principles on life. At the same time, it is a 'Living Humanism Movement' for the purpose of providing continued protection for the right of all human beings on this earth to live and for the right of survival.... This movement is developed from the standpoint of the dignity of human life that must never be utilized as a device for other purposes."

There is also the idea of absolute pacifism in the statement published by the Youth Division when they presented their ban-the-bomb petition which carried 10 million signatures to the United Nations in January 1975. They stated that they believed it necessary to build a 'fortress for peace' in the heart of each and every individual person - a fortress based on the 'respect for life and an inclination toward peace.' Further, even in the development process of this movement, absolute non-violence was the law, and no non-peaceful measures or methods were ever to be utilized. What appears to be expressed in this statement is not only the desire that peace be achieved, but also a concern for the methods by which it might be achieved, and concern too for the en-
couragement of dispositions and attitudes which would ensure that only appropriate methods were employed. In this connection, Mr. Ikeda wrote in his article entitled “The Road Toward Peace in the 21st Century” in the first issue of the Journal of the Peace Research Institute of Soka University, that there was a great need to search for an integrative system by means of which the United Nations could be strengthened and a new comprehensive world order could be achieved. At the same time, he insisted that the process of integration should not be pursued by power or authority. Thus he believed that the realization of peace must come not through military power, political authority or other use of force, but rather through absolutely peaceful means.

It can be said that these ideas or concepts are supported by the Mahayana Buddhist view that the Buddha-nature is innate in all sentient beings. This concept indicates that all living entities, including both animate and inanimate things such as trees, plants and earth come into this world with an original Buddha nature. And since everything has an equal Buddha-nature, everything has dignity and mutual equality. Further there is a development of the Buddhist views of 'mutual existence' and 'dependent causation.' All is built upon mutual existence and harmony, and for this reason all entities have an equally significant existence. And this makes it mandatory that they continue life in an environment of mutual respect.

5. Concluding remarks

I have attempted to provide an overview of Japanese Buddhism approaches to peace and war in the modern history of Japan. I should like to conclude by summarizing major different features between these approaches.

The majority of Japanese Buddhism before and during the war felt unable to resist the implementation of national policy and could not function as an ideological base for opposition to war. This was the case, partly because
Japanese Buddhism was overtaken by a trend of overwhelming nationalism and the power of the State during a period when the authorities were eager for the immediate construction of modern nation-state after the Meiji Restoration. Buddhism had been easily integrated into a structure which imposed the unity of state and religion. Partly, too, this inability to face nationalistic pressures occurred because Buddhists could not transcend the traditional theory that Buddhist religion and political authority were interdependent - a theory which might be described as a Japanese version of Erastianism. Thus it was that they were incapable of relativizing local Japanese political authority as it might be appropriately regarded from the universalist perspective of the Buddhist horizon.

Reflecting on Buddhist powerlessness in the past, after the war, a peace movement was started, on the basis of the Religious League of Japan and this developed into the “World Conference on Religion and Peace”. One of the characteristics of this Peace Movement stem from the sociological fact that it arose from friendly collaboration between different religious groups: in other words, it might be described as something analogous to the “Ecumenical” movement in western Christendom. Less and less emphasis was placed on the originality of Buddhist thought as the ideological principle of the movement and gradually Buddhism was inclined to blend with religious thought in general. From the point of view of the sociology of religion, these movements had reflected one of the typical responses of “cartelization” of religious groups under the progress of the secularization of the social system and the emergence of a pluralistic situation and the competitive free market of religious beliefs. (15)

From the historical point of view, the organizational basis of this movement is the unified league of various religious bodies, - and this might be seen as in a sense an inheritance from the Three Religions Amalgamation of 1912. It was established under the direct guidance of the government. Thus, this movement
was not a pattern of integration resulting from any very searching process of sincere mutual criticisms of their religious teachings and perspectives among these various bodies. We cannot help but wonder why this organization which has enjoyed freedom of religion since the end of last war has continued to exist in almost exactly the same form that it had before the war with no real attempt to examine the several patterns of belief among the religions involved or even of self-criticism of this "ecumenical" organization within itself. What it does represent is a mutual leaning post for the various religions and governmental authority in terms of both structure and ideological dispositions.

In marked contrast, is the example of the peace movement developed by religious body after the war – namely that sponsored by Soka Gakkai. What this movement emphasizes is the ideological basis of the pacifism that is immanent in Buddhist thought. We can find in the ideas of this movement a strong desire for the materialization of their religious belief in contemporary society. The major sources of this characteristic are found first in the Buddhist concepts of the sect founder, Nichiren, in 13th century to which Soka Gakkai subscribes, and secondly in the severe ordeals that were suffered by Soka Gakkai itself. Nichiren attached great importance to the Lotus Sutra. He preached the manifestation of Buddha-nature of the individual, that is, the achievement of Buddhahood in this life, and the achievement of a land of peace and harmony in this world, that is, the construction of a Buddha land in the present-day world. However at the same time, he was also very much of aware of the confusion in the real world and in the daily lives of human beings, as well as the suffering found there. For this reason, he insisted on the achievement of Buddhahood in the individual through devotion to the true Dharma and the achievement of Buddhaland in this world through propagation and by diffusion to many people of this belief, as the twofold goals for the future. He went further to take the position that governmental authority was only for the purpose of assisting the realization of these goals. He laid stress on the superiority of religious au-
authority over the secular authority of the state. In this sense, he took a stand directly opposite to the ideological stand of the majority of Japanese Buddhism.\(^{(18)}\)

Here we find that Nichiren's Buddhist ideas contain first, a sharp recognition of the difference between ideals and reality; second a this worldly orientation toward bringing to reality a Buddhland here and now, and third a strong orientation toward the relativization of the whole structure of the present world-order and of the secular authorities and their reconstruction. These ideas of Nichiren have been reflected in various aspects of the movement of Soka Gakkai.

A sociological feature of the religious movement of Soka Gakkai, including its activities for peace, is that this movement is trying to construct an alternative religious and cultural world ruled by Buddhist ideals and also an alternative social structure based on Buddhist social philosophy. In addition, Soka Gakkai endeavors to form a cultural, social and political 'peace-structure' within Japanese society and on the international level by making every effort to penetrate and reflect pacifistic Buddhist thought within every area of the secular sphere. In this sense we must say that this movement represents an alternative response by religious collectivities in the secularized society, that is, the making of a 'counter community',\(^{(17)}\) in sharp contrast to cartelization and the ecumenical orientation of religion which prevails widely within contemporary religious bodies, East and West.

Notes
1. This paper was prepared to give a lecture at the University of Leicester in England on 19th January, 1989. I was invited there by Professor Peter Mckenzie, who is the chairman of the British Association for the Study of Religion and the head of the Department of Religion at the University. In response to Professor Mckenzie's suggestion, I discussed some characteristics of Soka Gakkai in comparison of its attitude towards the State, war and peace with the orientations of traditional Buddhist bodies and other new Buddhist movements in modern Japanese history.
I would like to express my deep gratitude to Professor Mckenzie and Mr. Brear for having invited me and for having offered the opportunity to discuss these issues. This was a valuable and pleasant opportunity for me during my stay in England as a Visiting Fellow at All Souls College, Oxford, for a year from 1988 to 1989.


4. Peter L. Berger has made clear the two different types of response by religious collectivities under the progress of the secularization of society and the emergence of a pluralistic situation and the competitive free market of religious beliefs. The one is the 'cartelization' of religious groups, and the other is the making of a 'counter community'. P. L. Berger, *The Social Rerality of Religion*, 1967, chap. 6, and *A Rumour of Angels*, 1969, chap. 1.

5. We should make a clear distinction of the State Shintoism from Early Shinto or Ancient Shinto, and from Shrine Shinto. Shinto (which literally means the god-way) itself was originally the cluster of beliefs and customs of the Japanese people centering on the deities called Kami. Shrine Shinto (Jinja Shinto) is a form of Sinto faith in which shrine worship is central, a shrine being a symbolic kami—dwelling called Jinja in Japanese.

Originally, any form of existence that possessed some extraordinary, awe—inspiring quality was called Kami. Anything in natures such as mountains, seas, trees and animals that evoked awe was regarded as Kami. Human beings who had some extraordinary quality, people like emperors, heroes, or family ancestors, were also refereed to as Kami.

Central and most important among these ancestral Kami was the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu, traditionally regarded as the supreme ancestress of the successive emperors in Japan. However, the Shinto Kami have never been conceived of as absolute or transcendent in relation to man and the world—not even in the case of Amaterasu. On the contrary, it has always been assumed that there is a significant continuity between the Kami and Man.

BUDDHISM, PEACE AND THE STATE IN MODERN JAPAN 75


6. For the works and ideas of Makiguchi, see Shoji Saito and others (eds.), *Makiguchi Tsunesaburo Zenshu* (Complete Works of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi), 12 Vols., Tokyo, Daisanbunmeisha, 1980—.


Associated Professor in Sociology of Religion
Soka University
Department of Sociology