A Future without Nuclear Weapons

—Thoughts from the Standpoint of Buddhist Principles of Peace—

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1. Introduction

CONTEMPORARY peace studies define peace as "a state in which various forms of violence are decreasing or absent." The term "various forms of violence" includes domestic and international conflicts and the problems that arise from discrimination or the various "gaps" created between groups. It also includes physical and verbal abuse of individuals such as domestic violence, bullying or other forms of oppression. Structural violence in the form of a lack of preparedness for natural catastrophes, or the slowness of response after a crisis can also be counted as forms of violence. All of the above, the causes of these various forms of violence have also come to be accepted within the broad definition of the term "violence."

In this presentation, I would like to focus on the greatest threat of violence, which is nuclear weapons, as they threaten the existence of all human life on this planet. The first part of the presentation will focus on the efforts being made by international society to eliminate nuclear weapons and some critical problems that remain surrounding this issue. The latter half of the presentation will examine points made from the standpoint of Buddhist principles of peace by Daisaku Ikeda, President of Soka Gakkai International (SGI), in his peace proposals which envision a future without nuclear weapons.

2. The Movement for Nuclear Abolition in International Society

(1) The History of Nuclear Abolition

In August 1945, the atomic bombs which were used in Hiroshima and Nagasaki brought the War in the Pacific to an end. The following January, the first resolution passed by the General Assembly of the United

Nations was a statement toward the abolishment of nuclear weapons. In 1949, the first World Congress of the Partisans of Peace was held in Paris as the threat of nuclear weapons began to draw more international attention. In the same year, the Soviet Union conducted a successful test of a nuclear weapon, and joined the United States as a nuclear state. Amidst this background of events, the Stockholm Appeal was issued in 1950.1 In 1954, as a result of the American thermonuclear bomb test in the Pacific Ocean, the entire crew of a Japanese fishing vessel, the Daigo Fukuryu Maru (Lucky Dragon No. 5) was exposed to radioactive fallout, with some members losing their lives as a result. This incident sparked a massive petition in Japan in protest to nuclear weapons,² and marked the beginning of an earnest anti-nuclear movement throughout the world. It can be said that general citizens took the initiative in such anti-nuclear campaigns.

In 1955, the Russell-Einstein Manifesto was issued, and two years later, the first Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs centered on the scientists that signed the manifesto took place.3 This international group of scientists for peace has continued to meet to discuss the abolishment of nuclear weapons from a specialist viewpoint and has continued to issue proposals. In 1993, they published A Nuclear-Weapon-Free World.

During the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, the race to develop nuclear arms was brought to a critical point in 1962 when both countries were only one step away from nuclear warfare during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Humanity faced the actual possibility of extinction due to nuclear conflict. The following year, a partial ban on nuclear testing was agreed upon by both the U.S. and U.S.S.R., and in 1996, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution for the complete ban on nuclear testing with the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). In addition, the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was adopted in 1968 to limit the number of countries who possess nuclear capability to five countries: the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and China. This agreement prohibits the possession of nuclear arms by non-nuclear countries and prohibits the selling or giving of nuclear arms from a nuclear country to a non-nuclear country. It also stipulates that non-nuclear countries must submit to inspections of their nuclear facilities by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). From 1995 onwards, a Review Conference has been held every five years.

In 1996, a decision by the International Court of Justice of the United Nations states that "the threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules applicable in armed conflict, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarian law; However,...the Court cannot conclude definitively whether the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be lawful or unlawful in an extreme circumstance of self-defence, in which the very survival of a State would be at stake."

In January of 2007, George P. Shultz (former U.S. Secretary of State), William J. Perry (former U.S. Secretary of Defense), Henry A. Kissinger (former U.S. Secretary of State) and Sam Nunn (former U.S. Senator) published a commentary in the Wall Street Journal titled, *A World Free of Nuclear Weapons*. Within this article, they state, "We endorse setting the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons and working energetically on the actions required to achieve that goal, beginning with the measures outlined above."

In April of 2009, U.S. President Obama in a speech delivered in Prague titled, *A World without Nuclear Weapons*, suggested a revolutionary idea about what to do with nuclear arms. Viewing the nuclear arms as the most dangerous legacy left behind by the Cold War, he states, "as a nuclear power, as the only nuclear power to have used a nuclear weapon, the United States has a moral responsibility to act," and proposes lessening the role that nuclear weapons play as a part of the U.S. security policy.

Besides the above, many NGOs are working actively throughout the world to promote the abolition of nuclear weapons.

In Japan, the government has issued three non-nuclear principles of not possessing, manufacturing or allowing the introduction of nuclear weapons into Japanese territory. Other countries, cities, and other autonomous districts have declared their own non-nuclear stance and there is also a network of the mayors of cities throughout the world who stand together for the cause of peace.

In October of 2016, the First Committee (on Disarmament and International Security) of the General Assembly of the U.N. approved a draft text to request to resume discussions toward negotiations on an international agreement prohibiting the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons in any circumstance.

(2) Confrontations and Contradictions Regarding Nuclear Abolition

The issue of nuclear weapons cannot simply be solved by outlawing their use. Strict prohibitions and regulations based on international law are essential. Even after prohibitions are put into effect, the technology, knowledge and information regarding nuclear arms development still exists. There may be states and non-state actors against members of a treaty, to possess or use nuclear arms despite any international prohibitions. Therefore, the management of materials necessary for development of a nuclear weapon would be a more serious issue and even the restriction might be in crisis. Furthermore, while the international sentiment for the abolishment of nuclear weapons is gaining strength as described above, there still remain critical matters. The International Court of Justice agrees that the use of nuclear weapons is nonhumanitarian, but at the same time, it defers judgement as to whether or not the use of nuclear weapons is legal in cases where the integrity of a state comes into question. The Shultz et al. commentary suggests that a world free of nuclear weapons cannot be created on humanitarian reasons alone, but that political and military considerations must also be addressed. Even in Obama's Prague speech, he states, "As long as these weapons exist, the United States will maintain a safe, secure and effective arsenal," indicating a contradiction that although the long-term aim should be to reduce nuclear weapons, there is a recognized need to maintain them as a deterrent to enemies of America.

Complete abolition of nuclear weapons is a choice that ultimately has to be made by the state. However, as long as the world follows only the viewpoint of the state's security, there can be no true abolition of nuclear weapons. It is crucial that each individual and citizen rouse international public opinions by upholding a strong spiritual morality.

3. Nuclear Abolition, Peace Efforts and Peace Proposals by the SGI

On September 8, 1957, Josei Toda, the Second President of the Soka Gakkai, announced the Declaration Calling for the Abolishment of Nuclear Weapons⁷ as a Buddhist practitioner amidst the ever-intensifying U.S.-Soviet arms race. 2017 marks the sixtieth anniversary of this declaration.

From this starting point, the SGI's activities for peace8 have continued in the same spirit throughout the entire world. In terms of the anti-nuclear movement, the SGI has endeavored in many different ways at the grass-roots level. They have collected signatures, conducted exhibitions, published written collections of atomic bomb survivors, produced DVDs in five languages and held showings, as well as hosted talks and discussions concerning this issue, all centered on the theme that nuclear weapons are inhumane. In 2016, representatives of SGI participated in the U.N. Open-ended Working Group on Nuclear Weapons and Human Security, and submitted a working paper, which is now registered as an official document with the United Nations. The paper states, "Nuclear weapons present an unacceptable threat to all people and States," and calls on the General Assembly to establish a legal framework that prohibits the use of and the abolishment of nuclear weapons.

SGI President Ikeda has submitted numerous peace proposals since his first in 1978 titled, *A Proposal for the Disarmament and Abolition of Nuclear Weapons*, which he submitted to the First Special Session on Disarmament (SSOD-I) of the United Nations. He also wrote a proposal for nuclear abolition on September 8, 2009 titled, *Building Global Solidarity Toward Nuclear Abolition*⁹ reiterating the three themes stated in Toda's declaration.

Regarding the first theme, Toda stated: "We, the citizens of the world, have an inviolable right to live. Anyone who jeopardizes that right is a devil incarnate, a fiend, a monster." This was a striking condemnation of the national egotism that underlies the urge to develop and possess nuclear weapons. With this very strong language, he sought to jolt political leaders out of their existing way of thinking and encourage a transformation in their worldview. (p. 4)

The second theme of Toda's declaration is his assertion of the absolute inadmissibility of the use of nuclear weapons, whatever the rationale or justification. Here again, he used very strong language: "I wish to declare that anyone who ventures to use nuclear weapons, irrespective of their nationality or whether their country is victorious or defeated, should be sentenced to death without exception." As a Buddhist for whom respect for life was a core principle, Toda was adamantly opposed to the death penalty. His invocation here of capital punishment should therefore be understood as an effort to undermine and uproot the logic that would justify the use of nuclear weapons. (p. 5)

The third theme of Toda's declaration is expressed figuratively with this language: "Although a movement calling for a ban on the testing of atomic or nuclear weapons has arisen around the world, it is my wish to go further, to attack the problem at its root. I want to expose and rip out the claws that lie hidden in the very depths of such weapons." My understanding of my mentor's declaration is that the "hidden claws" underlying nuclear weapons represent any conception of security predicated on the suffering and sacrifice of ordinary citizens. He is urging us to confront and extirpate such ways of thinking because, without this, no solution is possible. (p. 5)

Ikeda re-emphasizes the fact that nuclear weapons threaten the existence of humankind, and that they are an absolute evil, as they usurp the right to live. He also reminds us of Toda's warning not to permit the idea that nuclear weapons are a necessary evil, and points out the faultiness of a paradigm of nuclear dependence for a state's security as the development of nuclear weapons occurs at the great expense of many ordinary citizens.

In addition, Ikeda states, "At the time, the Eastern and Western blocs were engaged in a war of words directed at each other's nuclear arsenals. Toda sought to refute the underlying fallacy of such an approach; impartial with regard to ideology, he denounced all nuclear weapons equally in the name of humankind." (p. 5)

In a dialog with Joseph Rotblat, the SGI President speaks about the declaration saying, "In his denunciation of nuclear weapons, he also expressed the humanistic insights that informed his perspective. He understood nuclear weapons to be a product of man's murderous instinct and absolute evil." The "murderous instinct" mentioned here is the same as the "hidden claws" that Toda referred to in his declaration. Additionally, in a dialog with Mankombu S. Swaminathan, Ikeda states, "That is why a philosophy emphasising peace and the dignity of life is of utmost importance...[Toda's declaration arose] from the desire to protect the right to life of all." Ikeda proposes that by looking past ideology or societal structure of "the state" and understanding the issue of nuclear armament from the perspective of "the human being," the essence becomes clear. It is an issue centered on the right to live, and what is needed is a philosophy that places value on the dignity of life and peace.

Returning to Ikeda's September 8, 2009 proposal, concrete steps are suggested in order to manifest a world without nuclear weapons, and attention is also directed at the "real" enemy that prevents humankind from ending the nuclear era once and for all. That enemy is not the nuclear weapons themselves, nor the countries that possess them, nor the countries which developed them. The enemy which humankind must defeat is the thinking that one's own gain supersedes the life of another person, which is the idea that allows the existence of nuclear weapons.

Hence, the abolishment of nuclear weapons is not a goal, but a transit point on the way to true peace. The problem of nuclear weapons is the threat to the right to live, as it has the ability to decimate a massive number of lives in a single instant. It is not enough to just uphold antinuclear slogans. Each individual needs to establish the value of the dignity of life, and to protect the rights of other individuals and their

lives. Only through the cultivation and expansion of such an attitude can we establish a society that does not permit the existence of nuclear weapons. When this happens, the true abolition of nuclear weapons will take place.

4. Overcoming Confrontation and Contradiction: SGI's Principles of Peace Based on Buddhist Teachings

(1) The Inner Conflict between "Neglect for Life" and "Respect for Life"

In Toda's declaration for the abolishment of nuclear weapons, he refers to the use and testing of nuclear weapons saying, "I want to expose and rip out the claws that lie hidden in the very depths of such weapons." Ikeda offers another explanation about the "hidden claws" in his 2007 SGI Peace Proposal. He states, "Buddhism classifies the underlying destructive impulses that give rise to such behavior as 'the three poisons' (Jpn: san-doku) of greed, anger and ignorance."12 The three poisons derive from the "fundamental darkness" that lies within the depths of our life, and when it is expressed toward others, it manifests as anger. This anger fuels a desire to attack and destroy others, in other words, a feeling of superiority or wanting to win against others. In the September 8, 2009 proposal, Ikeda describes this as, "the life state that sees everything and everyone as the means to the fulfillment of one's own goals and desires." He stresses the importance that each person recognize the fundamental darkness, egoism, greed, anger and ignorance within oneself and to overcome and transform them into something more positive.

In this next section, I would like to discuss some Buddhist principles of peace, using SGI President Ikeda's peace proposals as a guide. It is my hope that this discussion will help introduce some hints as to how this transformation of the heart can take place.

In a speech delivered at Harvard University titled, *Mahayana Buddhism and Twenty-first Century Civilization*,¹³ Ikeda quotes the *Sutta-nipata*, "I perceived a single, invisible arrow piercing the hearts of the people."¹⁴ Ikeda interprets this "arrow" as discriminatory consciousness, in other words, the tendency to discriminate against others because of the working of the three poisons or arrogance. This discriminatory consciousness lies deep within our lives and manifests from the fundamental darkness that exists there. In the 2000 SGI Peace Proposal, Ikeda suggests, "overcoming this kind of attachment [to difference] is crucial

to the creation of peace,"15 and in the 2013 SGI Peace Proposal he explains, "because people's hearts are penetrated by the unseen arrow of fundamental delusion, they cannot free themselves from attachment to an egocentric worldview."16 The fundamental delusion Ikeda refers to here is earthly desire that arises from fundamental darkness. In 2016, in an article contributed to the religious magazine Religions, Ikeda states, "to realize the existence of the 'invisible arrow of earthly desires' lodged deep within our hearts and to remove it are both very difficult tasks indeed."17 However, he also gives hope by quoting another passage from Shakyamuni Buddha's Dhammapada, "All tremble at violence; life is dear to all. Putting oneself in the place of another, one should not kill nor cause another to kill."18 This indicates that it is not impossible to remove the arrow, and that the key to do so lies in the hearts of people.

(2) Buddhist View of the Human Being

The Bodhisattva Way: A Model for Living

The transformation of the heart and human that the SGI aims toward based on Buddhist teachings can be thought of as recognizing the "invisible arrow" within ourselves, and then working to remove it. Next, I would like to introduce the concept of the "bodhisattva way" from Buddhist teaching as the basis for this transformation to take place.

In general, bodhisattvas are regarded as seekers of enlightenment, engaging in Buddhist practice. A definition according to Nagarjuna in his Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom states, "a bodhisattva is so named...because he strives to help all sentient beings attain enlightenment, because he knows the true nature of all the Dharmas, because he follows the way leading to perfect enlightenment."19

Mahayana Buddhism teaches that through practicing for oneself and others, the energy of earthly desires can be transformed into Bodhi energy. By seeking to manifest the Buddha nature that lies within all life, it becomes possible for anyone to change the three poisons of earthly desires into Bodhi. Put another way, it can be said that by manifesting one's Buddha nature, earthly desires are transformed into Bodhi. This process of transformation is what is termed the bodhisattva way in Mahayana Buddhism. Through practicing the bodhisattva way, one can manifest one's innate Buddha nature, which provides the compassion and wisdom to adhere to a life dedicated to the happiness of oneself and others. This is the ideal practice envisioned in Mahayana Buddhism.

Bodhisattva Never Disparaging: A Model of Non-violence

One notable bodhisattva who appears in the Lotus Sutra, is Bodhisattva

Never Disparaging. His Buddhist practice entailed reciting the following phrase to all that he met, "I would never disparage you, for you will practice the way and all of you will become buddhas!"20 The reason he recited this was because he was able to perceive the Buddha nature within all people, showed deep respect and led people to manifest it. Because the Buddha nature is inherent within all people, it is possible for all people to show respect for all others and recognize the Buddha within one another. In this way, as Buddhahood is manifested, fundamental darkness can be overcome, and the three poisons and arrogance arising from earthly desires can all be transformed into compassion, non-violence, wisdom, the control of desires, and humbleness. A society full of arrogance and discrimination transforms into one filled with humbleness and equality. Respect for others becomes the norm, as people manifest their Buddha nature, recognize the value of the life in others, and mutually deepen bonds of friendship. This is the model of living proposed by Bodhisattva Never Disparaging. This is the practice of respecting life based on human equality as described in the Lotus Sutra.

A Bodhisattva Never Disparaging-like way of life can be obtained by firmly establishing non-violence as one's code of behavior and through continuous dialog with others in the spirit of utmost respect for their life. One can achieve transformation of the self and aid others in transforming themselves by creating an environment for that person to make a change. Peace can only come about when individuals establish a non-violent way of life. This is the core principle of peace as taught in Buddhism, and especially Mahayana Buddhism.

(3) Creating Peace through Individual Transformation and Societal Change

The explanation above describes the process of how the bodhisattva way connects to the establishment of a spirit of peace grounded in Buddhism. Then, what does a way of life based on the bodhisattva way look like in contemporary society?

If we consider individual transformation as being a vertical axis for change, we can consider societal change as being a horizontal axis. When both the vertical axis of individual transformation and the horizontal axis of societal change occur simultaneously, comprehensive revolution toward the creation of peace can be achieved. According to the Buddhist teaching, the bodhisattva way allows individuals to practice altruism, which speeds up individual transformation and when that change is undertaken by many throughout society, a greater change at

large can be realized. That is, change within individuals, will have a ripple effect, which will cause people to re-evaluate the way they deal with others, which in turn will lead to more active engagement with the issues that face humanity as a whole. This overall change will result in the creation of peace.

5. Conclusion

Surrounding the debate about how to create or realize peace, sometimes the discussion focuses on whether to take an idealist approach or a realist approach. Idealists are criticized for painting such a beautiful picture that can never be obtained, whereas realists are criticized for condoning violence in order to achieve an end. However, at present, the issue of how to create peace is in such a critical state, that we cannot afford to be waging negative campaigns regarding principles or methodologies. The issue of nuclear weapons requires a deeper level of cooperation. To uphold an ideal does not necessarily equate to being idealistic, and taking reality into consideration does not automatically make someone a realist. It is important to take practical actions while aiming for an ideal from the realistic point of view.

The principles of peace in Buddhism, and especially Mahayana Buddhism, encompass the values of the different stances above mentioned. Both idealism and realism view the human being as an agent of action and are based on the view of the human being which the Buddhist teaching also shows. This principle is rooted in humanism that bases the transformation of human beings on changing society and creating peace. This foundation of teaching can be a key for establishing a truly peaceful world free of nuclear weapons.

Postscript

The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (the Nuclear Weapon Ban Treaty) mentioned in this text was adopted by the United Nations conference on 7 July 2017 and marks the first legally binding international agreement to comprehensively prohibit nuclear weapons. This treaty was realized with the help of numerous NGOs and more than 70 years of tenacious efforts made by Hibakusha (survivors of nuclear bombs).

Notes

- ¹ World Peace Council. 1950. *Stockholm Appeal*. http://www.wpc-in.org/statements/65th-anniversary-stockholm's-appeal (Accessed on March 16, 2017) Content of the statement: 1) We demand the outlawing of atomic weapons as instruments of intimidation and mass murder of peoples. We demand strict international control to enforce this measure. 2) We believe that any government which first uses atomic weapons against any other country whatsoever will be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal. 3) We call on all men and women of good will throughout the world to sign this appeal.
- ² This signature campaign was allegedly started by a homemaker from Suginami Ward in Tokyo. Because of this, Suginami Ward is called the place of origin for the petition calling for the prohibition of thermonuclear weapons. In 1955, the first World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs took place in Hiroshima. It was then that the executive committee of the signature movement was officially taken over by the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.
- ³ Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs. 1955. *The Russell-Einstein Manifesto*. https://pugwash.org/1955/07/09/statement-manifesto/ (Retrieved on March 16, 2017)
- ⁴ International Court of Justice. 1996. *Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons*. http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/95/7497.pdf (Retrieved on March 16, 2017) p.101.
- ⁵ Shultz, G. P., W. J. Perry, H. A. Kissinger and S. Nunn. 2007. *A World Free of Nuclear Weapons*. From the Hoover Institute homepage http://www.hoover.org/research/world-free-nuclear-weapons-0 (Retrieved on March 16, 2017)
- ⁶ Obama, B. 2009. Remarks by President Barack Obama in Prague as Delivered. From the White House homepage https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-barack-obama-prague-delivered (Retrieved on March 16, 2017)
- ⁷ Toda, J. 1957. *Declaration Calling for the Abolishment of Nuclear Weapons*. http://www.joseitoda.org/vision/declaration (Retrieved on March 16, 2017)
- In regard to the SGI peace movement that began after Toda's declaration, which took place in the same year that the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs began, Joseph Rotblat (secretary-general of the Pugwash Conferences from 1957 to 1973) remarks, (trans.) "as we share a common goal, I believe the Pugwash Conferences have advanced together with the SGI which has inherited the wish to create a world without nuclear weapons and war started by Mr. Toda and carried on by President Ikeda."
- ⁹ Ikeda, D. 2009. *Building Global Solidarity toward Nuclear Abolition*. http://www.sgi.org/content/files/about-us/president-ikedas-proposals/AntinuclearProposal2009 0908.pdf (Retrieved on March 16, 2017) pp. 4–5.
- ¹⁰ Rotblat, J. and D. Ikeda, A Quest for Global Peace: Rotblat and Ikeda on War, Ethics, and the Nuclear Threat. (London: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2007) p. 52.
- ¹¹ Swaminathan, M. S. and D. Ikeda. *Revolutions: to green the environment, to grow the human heart.* (Chennai: EastWest Books (Madras) Pvt. Ltd., 2005) pp. 113–4.
- ¹² Ikeda, D. 2007. *Restoring the Human Connection: The First Step to Global Peace*. http://www.daisakuikeda.org/assets/files/pp2007.pdf (Retrieved on March 16, 2017) p. 4.
- ¹³ Ikeda, D. 1993. *Mahayana Buddhism and Twenty-first Century Civilization*. http://www.daisakuikeda.org/sub/resources/works/lect/lect-04.html#sdendnote11anc (Retrieved on March 16, 2017)

- Anderson, D. and H. Smith. eds., *Sutta-nipata* 938 (London: Pali Text Society, 1913). Cf. Takakusu, J. ed., *Nanden Daizōkyō*, Vol. 24 (Tokyo: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Kankōkai, 1935), p.358. Aramaki, N. trans., *Daijō Butten*, Vol. 7 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1986), p. 324.
- ¹⁵ Ikeda, D. 2000. *Peace through Dialogue: A Time to Talk—Thoughts on a Culture of Peace*. http://www.daisakuikeda.org/assets/files/peace2000.pdf (Retrieved on March 16, 2017) p. 6.
- ¹⁶ Ikeda. D. 2013. *Compassion, Wisdom, and Courage: Building a Global Society of Peace and Creative Coexistence*. http://www.daisakuikeda.org/assets/files/peaceproposal 2013.pdf (Retrieved on March 16, 2017) p. 7.
- ¹⁷ Translated from the Japanese as it appears in the reprinted article, *Arayuru Sai o Norikoe Minshū no Dairentai o* [Creating an Expansive Network of Common People by Overcoming All Forms of Discrimination] from the January, 2017 issue of Daisan Bumei magazine.
 - ¹⁸ Buddharakkhita, trans., *The Dhammapada*, 10:130.
- ¹⁹ Translated from the Japanese. *The Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom*. In *Taisho Tripitaka*, Vol. 25, p. 86
- ²⁰ The Lotus Sutra and Its Opening and Closing Sutras, translated by Burton Watson, (Tokyo: Soka Gakkai, 2009) p. 312.

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