SIT Graduate Institute

From the SelectedWorks of Tatsushi Arai

July, 2012

Toward a Buddhist Paradigm of Peace Studies: Dependent Origination and Conflict Transformation (Working Paper)

Tatsushi Arai, *SIT Graduate Institute*

Available at: https://works.bepress.com/tatsushi_arai/36/

Toward a Buddhist Paradigm of Peace Studies:

Dependent Origination and Conflict Transformation

Working Paper

July 2012

Tatsushi Arai, PhD

Visiting Scholar, School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University

Associate Professor of Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation, SIT Graduate Institute

Research Fellow, Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research

ABSTRACT

This study develops a theory of social conflict and a practical method of its transformation based on the worldview of early Buddhism. At the heart of Shakyamuni Buddha's quest for establishing this faith tradition some 2,500 years ago was the commitment to find a solution to inescapable human sufferings associated with birth, aging, sickness, and death. His quest reached the realization that human life evolves through the law of dependent origination – a dynamic process of incessant change, inherent and pervasive in all aspects of life and the universe, through which various causes and conditions work together to give momentum to the rise and fall of a range of phenomena shaping and reshaping human life. Dependent origination, Shakyamuni realized, is the underlying force that ultimately causes suffering, through the human tendency to cling to deep-seated desires, but the same underlying force can be rechanneled and harnessed to generate momentum toward emancipating human beings from the roots of suffering that bind them. This study explores how dependent origination, a Buddhist theory of causality and inner transformation, contributes to transforming social conflict. It argues that human suffering is a manifestation of deep inner contradictions, or dilemmas, arising from unfulfilled desires. Social conflict, on the other hand, is a contradiction externalized between two or more human beings, each carrying his or her inner contradictions that help shape the way they approach inter-party conflict. Therefore, analysis of social conflict requires looking into an ever-evolving dynamic system of both internalized and externalized contradictions and understanding the interplay between these two levels. The goal of conflict transformation, from an early Buddhist point of view, is to transform the inter-party contradictions in such a way as to alleviate and eventually overcome inner contradictions – the ultimate source of suffering in life – experienced by each party.

INTRODUCTION

This essay represents part of a series of inquiry I intend to conduct to explore and articulate a wide range of Buddhist contributions to contemporary peace studies. Before discussing dependent origination and its application to conflict analysis and transformation, I would like to briefly outline what I view as the defining parameters of Buddhist peace studies, a paradigm of inquiry and social action that the present multi-year initiative envisions and seeks to explore.

Buddhism is a philosophy, a faith tradition, and a way of life that seeks to open up constructive potential inherent in life by fusing into the underlying law of the universe of which human life is part. The overarching purpose of Buddhism is to remove sufferings arising from the inevitable vicissitudes of life and death, and to continuously transform them into opportunities for establishing a stronger, larger self that remains undisturbed by the inescapable challenges in life. Such a robust state of life – dynamic and ever-evolving yet anchored in a firm conviction in the unlimited potential of human life – is referred to as enlightenment, or Buddhahood.

How, then, does Buddhism relate to peace studies? Simply put, violence is to peace in contemporary peace studies as suffering is to enlightenment in Buddhism. Here peace refers to an ever-evolving process of overcoming violence of all forms; violence, on the other hand, is a harming effect generated by human action and inflicted on the human body, mind, and spirit. As a faith tradition, Buddhism views suffering, a *subjective* effect of violence projected on human perception, as its central focus of attention and inquiry, while it views more *objective* attributes of violence – such as aggressive behavior and institutionalized mechanisms of exploitation – as

externalized reflections of the inner causes accumulated within human life.[1] In other words, a Buddhist approach to peace studies places suffering, a perceived effect of violence, in the foreground of inquiry and externally manifest and observable causes and consequences of violence in the background. This unique emphasis of Buddhist peace studies on subjective perception is derived from its distinct philosophical and epistemological origin: Buddhism was established as a practical method for alleviating human *suffering* and fulfilling a greater potential of life and society at large.

At first glance, peace is located in the polar opposite of violence as enlightenment is to suffering in Buddhism. Yet a deeper look at the link between these two pairs of concepts suggests that the positive end of each continuum can materialize only when conscious efforts are made to overcome the inertia gravitating toward the negative end. Put another way, the common denominator of enlightenment at the individual level and peace at the social level is the fulfillment of constructive potential in individual life and society, respectively, while individual suffering and social violence share the attribute of obstructing unfulfilled human and social potential from being actualized. Both suffering and violence block self-actualization; both enlightenment and peace unblock it.

Then how does the whole notion of conflict enter this discussion? Conflict, as a perceived contradiction between two or more parties trying to fulfill their aspirations, is regarded as one possible way in which their interdependence, desired or not, manifests itself. Such a manifestation of interdependence has the potential to degenerate into a protracted conflict in which the parties remain interlocked and unable to escape, often causing violence and suffering.

[1] This point about the centrality of subjectivity is inspired by Saigusa (1995: 593-4).

On the other hand, the same interdependence also holds the potential to enable the conflict parties to come face to face with their deeper value commitments and offers a starting point for coexistence and cooperation, fertile ground for peace-building and a more enlightened state of human life and relationships. In other words, conflict presents a choice point between peace and violence, enlightenment and suffering. Conflict makes interdependence visible and serves as an invitation to activate the constructive potential inherent in human relationships, while deactivating its destructive potential. I will elaborate on these subjects later.

Arguably none of these ideas – from the epistemological emphasis on subjectivity, to the need for transforming human suffering, to conflict as a form of interdependence – is unique to Buddhism. Many of these themes have been discussed frequently and popularized in philosophical and religious discourses of the Western origin that have helped shape the epistemological foundations of contemporary peace studies. The purpose of Buddhist peace studies, then, is to complement, broaden, and enrich contemporary peace studies by suggesting a unique point of departure and emphasis, that is, the overcoming of human suffering as a central, legitimate objective of academic inquiry and social action, with the ultimate goal of building peace in society at large. Importantly, the proposed approach to peace studies may be considered unique and distinct because it is different from the preceding and existing paradigms of contemporary peace studies, especially those of the European and North American origin. It is hoped, therefore, that this study makes contributions of Oriental philosophy more visible and explicit in an effort to make peace studies an integrative discourse of the east and west, the modern and the ancient.

It is in this boarder context of philosophical and historical inquiry that a Buddhist approach to the analysis of social conflict and its transformation is explored. The central concept on which this essay focuses is dependent origination, the Buddhist worldview that various phenomena in life, including suffering and enlightenment, arise from the synergistic working of underlying causes and conditions that give rise to them. The first part of this essay describes this Buddhist principle, which is widely viewed as an essential core of the Buddha's enlightenment some 2,500 years ago. Based on the overview of the concept, the second part applies this theory of causality to construct a Buddhist theory of social conflict, with emphasis on how Buddhism views the causal mechanism of conflict. The third section builds on the second and proposes a concrete method of self-reflection and dialogue for conflict transformation inspired by the Buddhist worldview.

Importantly, this study focuses on dependent origination taught at the earliest phase of Buddhism, that is, the combined records of Shakyamuni's teachings collected by his disciples – first, immediately after his death in the early fifth century BC (or the early fourth century BC, according to another theory) and, second, about one hundred years after his passing. Additional steps had since been taken to compile his teachings, most notably in the middle of the third century BC and the middle of the second century AD. Buddhist philosophy had evolved over centuries from Shakyamuni's time, growing, spreading, and branching into different traditions. The earliest phase of Buddhism is selected as the scope of inquiry because it offers a common denominator for different trends of Buddhist thoughts. It also suggests the most essential and accessible point of first contact with Buddhism for those unfamiliar with Buddhist approaches to peace.

It deserves mention parenthetically that readers familiar with different definitions of dependent origination developed at later stages of Buddhist history may find the views expressed in this essay different from theirs. Like many other concepts of Buddhism, the meaning of dependent origination has evolved and expanded continuously since Shakyamuni's time, and consequently, different schools of Buddhism have come to interpret it differently. Given this historical background, the approach to data collection adopted in this study is to follow empirical evidence and historical records available on the earliest phase of Buddhism as faithfully as possible, in order to maximize authenticity and minimize arbitrariness in capturing what Shakyamuni and the followers of his time actually said and meant.[2]

Finally, it is emphasized that this study offers *only one* possible interpretation of early Buddhism and its contributions to the analysis and transformation of social conflict. There are many contending views on the content and meaning of dependent origination expounded by Shakyamuni. And they suggest different interpretations of the essence of his enlightenment, as well as different approaches to the causal analysis of social conflict. What follows is but one Buddhist approach to conflict. Through it, I would like to invite others to envision and articulate alternative Buddhist approaches to building peace.

DEPENDENT ORIGINATION

[2] This study has benefited greatly from decades of extensive empirical research done by leading Japanese scholars of early Buddhism, especially Hirakawa (1985), Nakamura (1993), and Saigusa (1995), who, with their expertise in ancient Asian languages and cultures, have translated and analyzed relevant scriptures and historical records on Shakyamuni and his early disciples and compiled their findings in Japanese.

Legend has it that Shakyamuni, after practicing austerities for several years, had come to enlightenment while seated still for seven days under a papal tree at Buddha Gaya in northern India. Although the exact historical context of Shakyamuni's enlightenment is still to be established, various historical records of early Buddhism point to what was at the heart of his enlightenment – dependent origination. The term dependent origination is an English translation of the Sanskrit word *pratītya-samutpāda*. According to Hirakawa (1985: 21-2), *prati* means to reach; *itya*, to go. These two parts combined, *pratītya* means "depending on." As for the second part of the term, *sam* of *samutpāda* means to sum or different factors working together; *ut*, up; *pāda*, existence. Thus *samutpāda* refers to the state of existence arising from certain causal factors working together. Overall, *pratītya-samutpāda* refers to a situation in which the emergence and existence of certain phenomena depends on other phenomena working together and giving rise to the former. Simply put, dependent origination is an evolving process of various causes and conditions working together to give rise to a given phenomenon.

What, then, is the purpose of Shakyamuni's quest that had led to his realization of dependent origination? In other words, why is dependent origination significant in the context of Shakyamuni's enlightenment? The answer is clear: because this realization, in Shakyamuni's view, cogently explained the ultimate reason for human suffering arising from the vicissitudes of life and death. It also presented him a path to transform and overcome such sufferings – exemplified in early Buddhism by aging and death, sadness, grief, pain, worry, and agony (Nakamura, 1993: 444). The meaning of suffering, a central concept in this study, will be elaborated later.

Beyond the literal meaning of dependent origination and its ultimate purpose, views differ greatly as to what the exact content of Shakyamuni's realization was according to different records of his teachings. Nakamura (1993: 435) observes, however, that these historical records appear to agree on several common denominators pointing toward what may be regarded as Shakyamuni's true intent. Nakamura's view is summarized in four main points:

1. Human sufferings are inextricably tied to aging, death, and other inescapable vicissitudes of life.
2. Human beings need to understand why such sufferings arise in an effort to find a way to overcome them.
3. The root cause of such sufferings is the *fundamental darkness* underlying the depth of human life. Fundamental darkness refers to the inability of human beings to see the true nature of life and its fullest potential. The inability is enacted by the delusive tendencies inherent in life that stand in the way of human efforts striving toward a more enlightened state of being.
4. Therefore, the first step toward overcoming human sufferings is to recognize the fundamental darkness as their root cause and actively prevent it from becoming the overriding force in the foundations of one's life.

Nakamura's summary demonstrates that dependent origination involves working with underlying causal mechanisms inherent in human life. To examine the causal chains of

dependent origination systematically, one of the earliest formulations of this principle is introduced here, with the direction of each arrow indicating a flow of causal influence:[3]

1. Fundamental darkness => attachment => suffering (causal path to *duhkha*, or suffering)

2. Overcoming/absence of fundamental darkness => overcoming/absence of attachment => overcoming/absence of suffering (causal path to *sukha*, or happiness)

The first proposition reads: because of the fundamental darkness, attachment arises; because of the attachment, suffering arises.[4] It explains a causal path arising from fundamental darkness, passing through the resulting state of attachment, and leading to *duhkha*, which means suffering, unsatisfactoriness, and unsubstantiality. The second proposition is a reversal of the first causal path: when one overcomes fundamental darkness, one can overcome attachment; when one overcomes attachment, one can overcome suffering. This explains that because the root cause of suffering lies in fundamental darkness, what human beings need to do to overcome suffering is to remove the deep-seated inability to see the true nature of life, and that in turn will eradicate the roots of narrow-minded attachment and eventually enable them to transform the basis of their suffering. It shows a causal path to *sukha*, or happiness, ease, and comfort. The philosophical basis of these causal paths requires further explanation.

[3] These formulations are adopted from Nakamura (1993: 398) and translated in English by the present author.

[4] By tracing and examining a range of historical records on the earliest form of dependent origination, Saigusa (1995: 590, 730-1) concludes that the starting point of inquiry by early Buddhists is the search for the meaning and roots of suffering. If we follow his argument, the way of presentation needs to be reversed and modified to: Where does suffering come from? It comes from attachment. Where does attachment come from? It comes from fundamental darkness. However, because this essay is concerned primarily about developing a conflict theory, the simple three-step approach is adopted as a clear articulation of a causal change, flowing from cause to effect.

At the heart of dependent origination is Shakyamuni's realization that human life, and the universe embracing it, are all in a state of constant change. Nobody can escape the trajectory of life's momentum toward aging and dying, for example. Their physical construct changes as they age. Their bodies decay after they die. The same principle of constant change applies to the transient nature of the material world in which human beings live. Yet human nature yearns for the permanence of what it desires, such as youth against the reality of inevitable aging, and continuation of one's lifetime against the reality of its inevitable end. The deep-seated human desire for constancy is also reflected in the way people perceive and interact with their material environment including the material possessions they hold on to. All phenomena, material and non-material, internal and external to the physical construct of a human body, are transient: "everything that comes into existence will necessarily cease to exist."[5]

Human suffering, therefore, is derived from clinging to the ever-evolving reality of life without realizing that life is ever-evolving. Such tenacious attachment is hard to overcome because what makes the attachment entrenched in the depth of life is delusive impulses and desires that generate and sustain the inertia of life, which makes it difficult to perceive, let alone accept, the ever-changing reality as natural and inevitable. Suffering is a product of this *gap* between the ever-changing reality of life, on the one hand, and a desired reality – or a non-existent unreality, which is less transient and less dynamic than the true nature of life – that its underlying inertia yearns to see, on the other.

As the first proposition on dependent origination illustrates, the search of early Buddhism for the roots of human suffering went beyond the inquiry into impulsive desires and attachment,

[5] An early Buddhist text quoted in Saigusa (1995: 595) and translated in English by the present author.

and subsequently, came to discover fundamental darkness[6] as the ultimate, irreducible cause of suffering. Fundamental darkness is the deep-seated ignorance of the true nature of life. More specifically, it refers to the ignorance of cause-and effect relationships facilitated by dependent origination. Persistence of fundamental darkness leads to the state of life in which human beings repeatedly undergo the ebb and flow, ups and downs of transient existence that make them fear the turbulence of life.

Importantly, the first proposition suggests how to overcome and transcend suffering, the subject that the second proposition tackles. Because fundamental darkness is the ultimate source from which the causal path of suffering is derived, the first step to overcome suffering is to recognize fundamental darkness as such and remove the deep-seated ignorance once and for all. The moment one removes the ignorance and clearly perceives the transience of all phenomena as well as the ultimate reason for desires and attachment, one can put one's life and its environment in a more holistic perspective. Such a realization enables one to eradicate the ultimate roots of one's fear and through it, the ultimate reason for one's suffering. To illustrate such an awakened state of life, Nakamura (1993: 417-8) cites two of the oldest scriptures that relate to this topic:

> [Practitioners of Buddhism who have internalized the principle of dependent origination can] clearly see various phenomena arise just as they are, and fear vanishes from the mind [of such practitioners] that can clearly see a ceaseless flow of causal processes shaping and reshaping the [material construct of] reality.

[6] A translation of *avidyā*. Rauhla (1974: 142) translates this term, equivalent to *avijjā* in Pali, as ignorance, illusion, and delusion.

> [The purpose of Buddhist practice] is to perceive causes as causes and effects as effects, and to clearly see various phenomena arise through causal processes; [such a way of Buddhist practice] leads its practitioners to great tranquility, their mind stays calm, and they enjoy happiness in the end.

In summary, dependent origination had emerged from Shakyamuni's search for the root cause of the inescapable human sufferings associated with life and death.[7] Ultimately dependent origination is a law of cause and effect that generate sufferings. It is the momentum embedded in one state of phenomena in life (for example, fundamental darkness) that carries with it the innate capacity to give birth to another (for example, attachment). But the corollary of this principle is the realization that human beings are also capable of reversing the causal path to suffering by activating the force of this law in such a way as to shape their future more constructively – toward greater self-mastery, fearlessness, and robust inner freedom. How, then, does this principle apply to the analysis of social conflict and its transformation? The next section will attempt to answer this question.

TOWARD A BUDDHIST THEORY OF CONFLICT

The worldview underlying the theory

[7] One of the most popularized forms of dependent origination is the Twelvefold Chain of Causation, which many scholars of Buddhism describe in their writings as an essential part of Shakyamuni's enlightenment. This causal chain is summarized as follows, with each preceding factor giving rise to the next one: (1) Ignorance (or fundamental darkness), (2) karma, (3) consciousness, (4) name and form, (5) the six sense organs, (6) contact, (7) sensation, (8) desire, (9) attachment, (10) existence, (11) birth, and (12) aging and dying. As demonstrated by Nakamura (1993) and Saigusa (1995) with ample documentary evidence, however, this elaborate formulation of dependent origination did not exist in early Buddhism and in fact, it came to be articulated at a much later stage of the history of Buddhist thought.

Dependent origination in early Buddhism evolved from Shakyamuni's search for the ultimate cause of human suffering and a way to overcome it. The basic worldview underlying dependent origination is that life is filled with *contradictions* and nobody can escape them.[8] It suggests that from the very moment of birth, we are bound to undergo the turbulence of intransience that inevitably leads us through aging and illness toward death. Sitting in the midst of turbulence, we resist being swayed by the transience and cling to what we hope to remain unchanged. Moreover, to live, and to live well, we are bound to have desires of different kinds – for food, shelter, safety, freedom, intimate relationship, and many more. And the nature of our desires constantly changes as our lives evolve from birth through aging to death. Yet every step of the way throughout our lifetime, we feel frustrated whenever our desires remain unfulfilled. In this sense, we are bound to have desires as long as we live. By implication, we are bound to have inner contradictions, throughout our lifetime, between what our life is in reality and what we think our life ought to be.

This observation leads us to an important conclusion: *human sufferings are derived from inner contradictions*. Succinctly put, inner contradictions *equal* sufferings. And the deeper the inner contradictions grow, in terms related closely to the fundamental issues of birth, aging, sickness, and death, the more sufferings we experience.

Yet this discussion on the negative causal chain presents only a partial view of dependent origination. The constructive aspect of this principle, presented earlier as the second proposition, suggests that such inner contradictions may serve as opportunities for deep self-reflections on the true nature of attachment and fundamental darkness. From this perspective, life is viewed as a sustained process of facing and transforming ever-evolving inner contradictions. And we may

[8] I am indebted to Saigusa (1995: 304-23) for his analysis of suffering and its link to the Buddhist worldview of inevitable contradictions in life.

even argue that because of the inner contradictions, opportunities for our self-development become visible and our sense of accomplishment in life expands by overcoming them. Therefore, inner contradictions serve as a driving force of life. Once such contradictions cease to exist, life loses its engine, its momentum, and even its meaning. The key to *sukha*, or happiness, is to build and expand robust capacities in life that enable us to name, face, and transform inner contradictions one after another. This worldview is the philosophical basis of a Buddhist theory of conflict and its transformation, a subject to be elaborated next.

What is conflict and why does it occur?: An early Buddhist perspective

Suppose Shakyamuni were with us in the twenty-first century and he had grasped the fundamentals of contemporary peace studies. How would he describe what the essence of social conflict is and where it ultimately comes from, in a manner accessible to our thinking? One possible answer he might offer is: conflict is an evolving system of contradictions interacting at two levels:

1. Intra-party level – inner (or internal) contradiction, that is, *dilemma*
2. Inter-party level – external contradiction, that is, *conflict*

To carry out our theory-building exercise with sufficient simplicity and clarity, we will start our inquiry with the assumption that a conflict party here refers to an individual. We reserve more complex discussions on inter-group conflict for future studies.

As discussed earlier, a dilemma is a perceived state of unfulfilled desires causing attachment in life. A dilemma, especially when deeply felt, causes suffering. And in fact, a deep-seated dilemma in life is suffering itself. This intra-personal, intra-party contradiction is the basic focus of early Buddhism, including the principle of dependent origination. It forms the foreground, or *text* as compared to *context*, of a Buddhist theory of conflict that we explore in this study.

Social conflict, on the other hand, is an inter-party contradiction, between two or more individuals or entities, each carrying an unfulfilled desire. In an inter-party conflict, one party's attempt to fulfill his or her desire stands in the way of the other party or parties trying to fulfill their desires. In other words, the conflict parties are interlocked in the entanglement of relationship because one party's attempt to fulfill his or her desires blocks that of the other(s). In such a state of entanglement, no party is able to fulfill his or her desire without the other party or parties taking action to disentangle it. Therefore their relationship is interdependent, desirable or not.

Importantly, because early Buddhism views inner contradictions and sufferings as the primary focus of its inquiry, we may argue that *inter-party* contradictions matter to the extent that they are perceived and reflected in the ebb and flow of each party's *inner* contradictions. This does not necessarily suggest that social conflict, externalized in inter-party relations, is secondary or insignificant in early Buddhism; rather this highlights the unique nature of the interpretive lens of early Buddhism pursuing the meaning of all phenomena in terms of their reflections in the inner depth of each individual's life. In constructing a Buddhist theory of conflict, therefore, we may view inter-party contradictions in the background of our inquiry into

intra-party contradictions, which early Buddhism places in the foreground of attention. In other words, we view social conflict as a *context* of the main *text* that concerns how to overcome inner-directed dilemmas.

To summarize the above, albeit in a different key:

- From a social scientific point of view, early Buddhism in general and dependent origination in particular suggests a theory of *intra-party* contradictions, as well as a theory of how to overcome such internally-directed contradictions.
- In contrast, conflict research, as an essential component of contemporary peace studies, is an endeavor to construct and examine a theory of *inter-party* contradiction, as well as a theory of how to overcome such externally-manifest contradictions.

Based on these observations, we may argue that a Buddhist theory of conflict is a theory that explains the dynamic interplay between internal and external contradictions, between a dilemma and a conflict. A useful point of departure to explore the interplay between the two levels is to ask: Does one lead to the other, namely, dilemma to conflict as one possibility and conflict to dilemma as another? We will examine each of the two possibilities briefly, starting with the first.

Take a seemingly extreme case, for example, that of a suicide bomber. He – or it could be she – may have a deep inner contradiction between his aspiration to generate maximum social impact for a desired social change through violence, toward a larger goal he believes in, on the one hand, and his desire to cherish lives, like the lives of his loved ones to be left behind, his own life, and possibly even the lives to be lost by his own act of violence, on the other. To carry out the act of suicide bombing, the former set of desires needs to override the latter within him,

eradicating or at least suppressing the inner contradiction. His inner contradiction causes, or at least triggers or exacerbates, an external contradiction, a conflict between himself (though no longer alive after the suicidal action) and the network of supporters to which he belonged, on the one hand, and those victimized and angered by his act of violence, on the other. This hypothetical scenario shows the intuitively plausible connection: a dilemma leads to a social conflict. Yet does it, always? The answer is no.

The same person, with the same set of inner contradictions held deeply within him, may choose to refrain from taking violent action. He may, for example, choose to organize a collective movement to achieve his vision through nonviolent means, making his inner contradiction explicit through a constructive social conflict that kills no one. Or he may choose to kill himself without taking anybody else's life, to end the excruciating pain of his inner contradiction on his own. In other words, his dilemma may be contained within him without being externalized, either constructively or destructively. From this we can conclude that a dilemma may lead to a conflict but it does not necessarily do so, especially when the inner contradiction is contained within oneself.

How about the possibility of an inter-party conflict leading to an intra-party dilemma, through a reversal of the causal link? This is also highly plausible. Take, for example, the aftermath of a suicide bombing. The act of violence makes an inter-party conflict manifest and protracted. Survivors suffering from injuries and those grieving over the loss of their loved ones are faced with a choice: should they retaliate in order to honor the lives lost and avenge the injuries suffered, for "justice" through direct action?; or alternatively, should they respond through less direct means such as legal recourse, or possibly through inaction for fear of negative

repercussions? These and numerous other questions arise from the external conflict now manifesting. Inner contradictions multiply. Their suffering grows because of the inter-party conflict that has deepened as a result of the violence.

Does an inter-party conflict, then, necessarily lead to a dilemma within each of the primary parties, or deepen an existing inner contradiction? In theory, the answer is: not necessarily, in such cases as a victimized party demonstrating an exceptionally high level of self-mastery and inner calmness. Yet in reality, such emotional detachment and aloofness is highly unlikely and nearly impossible unless the affected person completely shuts himself off, for example by living a life of seclusion, from the troublesome external events like mass violence.

From this brief examination of the interplay between intra and inter-party contradictions, we draw two conclusions. First, the two levels of contradictions are likely to shape and reshape one another. And the interactions are likely to evolve dynamically and continuously. Second, despite this first observation, the deepening of contradictions at one level does *not* necessarily lead to the deepening at the other level. In other words, one does not always affect the other negatively. Each of the conflict parties can choose to build either positive or negative momentum at one level in the course of interacting with the other level. This implies that inter-party conflict does not necessarily deepen suffering within oneself, and a deep inner contradiction within oneself does not necessarily lead to violence aimed at harming others. Here lies the importance of our search for ways to transform both internal and external contradictions, both in an integrated, sustainable manner.

Having explored the dynamic interplay between intra and inter-party contradictions, dilemmas and conflicts, we now turn to Shakyamuni again and ask questions: So why does social

conflict occur? Where does it ultimately come from? To these questions, one possible answer might be: social conflict arises when human beings come to *recognize* an inter-party contradiction, which is caused ultimately by deep inner contradictions of one or more parties, aching expressions and making their presence known in the open space of inter-party relations. The ultimate transformation of inter-party conflict, Shakyamuni would suggest, must contribute toward the transformation of inner contradictions – namely, sufferings associated with the vicissitudes of life and death.

TOWARD A BUDDHIST METHOD OF CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

How to transform conflict: Exploring a method of dialogue

Through the discussion on the early Buddhist worldview of social conflict, we have identified key ingredients of a Buddhist method of dialogue for conflict transformation. Three of them are especially noteworthy, for they will become the basic foundations for theory-building:

1. A Buddhist approach to self-reflection and dialogue is *an sustained process of exploration*, probing into deeper causes of suffering, one layer after another, till the ultimate roots are found. A path to overcome contradictions, both intra- and inter-party in nature, follows the same logic, that is, getting to the deepest sources of the contradictions and taking steps incrementally toward transforming them.

2. Early Buddhism offers a worldview that everything that comes into existence will eventually cease to exist because all phenomena with which life comes in touch evolve continuously in a constant state of change. Consistent with this Buddhist worldview,

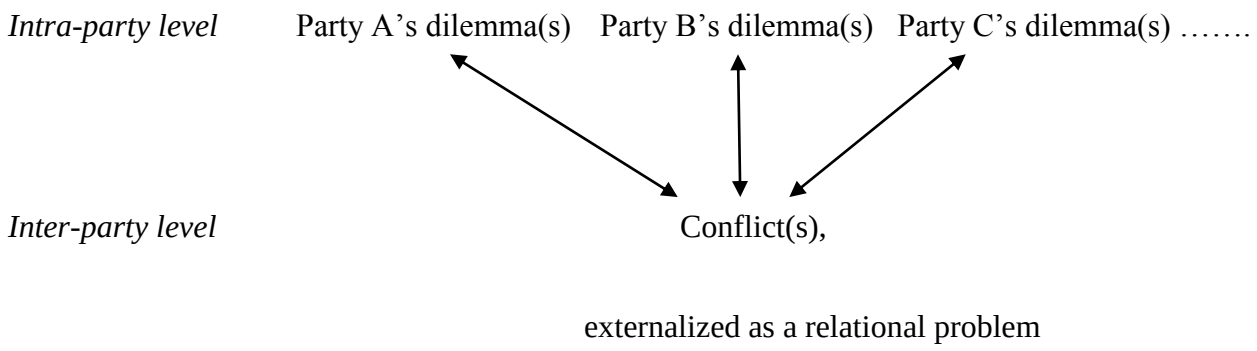
dependent origination suggests that human beings are capable of changing the state of life, especially that of suffering, by clearly perceiving and transforming the *underlying causal force* that gives rise to its existence, just as overcoming delusionary impulses to attachment generates the capacity to overcome suffering. Analogical thinking derived from this worldview suggests a hypothesis: If we can clearly perceive and transform the ultimate underlying force that gives rise to social conflict, we should be able to transform the very reason for its existence and through it, transform the conflict itself. But this line of analogical thinking also suggests that the causal chain should work the other way around: Unless momentum is generated and strengthened continuously to strive toward peace, whatever level of peace being achieved will eventually cease to exist. As a law of cause and effect, dependent origination works both ways, toward destructive conflict and toward peace.

3. Dependent origination is therefore a *law of transformation*. By implication, it is a practical method of transformative dialogue, both within oneself and in relation to other conflict parties, as will be demonstrated shortly.

A useful point of departure for designing an inter-party dialogue for conflict transformation is to acknowledge that we need to work on the two levels of contradiction, not just the inter-party level. This is because from a Buddhist point of view, the ultimate goal of conflict transformation dialogue between parties is to overcome the inner suffering experienced by each party. The following diagram illustrates multiple parties, each carrying a dilemma or a set of dilemmas, and their interaction at the inter-party level. In this context, parties share,

however reluctantly and inadvertently, the contradiction between them as their common problem that requires resolution:

Illustration: Two Levels of Contradictions – Dilemmas (Intra-party) and Conflicts (Inter-party)



A method of transforming contradictions at each of the two levels is outlined below, one level at a time. In the actual practice of conflict transformation, the two levels may have to be addressed simultaneously (tackling both of them at the same time, or constantly going back and forth between them) or sequentially (first tackling one level and then moving to the other level), depending on the nature of the conflict.

<u>Intra-party level</u>: self-reflection for inner dialogue

A self-guided, self-reflective process of inquiry has to be initiated by each of the conflict parties provided that they are prepared to undertake such an exercise, emotionally and otherwise, and they have the necessary skills to do so. If conditions are not ripe for such in-depth self-reflection, as is often the case in violent conflicts, a trusted and impartial dialogue partner may be identified and called in to support the process of self-reflection. The dialogue partner will sit side by side and empathize deeply with a conflict party, ask thoughtful probing questions, and help the party explore the roots of his or her inner contradiction. Suggested steps for guided self-reflections are:

a) Describe the inner contradiction that may be causing sufferings and that is linked most closely with the inter-party conflict in question. Name and articulate what the contradiction is about.
b) Probe as deeply as possible into possible root causes of the inner contradiction. Useful probing questions include:
    - Do the perceived root causes relate directly to what is most essential to your life, and more specifically to the inevitable challenges derived from birth, aging, sickness, and death, either of yourself or that of your loved ones? If so, how are they related?
    - Are the perceived causes derived from your attachment to essential needs and desires that your life demands and that you cannot easily remove or do away with? If so, describe the nature of the attachment.

- Have you really reached the deepest layer of the root causes you can think of? Is there a deeper layer that remains untouched and unarticulated than what you currently think to be the deepest layer?

c) Explore how you can come to terms with the innermost source of the dilemma and then work toward transforming it. The ultimate goal of this exploration is to find ways to alleviate the suffering caused by the dilemma. This step for an exploratory search has to be taken in such a way as to eventually contribute toward transforming the externalized contradiction, namely, the inter-party conflict. Useful probing questions for this purpose include:

- Is there any deep-seated inner contradiction that blocks a possible way out of the externalized contradiction, inter-party in nature, and that stifles the potential for its transformation?

These steps are easy to conceptualize and difficult to carry out in the midst of emotional turbulence. In the reality of protracted conflict, parties entrenched in their positions are rarely able and willing to initiate self-reflections of this kind on their own unless skilled and committed dialogue partners repeatedly persuade them to accept the value of such an exercise. Despite these apparent difficulties, however, the point of the proposed method is to make a point: the ultimate goal of a Buddhist approach to conflict transformation is to overcome human suffering *from within*; without such an internally-directed, self-reflective component included in the dialogue method, there is no conflict transformation in the end.

<u>Inter-party level</u>: dialogue between conflict parties

Dialogue between conflict parties presupposes that they are ready to come forward and communicate with one another. Therefore, some level of self-reflective capacity described above is a necessary condition for inter-party dialogue. In the reality of dialogue facilitation, however, the inner and outer dialogues may be initiated and evolve in parallel with each other, especially when the parties choose to talk with one another regardless of their motive for engagement, constructive or not.

Provided that the conflict parties are ready for face-to-face dialogue, which concepts of early Buddhism offer a useful way to frame and facilitate such a process? As discussed earlier, a basic premise of inquiry that must be kept in mind is that the primary concern of early Buddhism was to illuminate the *intra-party* dynamics and processes of human suffering. Therefore, our attempt to build a theory and method for transforming *inter-party* conflict becomes an exercise of careful inference and analogical thinking, which may require us, whenever necessary, to go beyond the actual scope of inquiry pursued by early Buddhism itself. It urges us to ask an exploratory question: What aspects of causal explanation about inner sufferings, or dilemmas, are applicable, as a stepping stone for useful analogy-building, to the explanation of inter-party contradictions, or social conflicts? Such expansive, imaginative thinking will prove fruitful because of the evocative nature of the Buddhist discourse on causality, as will be demonstrated shortly.

While dependent origination in early Buddhism focuses primarily on the inner dynamics taking place within human mind, it also offers some insights into the causal dynamics of inter-party relations. For example, describing one of the earliest forms of dependent origination, Nakamura (1993: 415-7) cites a dialogue between Nun Selā and the voice of an evil force that

emerged to disturb her Buddhist practice. When Nun Selā was seated quietly under a tree and resting after a meal, the evil force approached her to cause fear in her mind, asking, "Who created your mind and body? Where is its creator? How has it come into being and how will it disappear in the end?"[9] These questions were meant to challenge Nun Selā and cause doubt in her mind about the very basis and meaning of her existence as a human being. After a moment of reflection, Nun Selā recognized the vicious intent of the evil force and replied:

> I did not create my mind and body. Nor was it created by somebody else. It had come into existence because of the cause that gave birth to it. My mind and body will disappear when its underlying cause disappears. For example, after a seed is planted in a rice field, it grows up to become a seedling due to the combined effect of the fertility of the land and water. Likewise, [the human mind and body] comes into existence because of the underlying cause of its existence; it disappears when its underlying cause ceases to exist.[10]

This version of dependent origination shows a different causal chain from the more linear one introduced earlier, which postulated a three-phased causal chain: fundamental darkness => attachment => suffering. In this episode of Nun Selā and the evil voice, causality is explained as a dynamic process of *multiple* enabling factors (for example, a seed, along with fertility and water) interacting with one another and working synergistically to give rise to a new state of existence (namely, a seedling). It also affirms, yet again, the Buddhist worldview that a given

[9] Translated from the Japanese text of Nakamura (1993: 416-7).

[10] Quoted from the Japanese text in Nakamura (1993: 417) and translated by the present author.

state of existence becomes possible because of the underlying cause that generates and sustains its existence.

From an analogical point of view, the dynamic process of multiple enabling factors giving rise to a resulting phenomenon parallels the way in which competing desires pursued by two or more parties come to be recognized as contradictory, and consequently give rise to a new state of inter-party relations, namely, a social conflict. Importantly, as the episode of Nun Selā illustrates, this perspective on causality is found in the polar opposite of the view, often adopted uncritically, that there is one evil party who has single-handedly caused the conflict. On the contrary, dependent origination views the causal process of conflict in more dynamic, relational terms, even in such social contexts that appear to justify a single-factor explanation of causality. Dependent origination traces the origin of conflict to a dynamic interplay between different goals in human life pursued by different parties who enter into a relationship, desirable or not. Consequently, an early Buddhist approach to conflict analysis values such questions as: Why and how has the conflict emerged?; What enabling factors have worked together to cause the conflict?, instead of asking: Who caused the conflict?

Metaphorically, the image of different aspirations pursued by different conflict parties who are brought into a shared social space of tension and interaction is compared to waves coming and going in the ocean. Suppose we fix our eyes on one wave coming up. We name it a conflict. For the wave to become visible in sight, many enabling factors work together dynamically and synergistically under the surface, including the adjacent waves amassing water to make up for the emerging wave and the dynamic undercurrent of the ocean. The wave is not emerging by itself; it arises because of the combined effect of the interactive movements of

water, comparable to different aspirations pursued by conflict parties entering into the ocean of dynamic relationships. The wave gets submerged into the ocean, though never disappearing completely, when its enabling forces generated by its adjacent waves and the underlying current decline. And the forces that have generated the wave are redirected to create dynamic movements of water elsewhere, either near or far, visible or invisible, turbulent or quiet.

Parenthetically it is worth noting that the emphasis of the proposed approach to conflict does not necessarily imply that early Buddhism condones wrongdoers and avoids confronting injustices perpetrated by individuals who seek to fulfill malicious intentions. Instead, the *relationship-centered* approach to conflict analysis in this study must be understood as a result and product of the unique epistemological choice made by early Buddhism, which views the interplay between various forces causing or mitigating human suffering as the primary focus of attention. Its relationship to a more *actor-oriented* approach, such as the conventional juridical method in Western society that distinguishes perpetrators from victims, subjects of violence from its objects, is an important area to explore. This question, however, has to be reserved for future inquiry.

A corollary of the relationship-centered approach to conflict analysis is a relationship-centered solution to conflict. A contradiction created by different parties' aspirations that stand in the way of one another indicates that none of the parties can single-handedly attain their aspirations unless other parties take steps to change the relationship and make their goal attainment possible. Their aspirations and their positions become interlocked and enmeshed with one another through the conflict, just as the movements of water causing a wave are inseparably connected through the underlying currents of the ocean. Viewed from this perspective of

interconnectedness, conflict is regarded as one form of *interdependence*, desirable or not, even if it involves destruction and violence, or in fact, precisely because of its destructive potential that calls for the attention of all parties involved. A key to conflict transformation, then, is to find constructive potential of one form or another embedded in the interdependent relationship between conflict parties. But the question is: How? If Shakyamuni were with us today, what insights would he offer to construct a practical method for transforming contradictions between conflict parties?

To answer these questions, we return to one of our basic theses: *dependent origination is a law and method of transformation*, as illustrated by the two inter-related causal chains, one indicating a path to suffering and the other showing a path to overcome it. One way of applying this thesis to the transformation of inter-party conflict is to ask two questions:

A. How can we, as conflict parties or third parties, identify and deactivate the potential of violence embedded in the contradiction between the parties?

B. How can we identify and activate peace potential embedded in the contradiction between the parties?

Although insights offered by early Buddhism enable us to come as far as raising these questions, it falls short of providing clear and comprehensive answers to them. This is because the primary goal of early Buddhism, as discussed earlier, is to seek solutions to human suffering and inner contradictions, but it is not intended to offer direct guidance on contradictions between individuals and between groups. The latter is an area of inquiry in which contemporary peace and conflict research has made great strides, in a manner complementary to the focus of early

Buddhism on the inner dynamics of human nature. It is for this reason that in the following discussion, we will draw relevant insights from peace and conflict research to answer the two questions on the untapped potential of inter-party conflict. While our ultimate goal is to stay focused on the Buddhist template of thinking as a basic framework of analysis, we will apply relevant findings derived from contemporary peace and conflict research to strengthen and enrich the Buddhist framework, in search of a synergistic and coherent method of conflict transformation. With this vision in mind, we will provide what may be considered, in my view, the most useful insights to answer each of the two questions, A and B, inspired by recent peace and conflict research:

A. How to identify and deactivate the potential of violence inherent in social conflict:

- *Oversimplification*: Potential for violence grows when conflict parties oversimplify the nature of their conflict, for example, by reducing multiple plausible causes of conflict to only one ultimate factor – the evil human nature with which the other side was born and by their birth right, is driven to take evil action. Such tendencies of oversimplification and reductionism often lead to polarization, a perception of dichotomy between "us" as good people and "them" as bad ones, with no gray zone in between. One possible counter-measure to this tendency is to ask not only who caused the conflict, but also why it is happening. This measure is intended to overcome a single-factor analysis of causality and stereotyping, and to restore a more exploratory and holistic mode of inquiry into conflict.

- *De-humanization*: Impetus toward violence gains momentum and rationale when the other side of the conflict comes to be perceived as less than equal to one's own and

therefore less than human. Symptoms of de-humanization include the habit of calling the other side by the names of non-human creatures, such as cockroaches (the 1994 genocide in Rwanda) and animalistic demons (Japanese slogans against the British and Americans during the Pacific War in the early 1940s). Because the opponents in the conflict are less than human, they are subject to sub-human treatment, such as repression, exploitation, and even extermination. One possible counter-measure to this tendency is a sustained effort to restore and build empathy, the capacity to put oneself in the position of the other side. In the practice of conflict transformation, empathy-building is facilitated by a careful design of storytelling, whole-hearted speaking and listening, which is intended to feel the suffering of each party, to re-humanize one another.

B. How to identify and activate peace potential inherent in social conflict:

- *Conflict as an opportunity for self-reflection*: Conflict compels its parties to focus squarely on what matters to them – who they are and what they care about deeply, in relation to one another. Through this process, it makes the parties' identities and value commitments explicit and forces them to come to terms with the interlocking nature of their relationship. The peace potential embedded in conflict, therefore, is its value as an opportunity to self-reflect on identity and value commitment, more deeply than in other forms of relationships that do not necessarily touch the emotional, and often vulnerable, part of human life.

- *Conflict as a window of opportunity for exploring larger and deeper patterns of human relationships*: Every conflict has a history behind it, long or short, visible or invisible. An intractable conflict often evolves from repeated cycles of bitter exchange, some of them

fresh in recent memory and others with a prolonged, entrenched history. Such historical patterns of relationships tend to be anchored in the cultural and structural context, or "collective karma" so to speak, in which conflict parties have been interacting with one another. In this respect, conflict is analogous to a wave, a manifest, visible phenomenon on the surface of the ocean. The wave is but one small effect of larger and deeper patterns of the ebb and flow of the ocean. Likewise, peace potential embedded in social conflict can be recognized and better utilized when we choose to see an emerging conflict as a symptom of larger relational patterns, extended in time and space, and when we can proactively use the conflict as a window of opportunity to understand how the larger patterns work and what concrete steps we can take to transform the patterns, if necessary.[11]

- *Conflict as an opportunity for activating a positive causal chain*: Conflict may serve as an opportunity to convene a dialogue on acts of commission and omission. Acts of commission are recognized when we ask: What did we do wrong or inadequately in such a way as to cause the conflict? Acts of commission refer to the kinds of action which we have taken intentionally or unintentionally to shape the current situation but which we could have chosen not to take to generate better results. On the contrary, acts of omission are identified when we ask: What should we have done but we actually didn't in order to prevent the conflict from happening? Reflecting on acts of omission, conflict parties are urged to explore alternative scenarios that failed to materialize, name missed opportunities that could have been seized for more constructive relationship-building, and

[11] See Lederach (2003) for further elaboration on this line of explorative thinking.

draw useful analogies from their past experience in order to help shape a constructive future beyond the tension and contradiction they face at present. This way of thinking is consistent with the underlying philosophy of dependent origination which affirms that by activating the law of cause and effect, human beings can identify and transcend the roots of suffering and shape their way of life in the future. Likewise, this line of reasoning also suggests that a destructive conflict be neither pre-determined nor inevitable, but preventable because ultimately, human beings have the capacity to consciously generate underlying causes of both destructive conflict and momentum for peace.

These suggested steps are illustrative only, because each of the unique contexts of conflict presents unique challenges and opportunities that require a different response. It is hoped, however, that this illustrative list of measures demonstrates the transformative potential inherent in what may be regarded as a disturbing contradiction between conflicting goals that have, however inadvertently, brought conflict parties together. The term *potential* is emphasized in this context, for whether conflict parties choose to activate a destructive causal chain or a constructive one is ultimately up to them to decide. The Buddhist law of transformation does not manifest by itself; it needs to be activated consciously by the choice of human beings determined to remove suffering and create maximum value in their relationships.

Finally, I would like to outline one possible method of inter-party dialogue that reflects key philosophical principles that we have discussed so far. Like the process of self-reflection on inner contradictions outlined earlier, inter-party dialogue may be initiated by the conflict parties themselves if they are emotionally prepared and equipped with necessary skills. If these conditions are not met, the process may be facilitated by a skilled mediator trusted by the parties.

The six steps presented here are cumulative in nature, but the suggested sequence may be altered flexibly according to the unique circumstances of the inter-party dynamics:

a) Identify, through exploratory dialogue, the desires and aspirations to which each party is attached in such a way that the attachment contributes to generating or exacerbating the inter-party conflict in question.

b) Through dialogue, probe into deeper layers of desires in search of the deepest roots of the attachment which has been upheld by each party. The probing may be done in a manner analogous to tracing the causal chain of dependent origination. To delve into less visible and more fundamental layers of desires, the parties are asked to examine how deeply the perceived desires resonate with their innermost value commitment to their sense of life and death. (The probing questions introduced earlier for self-reflection on inner contradictions are applicable here as well.)

Steps a) and b) are similar to the method of self-reflection in many ways. But they are different because the parties must now verbalize their inner contradictions, perhaps with great difficulty, and communicate them more explicitly through dialogue, in order to understand each other's perspectives. If the parties are not ready to take these two initial steps, they must be asked to return to the self-reflective process outlined earlier so that they become better prepared for inter-party dialogue. Provided that the parties have managed to carry out steps a) and b), they are then invited to move forward with further steps:

c) Identify and describe areas of interdependence embedded in the conflict. To do this, jointly explore how their desires and attachments have come to be entangled in such a

way that one party's attempt to fulfill his or her desires stands in the way of others trying to fulfill theirs. Also ask: In what ways are their relationships interdependent, however inadvertently, as a consequence of the entanglement? Identify and articulate concrete examples to illustrate how interdependent.

d) Focusing on the areas of interdependence between the parties, discuss how to activate peace potential embedded in the interlocking nature of their relationship, by taking steps introduced earlier (that is, answers to Question B above).

e) Likewise, discuss how to deactivate and transform the potential of violence that may be embedded in the areas of interdependence, in view of the advice introduced earlier (that is, answers to Question A above).

Just as life is a sustained process of overcome suffering, relationship-building between conflict parties is an ever-evolving process. These proposed steps for dialogue, if successful, will result in an action plan. Whatever action is taken to tackle the conflict is bound to generate consequences, positive or negative, through the underlying law of cause and effect. This awareness of evolving causal influence calls for one more step that needs to be added to our method of dialogue:

d) Anticipate possible ripple effects of the dialogue and the resulting action plan (or lack thereof, if that is the case) and discuss future steps to follow up on the dialogue. Appropriate steps vary greatly according to the unique circumstances of the process. They may be as simple as one follow-up meeting to be held at some point in the future or as elaborate as establishing a sustainable monitoring and evaluation mechanism designed

to appraise how the action plan is carried out and what adjustments are needed along the way.

CONCLUSION

As a philosophy, a faith tradition, and a way of life, early Buddhism sought to understand the deepest roots of human suffering and find a way to transform them. Shakyamuni's search for an answer to this inquiry culminated in the crystallization of dependent origination – an ever-evolving, dynamic process, inherent in all aspects of life and the universe, through which various causes and conditions work together to give momentum to the birth of a range of phenomena shaping and reshaping human life. Dependent origination, Shakyamuni realized, is the underlying force that ultimately causes suffering, through attachment to desires, but the same underlying force can be rechanneled into tenacious efforts toward emancipating human beings from the roots of suffering that bind them. Ultimately, dependent origination is a law of inner transformation.

Early Buddhism viewed suffering as a manifestation of deep inner contradictions, or dilemmas, arising from unfulfilled desires at the most fundamental level of human existence. Social conflict, on the other hand, is a contradiction externalized between two or more human beings, each carrying his or her inner contradictions that help shape the way they approach inter-party relations. Therefore, analysis of social conflict requires looking into an ever-evolving dynamic system of both internalized and externalized contradictions and understanding the interplay between the two levels. The goal of conflict transformation is to transform the inter-

party contradictions in such a way as to alleviate and eventually overcome inner contradictions, or sufferings, experienced by each party.

As a method of practice, a Buddhist approach to conflict transformation seeks to orchestrate the two levels of change, intra and inter-party, through self-reflection and dialogue. The intra-party process emphasizes deep self-reflections aimed at discovering the roots of suffering associated with the conflict at hand. The inter-party process of dialogue encourages parties to see their conflict as a form of interdependence to build on, with both constructive and destructive potential embedded in it.

How, then, does this understanding of conflict illuminate the larger theme of Buddhist peace studies summarized in the equation introduced at the outset: suffering : enlightening = violence : peace? Simply put, conflict, as a manifestation of contradictions, internal and external, carries the potential to generate either constructive or destructive momentum in society, either toward greater suffering or toward a greater fulfillment of potential in life. Conflict, therefore, presents a choice point, both as a challenge and as an opportunity for activating peace potential and deactivating the potential of violence inherent in human relationships. It is the human will and action, through the force of dependent origination, that makes the choice in such a way as to create value or unti-value.

Finally, our attempt to articulate an early Buddhist theory of conflict transformation has also enabled us to identify and define two of the central themes of Buddhist peace studies, of which the conflict theory presented here is an essential part. First, *peace* is a sustained capacity present in a given social context for transforming inter-party contradictions, or conflicts, one after another through nonviolent means. Second, *happiness* (*sukha*) is a form of inner peace

defined as a sustained capacity to transform inner contradictions at the most fundamental level of human existence, or dilemmas, one after another. The ultimate goal of Buddhist peace studies is to supplement the former, one of the primary foci of contemporary peace studies, with the latter, with the view toward making human suffering the central focus of social scientific inquiry and action.

LIST OF SOURCES

Hirakawa, Akira, 1985. 'Engi Shisou no Genryu' [Original Meaning of *Pratītyasamutpāda*], in the Planning Committee for the Commemoration of Professor Akira Hirakawa's Seventieth Birthday, ed., *Bukkyo Shisou no Shomondai* [Various Problems in Buddhist Thought]. Tokyo: Shunju-sha.

Lederach, John Paul, 2003. *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

Nakamura, Hajime, 1993. *Nakamura Hajime Senshu* [The Collection of Hajime Nakamura's Essays], vol. 16: *Genshi-bukkyo no Shisou* [The Philosophy of Early Buddhism], II. Tokyo: Shunju-sha.

Rahula, Walpola, 1974. *What the Buddha Taught*, revised ed. New York: Grove Press.

Saigusa, Mitsuyoshi, 1995. *Shoki-bukkyo no Shisou* [Principal Thoughts of Early Buddhism]. Tokyo: Daisan Bummei Sha.