

The Protestant Theologies of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective:
Christians in Okinawa during the U.S. Administration (1945-1972)

終末信仰を内在する社会正義神学
— 米国統治下に於ける沖縄のプロテスタント基督者 (1945-1972年)

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To my wife, Taeko
and our daughter, Mika and sons, Kay and Ken

Acknowledgment

It is my great pleasure to introduce the theology of Christians in Okinawa with an integrated framework as a pioneering work in the world.

After obtaining the degree of MTS (Master of Theological Studies) at Boston University School of Theology (BUSTH) in May 2010, in September of the same year, I was allowed to take a doctoral course at International Christian University (ICU). Dr. Anri Morimoto, the chairperson of the Ph.D. Dissertation Evaluation Committee, advised me to write about Okinawan issues, because I am an Okinawan Christian. I want to express my gratitude to the four members of the Evaluation Committee who provided me with valuable advice from different perspectives. Dr. Anri Morimoto, a theologian, accepted the theological frame of the dissertation. Two historians, Dr. Hideaki Kikuchi and Dr. William M. Steele taught me the significance of paying attention to the socio-political context, which intertwined with the theology of Okinawan social justice issues. Dr. Naoki Onishi, a literary scholar, indicated the severity of English writing.

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I thank God, who brought me back to Japan to enter the ICU doctoral course of Christianity and Culture (West) in 2010, after obtaining the degree of BUSTH's MTS (Master of Theological Studies). Writing about the Protestant theology of Christians in Okinawa during the U.S. administration requires knowledge of theology and culture based on the social context of Okinawa, mainland Japan, and the U.S., so, I was convinced that it was my responsibility to introduce the Protestant theology of Okinawa from an integrated perspective. Though I belong to the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at present, for understanding the history of the Japanese Protestant Church, it was a great advantage being an Okinawan fourth generation Christian. My great grand-parents and grand-parents belonged to the Methodist Church, that joined with the United Church of Christ in Japan, in the early 1900s. Though, my family attended services of Naha Chūō Church (the United Church of Christ in Okinawa) in the 1950s, we moved to the Baptist Church, and I was baptized at Shuri Baptist Church in 1960.

I praise the name of the Lord and thank Him for encouraging me to finalize the dissertation by sending so many friends and scholars who supported and prayed for me across the states, cultures, denominations and theologies. I thank God for my family, (my wife Taeko, and our three children, Mika, Kay and Ken), who supported me in studying at BUSTH from September 2007 when I was sixty-years old. Taeko, who studied nineteenth century American Literature in both, masters and doctoral programs at Aoyama Gakuin University, helped my studying and research at both BUSTH and ICU from September 2007 to February 2014. She is always the first commentator for my academic papers.

December 5, 2013 in Kanagawa-Ken, Japan

Mikio Miyagi

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Abbreviation

ABC	American Baptist Church
AMC	American Methodist Church
BCP	Book of Common Prayer
CID	Criminal Investigation Command
CMS	Church Mission Society
ECUSA	Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America
FLEJ	Fundamental Law of Education of Japan
FLEO	Fundamental Law of Education of Okinawa
GRI	Government of the Ryukyu Islands (1952-1972)
LGRI	Legislature of the Government of Ryukyu Islands
MTL	Mission to Lepers (Okinawa Christians Leprosy Relief Association)
MP	Military Police
NCCC-USA	The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
NSKK	Nippon Sei Ko Kai (Episcopal Church of Japan)
OBC	Okinawa Baptist Convention
OCA	Okinawa Christian Association
OEC	Okinawa Episcopal Church
OPCA	Okinawa Protecting Children Association
OTA	Okinawa Teachers Association (Established in 1947 with the name Okinawa Teachers Joint Association)
OTU	Okinawa Teachers Union (Okinawa Kyōshokuin Kumiai, Different organization from Nihon Teachers' Union)
REICO	Rape Emergency Intervention Counseling Center Okinawa
RyCom	Ryukyu Command Headquarters
SDA	Seventh-Day Adventist Church
UCCJ	United Church of Christ in Japan
UCCO	United Church of Christ of Okinawa (The name was registered in 1953).
USCAR	United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (1950-1972, Governor administered until installation of the High Commissioner in 1957).
WCC	World Council of Churches
WHO	World Health Organization

1. Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to attempt to define, for Protestant Christians living in Okinawa during the U.S. administration period, their collective theology of social justice, along with their eschatological perspective. For achieving the goal, the dissertation consists of three main categories: (1) prerequisite subjects, (2) reviews of three actual social justice issues, and (3) the definition of the Protestant social justice theology and eschatological view of Christians in Okinawa during the U.S. administration.

Verification of the theological perspective of social justice that embraced their eschatological hope was carried out, firstly, based on the definition of the ecclesiastical creeds of the four denominations: (1) the United Church of Christ of Okinawa (hereafter UCCO), (2) the Okinawa Episcopal Church (hereafter OEC), (3) the Okinawa Baptist Convention (hereafter OBC), and (4) the–Seventh-Day Adventist Church (hereafter SDA). This was accomplished by reviewing the UCCO’s Confession of Faith and the Guidelines of Christian Living¹, the Book of Common Prayer² of the Episcopalian

¹ Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan [The United Church of Japan], “Shinkou kokuhaku [Confession of Faith]. 4 September 2013 < <http://uccj-e.org/life>>.

² The Episcopal Church, *The Book of Common Prayer*. (New York: Church Publishing Incorporated, 2007).

Church, the Declaration of Faith³ of the OBC, and the Fundamental Beliefs⁴ of the SDA. Secondly, it was carried out by applying the theological definition of the four denominations to the three actual social justice cases involving Christians in Okinawa. Thirdly, it was done based on a chronological identification of Christians' commitments to social justice issues beyond the three aforementioned social justice cases.

All Protestant churches in Japan, including Okinawa were combined into the United Church of Christ in Japan (hereafter UCCJ) by the government of the Empire of Japan in order to control the religious sovereignty in 1941. However, as the OEC, the OBC, and the SDA started their ministries by parting from the UCCO in the 1950s, these four denominations were regarded as the main stream Protestant churches in Okinawa.

Though one of the SDA's core mission works (the medical ministry), may not be generally regarded as social justice mission work, this dissertation recognizes it as one of the main social justice ministries, based on the theological definition of social justice, and because of the SDA's contribution to medical work before the comprehensive medical system was established in Okinawa.

Why does this dissertation discuss the Okinawan social issue from a theological

³ Okinawa Baptist Convention, "Shinkou Sengen [Declaration of Faith]." 5 September 2013 <<http://okinawa-baptist.asia/profile.html>>.

⁴ SDA, *Fundamental Beliefs*. 4 July 2013 <www.adventist.org>.

perspective, by focusing on the period of the U.S. administration? During that period, although, Okinawa Christians were the social minority (less than one percent of the total population including Catholics), many who had profound effects on society were Christians, including American missionaries. They were Okinawan Christians of the UCCO, missionaries of American Methodist and Baptist churches, Christians from mainland Japan, and Okinawa Episcopalians. All of these groups stood up to protest against the U.S. military authority when the human rights of the people of Okinawa had been infringed upon. Since the citizens were subservient to the U.S. military authority, with no legal power, they accepted the Christians' non-violent protests.

Thus, the essential Okinawan social justice issues (from cross-denominational views) should not be analyzed without focusing on the period of the U.S. administration, because Christian leaders had contributed to the protest against the authority, and they stayed present to agonize with the socially vulnerable.

The Okinawan people's ancestral worship was intertwined with their spiritual perspective, because they showed reverence for the spirits of their ancestors. Though Okinawa Christians denied the belief in ancestor worship, there existed a commonality of the faiths between ancestral worship and Christians' eschatological doctrine because redemption would be completed in the End-Time. However, the Christians'

eschatological creed that trusts in God's reward of everlasting life to the faithful, and judgment of eternal punishment to the unfaithful was not accepted by Okinawans, because ancestral worship embraces the perception of universalism.

Peace was one of the core subjects of the Okinawan issues because Okinawan Christians across the denominations rejected the U.S. military presence in Okinawa, based on the pacifist perspective. However, in 1948, the first assembly of the World Council of Churches (hereafter WCC) acknowledged the difficulty of proclaiming that war is contrary to the will of God. Three broad positions were maintained for the question, "Can war now be an act of justice?"⁵ Thus, this dissertation focuses on the social justice issue, not by debating about the just war doctrine, but relating peace matters of war to repentance by Christians in Okinawa.

What is the theological relationship between the social justice and eschatology? As the recovery of human dignity is the core subject of the Okinawan social justice related problems, it is impossible to make conclusions concerning the social justice issues without relating them to the eschatological hope of the recovery of complete human dignity. From the Protestant theological view, this will not occur until the Lord

⁵ World Council of Churches ed, *1rst Assembly of the World Council of Churches Amsterdam, Holland August 22nd – September 4th, 1948 Finding and Decisions*. (Geneva, Switzerland: World Council of Churches, 1948) 54-55.

accomplishes it at the end of the world. Though an eschatological view is understood as a religious detachment from reality, social justice matters should totally depend theologically on a strong eschatological belief, because Christians who experienced the absurd calamity in Okinawa during WWII and its aftermath had an eschatological hope.

In order to challenge the definition of the aforementioned Protestant theologies and eschatological convictions, for the specified time period, the general content of this dissertation's structure will be confirmed as follows.

1.1. The Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation is comprised of three categories with seven chapters (excluding the introduction and the conclusion). The three chapters of the first category are composed of such prerequisite subjects as the state of the field, the socio-political context, and the definition and its application of the social justice perspective and eschatological perspective during the U.S. administration period.

The chapter of the state of the field outlines both the historical context and the spiritual climate retroactive to the Ryukyu Kingdom in the fifteenth century. The next chapter describes the socio-political context by focusing on the period of the U.S. administration. The definition and its application of theologies of the social justice and

eschatological perspective is based on the denominational creeds or public beliefs, including the Declaration of Faith, the Guidelines for Christian Living, the Fundamental Beliefs, and the Book of Common Prayer based on the period of the U.S. administration of Okinawa.

The three chapters of the next category reviews the actual social problems, the land confiscation, the issue of sexual assault by U.S. military servicemen, and the Hansen's disease issue in order to confirm how Christians in Okinawa responded to these issues. As these three cases contribute significantly to summarizing the subject of the dissertation, it is necessary to describe details in section 1.1.2 of this chapter.

The last chapter of the last category defines the Protestant theologies of social justice which underlies eschatological understanding, by reviewing chronologically the response of Christians in Okinawa, (including American Christians) to the social justice related problems which were described in the previous three chapters based on the reflections of WWII.

In order to analyze in parallel the Protestant theology of social justice, which was intrinsically eschatological, each chapter has the following parallel contents in order to identify the theology of social justice issue itself, and to compare its commonalities and dissimilarities.

- a. The socio-political context of the issue.
- b. Events related to the social justice issue.
- c. How Christians responded to the issue.
- d. Theology of social justice with an eschatological perspective on the issue.

1.1.1. Three Social Justice Issues

Reviewing the actual social justice cases aims at identifying perspectives of social justice and eschatology regarding these three social problems, so that the Protestant theologies of Christians in Okinawa during the U.S. administration period can be defined as the theologies which embraced traits of both social justice and eschatology.

These three cases raise the different controversial points. (1) The land issue exposed the violation of the human right of the freedom to protect property. (2) The sexual assault issue uncovered the violation, specifically of women's human dignity, and (3) the Hansen's disease issue questioned the general violation of human dignity.

1.1.1.1. The Land Issue

Okinawan people had regarded the U.S. military as having liberated Okinawa from the political oppression of Japanese imperialism at the initial stage of the U.S. military's occupation, until the emergence of the land confiscation problem in the early 1950s. Therefore, the land issue was positioned as a diverging point that paved the way for the

emergence of Okinawan people's protest against the U.S. military authority.

The land issue drew the attention of American Methodist Churches' missionaries who had been concerned about the Okinawan people's human rights violation by the U.S. military authority. Though American missionaries, who were sent to the UCCO stood up protesting against the land issue, Okinawan Christians (except for Shōkō Ahagon) kept silent on the issue.

This chapter discusses the human rights issue by focusing, not on the freedom of protecting property, but on how Christians in Okinawa responded to the new emergent social justice problems based on the political context of the Cold War period.

1.1.1.2. The Sexual Assault Issue

This chapter discusses the violation of women's human dignity. During the U.S. administration period, no Protestant Christians stood up to assist the victims who were sexually assaulted by American military servicemen.

Though Episcopalian ministers expressed criticism of the incidents in the newspapers when the "Yumiko-chan" rape incident occurred in 1953, it was not until 1995 that Christian women activists began helping the victims of sexual crimes with an integrated program. Takazato Suzuyo, the UCCJ's woman activist protesting against the

violation of women's human dignity, established the Rape Emergency Intervention Counseling Center Okinawa (hereafter REICO) in 1995.

This issue was distinct from the other two issues because it concerned the violation of women's human dignity, and Christians in Okinawa did not stand up to assist the victims. However, though Christians in Okinawa cannot be excused for not having ministered to the victims during the U.S. administration period, it was clear that the sex crime victimization of female citizens by U.S. military servicemen raised awareness of the seriousness of the issue during this period to Christians in Okinawa, because a Christian woman activist eventually established a shelter for victims in 1995, even though it was almost a half century after the incidents involving Yumiko-chan, in 1953.

1.1.1.3. The Hansen's Disease Issue

This chapter reviews the dignity of the human person. Hansen's disease sufferers in Okinawa had been despised as social-outcasts. Christians devoted themselves to minister to them, even jeopardizing their own lives before WWII. Christians, across denominations, including ministers suffering from the disease themselves, assisted Hansen's disease sufferers, as missions to express their thanks, for the hope of complete recovery from diseases at the End of the World when the Lord comes again.

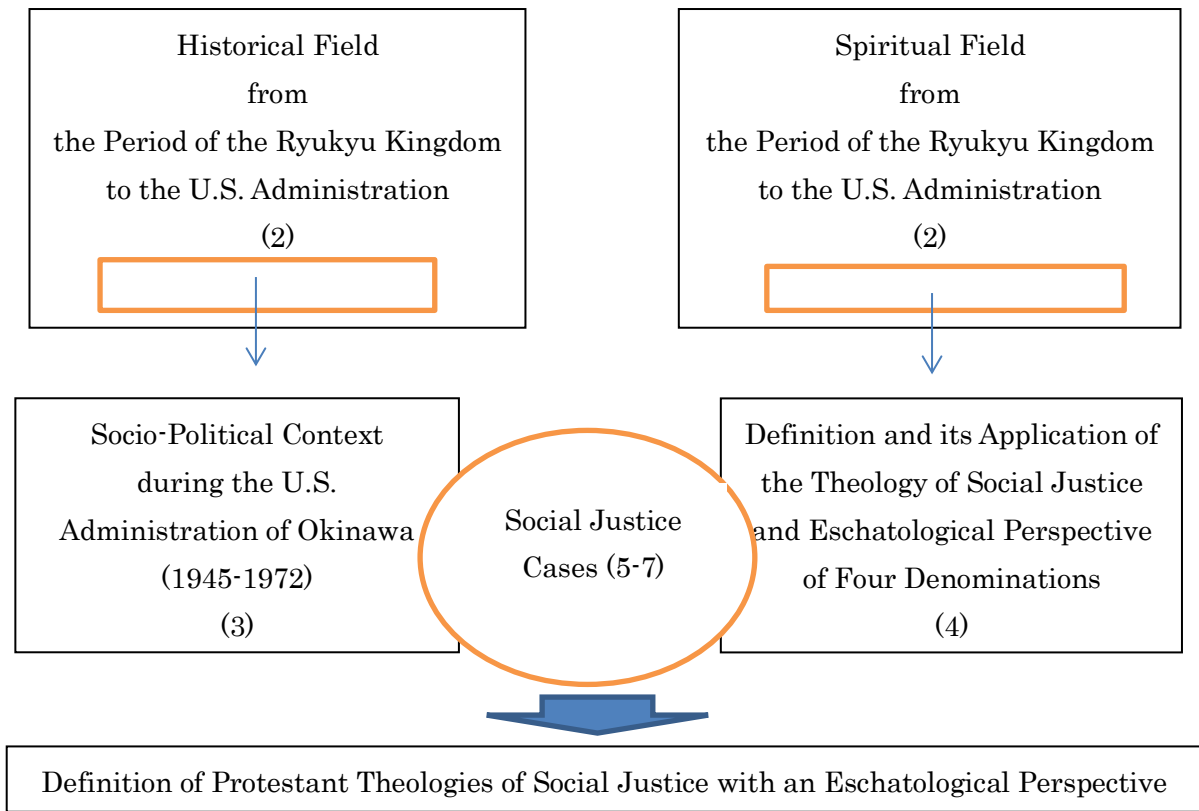
As Christians' eschatological hope was built on a dialectical relationship between the Hansen's disease patients and those Christians who provided assistance to them, they gave each other the strength to serve others by transcending the relationship between a giver and a recipient.

How did the dialectical relationship, between the Hansen's disease patient and those Christians who assisted them, relate to Okinawan social issues? As both issues were examples of the violation of dignity of the human person, the Hansen's disease issue attached a theological meaning to the Okinawan social justice issues.

1.2. Concept of the Definition of the Protestant Theologies of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective for Christians in Okinawa during the U.S. Administration (1945-1972)

Based on the structure of the dissertation, the Table 1.1 expresses how the Protestant theologies of social justice with an eschatological perspective for Christians in Okinawa during the U.S. administration could be defined. Parentheses express the number of each chapter.

Fig. 1.1: Structure of the Dissertation



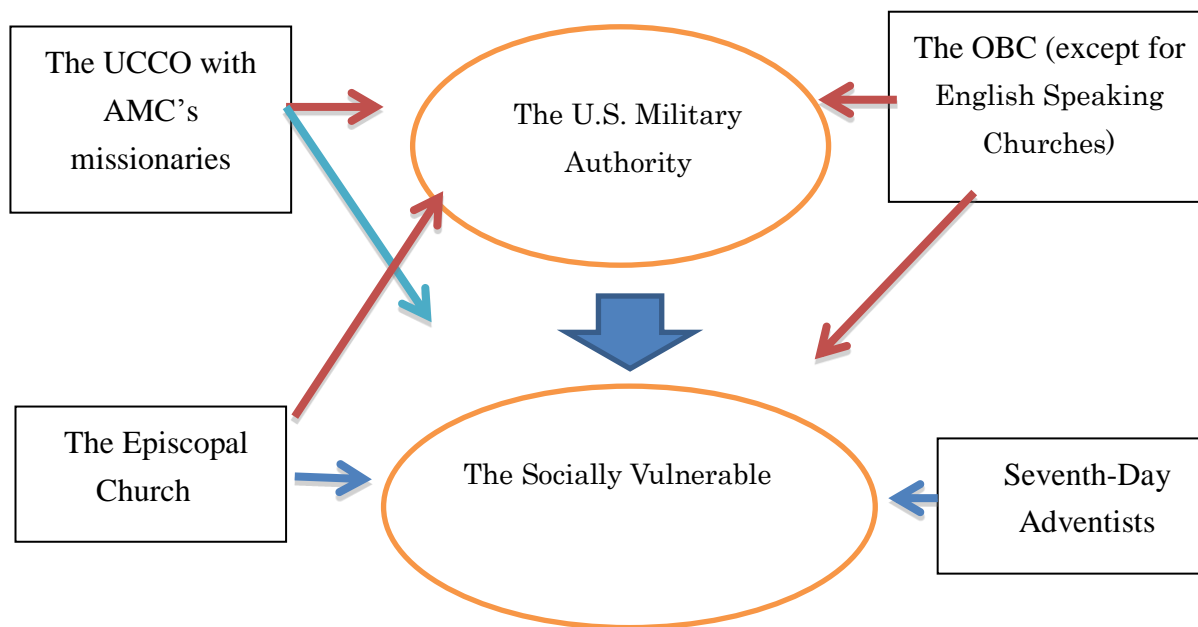
Chapter

1. Introduction
 - The First Category: Prerequisite Subjects-----
2. State of the Field
3. Socio-Political Context during the U.S. Administration
4. Definition and its Application of the Protestant Theology of Social Justice with Eschatological Perspective of Four Denominations
 - The Second Category: Three Social Justice Cases-----
5. The Land Issue
6. The Sexual Assault Issue
7. The Hansen’s disease Issue
 - The Third Category: The Definition of Protestant Theologies of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective-----
8. Protestant Theologies of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective for Christians in Okinawa during the U.S. Administration Period
 -
9. Conclusion

1.3. Definition of Protestant Theologies of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective

In order to achieve the purpose of defining the Protestant theologies of social justice with an eschatological perspective, the last chapter before the conclusion attempts to define the theology, firstly, based on the parallel contents of the three actual social justice cases, by identifying their commonality. Secondly, the aforementioned chapter reviews the chronological response to the social justice issues by Christians in Okinawa. As Christians' response to the social justice issue depended heavily on denominational commitment to the issues, the definition of the theology was made by denominations.

Fig. 1.2: Definition of Protestant Theologies of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective: Christians in Okinawa during the U.S. Administration (1945-1972)



Remarks:

→ Assistance to the socially vulnerable

→ Protest against the U.S. military Authority for human rights

↓ Violation of human rights of Okinawan people by the U.S. military

1.4. Other Religions' Theologies of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective

For two reasons, this dissertation does not include discussion of other religions' theologies of social justice with eschatological perspectives. The first reason is to position this dissertation as path-breaking for Okinawan studies by focusing on the theology of social justice. The second reason is that this paper aims at reviewing the

Okinawan issues from perspectives of Okinawans, Japanese from the mainland, and Americans in order to examine the subject objectively. If this paper should refer to the other religions of the American people, it would be required to consider Jewish, Muslim, and Native American spirituality, as well. Based on these reasons, theological criticisms against this paper from other religious perspectives are strongly requested.

A consideration of the theology of social justice in the other religions is beyond the scope of this study, but might be very useful and interesting. Other criticisms concerning the absence of further studies considering Korea and the Philippines, which share the same socio-political context because of the U.S. military presence, are also requested. Such studies would help to deepen the theological understanding on human rights and human dignities in the entire East Asian theater after WWII. A comparison between the post-war period and the current context on the theological justice issues would also be helpful. This paper does not focus on theological debate in order to discuss the theology of social justice based on the Okinawan socio-political context, so, further consideration of Okinawan social justice issues by focusing on theology itself, without referring so much to the social-political context would be also important.

2. The State of the Field

This chapter aims at confirming how the subject of the dissertation on the Protestant theologies of social justice (with an eschatological perspective for Christians in Okinawa during the U.S. administration) is positioned in the domain of the historical and spiritual contexts beyond the period of the U.S. administration. In order to achieve the goal, the subject of the dissertation will be reviewed chronologically from the perspectives of both the historical, and the spiritual field.

By examining Okinawan history from the period of the Ryukyu Kingdom in the fifteenth century to the period of the U.S. administration of Okinawa, Okinawan social justice issues can be confirmed by recognizing that citizens were in a subservient position to political authorities. Based on this subordinate relationship to the political authorities since 1609, this chapter focuses on describing the socio-political context by reviewing the peoples' hope for a regenerated Japan, as well as their rejection of both authorities, the U.S. military and the Japanese Empire.

The eschatological perspective of Okinawan people will be acknowledged by chronologically examining their spirituality. This chapter concludes by identifying the two core subjects of the dissertation; the social justice and eschatological perspectives, within the Okinawan historical and spiritual contexts.

2.1. Historical Field

Okinawa was incorporated into the national polity of Japan in 1879, after the Ryukyu Han was abolished by the Meiji government in 1609. Though Okinawa Prefecture was established as a one of the local autonomous bodies in Japan, Okinawa was under the control of the Meiji government because of its centralized administrative framework.

How were Okinawan human rights protected by the law? The Meiji constitution's provisions on human rights were specified in Chapter II of the Meiji constitution, "The Rights and Duties of Subjects". However, the freedoms of religion and speech (specified in Articles 28 and 29, respectively,) attached collateral legal conditions as follows.⁶

Article 28

Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

Article 29

Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing publication, public meetings and association.

Just as both articles restricted total freedom by attaching conditions, Japanese

⁶ Kikuchi Akio, *Nihonkoku Kenpō [The Constitution of Japan-with English version]* (Tokoy: Chikuma Shobō, 2011) 112.

subjects, including Okinawans, also did not obtain the sovereignty of the people based on Article I of Chapter I, “The Emperor,” which specified the Emperor’s sovereignty of the state.

Article 1

The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.⁷

How were the Japanese subjects required to maintain ethical standards? In 1890, the Meiji government issued the “Rescript of Education” that defined the Japanese subjects’ standard of morality. The rescript was the Emperor’s message to the Japanese people on the morality of his subjects.⁸ As the standard of morality was based on the

⁷ Kikuchi Akio, *Nihon Kenpō* 102.

⁸ Ohara Yasuo ed., *Kyōiku Chokugo* (Tokyo: Jinja shinpōsha, 2007) 41.

Know ye, our subjects;

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue ; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, to be filial to your parents , affectionate to your brothers and sisters ; as husbands and wives be harmonious , as friends true ; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation ; extend your benevolence to all ; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers ; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests ; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws ; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State ; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers. The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue.
The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji.

master-subordinate relationship, human rights of the Japanese people were not guaranteed, particularly in the time of war as specified in Article 31.

Article 31

The provisions contained in the present Chapter shall not affect the exercise of the powers appertaining to the Emperor, in times of war or in cases of a national emergency.⁹

Thus, Japanese people, including Okinawans were expected to show a strong loyalty to the state during the period from Meiji Restoration to the end of WWII in 1945.

After WWII, Okinawa was placed under the administration of the U.S. military authority which held three branches of government: legislative, executive and judicial. As the U.S. military authority did not authorize the absolute autonomy of the Okinawan government, the people had to speak out against the violation of social justice problems. It was during this period that they came to recognize respect for human rights, based on the content of the new constitution of Japan that became effective in 1947. Then how did Okinawan people apply the learned social justice perspective to actual cases of human rights violation?

After the “Yumiko-*chan* incident”, in which a six year-old girl was raped and killed by a U.S. military serviceman in 1953, the Okinawa Teachers Union (hereafter OTU)

⁹ Kikuchi Akio, *Nihon Kenpō* 112.

organized the *Okinawa Kodomo wo Mamoru Kai* (Okinawa Protecting Children Association, hereafter OPCA) at the end of 1953.

Chōbyō Yara¹⁰ (1902-1997), the first OTU's chairperson from 1952 to 1968, stated that they studied the Fundamental Law of Education of Japan (hereafter FLEJ), which was established in 1947, in order to make the draft of the Fundamental Law of Education of Okinawa (hereafter FLEO). Thus, it was apparent that Teachers Union leaders recognized the concept of human rights that were specified on the law. Yara commented that they wanted to make the FLEO by adopting the contents of the FLEJ as much as possible.¹¹

The First Paragraph of the Preamble of the FLEJ

Having established the Constitution of Japan, we have shown our resolution to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state. The realization of this ideal shall depend fundamentally on the power of education.¹²

The First Paragraph of the FLEO

We, as Japanese citizens, have shown our resolution based on the universal principle to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by

¹⁰ The 5th Chief Executive of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands from 1968 to 1972, and the first Governor of Okinawa Prefecture from 1972 to 1976.

¹¹ Yara Chōbyō, "*Yara Chōbyō no Kaikoroku*" (*Memories of Yara Chōbyō*) (Tokyo, Japan: Asahi Shimbun Sha, 1977) 52.

¹² The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. "Basic Act on Education" (Act No. 25 of 1947). 20 June 2013 <http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/kihon/data/07080117.htm>.

building a democratic and cultural state.¹³

As the ideals of democracy were the fundamental basis of the FLEJ, the Okinawan people's understanding of democracy, and the principle that sovereignty resides in the people was built up during the post war period. This means that the constitution of Japan, by which all Japanese laws including the FLEJ were made, shaped the Okinawan people's idea on social justice.

It was ironic that, as the constitution of Japan was created before the conclusion of the Peace Treaty with Japan in 1952, the content of the Japanese constitution was influenced by the democratic ideas of the U.S. This means that Okinawans acknowledged the human rights perspective of American values in an indirect way from the Japanese constitution.

¹³ Houseika Jimukyoku [the Legislature of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands], *Ryukyu Houeisyu [Statute Books of Ryukyu]* (Okinawa: Kyōdō Press, 1959) 347.

Table 2.1: The Chronological Table of the History Field

Year	Name	Content
1429	Ryukyu	Unification of the Ryukyu Islands by the king Shōhashi of the first Kingdom of the Shōshi dynasty.
1469	King Shōen	King of the second Shōshi dynasty.
1477	King Shōshin	King of the third Shōshi dynasty.
1609	Shimazu Han	The Ryukyu Kingdom was invaded by Shimazu Han.
1868	Meiji	The Meiji Era started
1869	Meiji Government	The Central Government (Meiji Government) was established.
1872	Ryukyu Han	The Ryukyu Han was established by abolishing the Ryukyu Kingdom
1879	Ryukyu Shobun	By abolishing the Ryukyu Han, Okinawa Prefecture was established.
-----Okinawa was incorporated into the national polity of Japan-----		
1889	Meiji Constitution	Establishment of the Legal System
1890	Imperial Rescript of Education	Government of the Empire of Japan issued the Imperial Rescript of Education.
1937	Second Sino-Japanese War	Military Confrontation with China
1941	Pacific War	Military Confrontation with the U.S.A.
1945	End of WWII	
-----The U.S. military had Okinawa under its control-----		
1947	Constitution of Japan	The New Constitution of Japan, which proclaimed renunciation of war and that the sovereignty resided in the people, was established
1952	Peace Treaty With Japan	Okinawa was separated from mainland Japan by treaty
1972	Reversion to Japan	Okinawa returned to Japan, but the U.S. military bases remained.

2.2. Spiritual Field

Even though Okinawa had been in subordination to the three powers, Satsuma Han, the Empire of Japan, and the U.S. military from WWII to the time of the Okinawa reversion to Japan 1972, the majority of Okinawans had been observing ancestor worship without having been influenced by the changing socio-political contexts.

2.2.1. Ancestor Worship

It was the king Shōshin of the third Shōshi dynasty who established the state religion by constructing the hierarchical structure of indigenous ancestor worship after establishing the third dynasty in 1477. He installed Kikoeōkimi, a highest *pythoness*, as the state religious organization.¹⁴ Though the king Shōhashi of the first Shōshi dynasty, (who unified the Ryūkyū Islands in 1429), built Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines by giving favorable treatment to Japanese monks, neither of these religions could gain acceptance of the population, because the majority of the people were observing ancestor worship.

Then, how had the majority of Okinawans observed ancestor worship? In the May 1956 issue of *the Okinawa Baputesuto* (Okinawa Baptist), the monthly journal of the

¹⁴ Hokama Shuzen, *Okinawa no rekishi to bunka [History of Okinawa and Culture]* (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1986) 65.

OBC, Kanhan Teruya (1892-1968) a pastor of Naha Baptist Church of the OBC wrote the first installment of a series of ten articles titled “Okinawa no Shukyō Dozoku (Okinawan Indigenous Religion).”¹⁵ Teruya claimed:

Ancestor worship is a festival, which every Okinawan family observes and believes is a good custom. However, the reality is that they worship the spirits of their ancestors, not with reverence, but fearing evil spirits of the ancestors...A family Buddhist altar and spirit tablets, which are placed on the altar had different meanings originally. Though a spirit tablet is regarded as from Buddhist origin, it comes from Confucius teachings...believing that a spirit of an ancestor comes to a tablet, hold authority to give fortune and misfortune, and having life and death authority over us. This is absolutely superstitious.

As Teruya commented, ancestor worship developed into a religious amalgamation of Buddhism and Confucianism that had been brought by King Shōhashi of the first Shōshi dynasty in the fifteen century. However, it was clear that the core theological meaning of ancestor worship was reverence for the spirits of ancestors. What was the core theological meaning of ancestor worship? In the 10 September and 1 October 1956 issues of *the Okinawa Baputesuto*, Teruya commented that:

In the festival for the departed after death, we have anniversaries of seven days, forty-nine days, two years, seven years, thirteen years, twenty-five years, and thirty-three years by offering tiered food boxes with rice cakes, pork, vegetables, tempura, and sweet stuff on the altar or the tomb. Together with these offerings, a

¹⁵ Teruya Kanhan, “Okinawa no Syukyo Dozoku (1) [Okinawan Indigenous Religion(1)]” *Okinawa Baputesuto (Okinawa Baptist)* 11(1956): 3.

shisen, spirit money, is an important burnt offering...We dedicate these offerings not to the ancestor directly but to the Left, the Buddha. In burning spirit money, as we offer it, we ask a god to wait to punish the dead by taking a long view...(10 September issue).¹⁶

Until the festival of the thirty-third anniversary of the death, the spirit of the departed would not yet have ascended to heaven, but would be staying in purgatory...We have a *Niwabarai*, *Nābarē* which is to be held at the eve of the thirty-third anniversary. It is held at the garden in front of the family altar or a tomb...Together with ordinary offerings, we offer the swine's head, which means a sacrifice...We pray as we punish the four-footed beast, "please forgive the sins of the dead and let the dead ascend to heaven in peace..."As we have seen, the ancestors are still just ancestors after the death of the departed, thus, they are not gods but subjects who are under the control of Uchigami, a god...(1st October issues).¹⁷

As the theology of worship originally contained the sophisticated religious elements of redemption, it was apparent that Okinawan people's practice of reverence for ancestor spirits could have been related to the theological meaning of ethical standards. However, after the Ryukyu kingdom was abolished by the Meiji government in 1879, even though Okinawa was incorporated into the national polity of Japan, Okinawan people's faith in ancestor worship became a religious practice, not for the state, but for blood relatives. Therefore, Okinawans had a different spirituality concerning loyalty to the national polity of Japan that expected supreme loyalty to the Japanese Emperor.

¹⁶ Teruya Kanhan, "Okinawa no Syūkyō Dozoku(5)[Okinawan Indigenous Religion(5)] :Shisha eno Matsuri (Feast for Dead)" *Okinawa Baputesto (Okinawa Baptist)* 15 (1957): 2.

¹⁷ Teruya Kanhan, "Okinawa no Syūkyō Dozoku(6)[Okinawan Indigenous Religion(6)]" *Okinawa Baputesto (Okinawa Baptist)* 16 (1957): 3.

2.2.2. Okinawan People's Response to the State Polity of Japan

During the period of the Empire of Japan, Okinawan people's loyalty to the state was expected, especially during WWII, because Okinawa was positioned as the island of the military outpost to protect the mainland of Japan from a U.S. attack. The number of war victims of the Okinawan people was 122,228 (94,000 citizens and 28,228 military personnel).¹⁸ Did the number of the war victims represent the Okinawan people's spirit of loyalty to the state, by believing in the war victory?

Masahide Ōta (b.1925), a governor of Okinawa Prefecture from 1990 to 1998, commented that Okinawan people at first regarded the U.S. military as a liberating force that would emancipate the people from Japanese military oppression.¹⁹ Ōta's statement exposed Okinawans' honest feeling about the loyalty to the national polity of Japan. Ōta's comment also indicated that the people's reverence to the spirits of their ancestors had remained unchanged, even during the period of the Empire of Japan, because Okinawans regarded the American force as a liberator from the Japanese military just after WWII.

Even though the people's idea of social justice was a newly adopted concept from

¹⁸ Okinawa Heiwa Kinen Hakubutsukan [Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum], "The number of war victims of Okinawan people" 4 September 2013. <[http:// www.peace-museum.pref.okinawa.jp/heiwagakusyu/kyozai/qa/q2.html](http://www.peace-museum.pref.okinawa.jp/heiwagakusyu/kyozai/qa/q2.html)>.

¹⁹ Ōta Masahide, *Okinawa no Chōsen [Challenge of Okinawa]* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1990) 269.

the Japanese constitution, as the theology of ancestor worship postulated that the completion of redemption of sins of the dead would be achieved after thirty three years from the ancestor's death (as described previously by Teruya Kanhan,) it was clear that the Okinawan people valued the strong eschatological perspective. However, needless to add, their perspective of eschatology was different from that of Protestant theology, in that it lacked Christianity's redemption through trust in Christ's death on the cross.

2.2.3. Theological Difference of the Eschatological Perspective

The Christian eschatological perspective differed from the theological perspective of ancestral worship in regard to respect for human dignity. Saikawa Kazuo (1918-2007), a medical doctor of *Airakuen*, Hansen's disease sanatorium commented that:

“When a certain person became a leprosy patient in Okinawa, all members of his family, and even his relatives were looked upon by the prejudiced eyes of the world, and they trembled for the public gaze”²⁰

Saikawa's comment recognized that Okinawans regarded a Hansen's disease patient as a person who was cursed by the evil spirit of an ancestor. Saikawa's understanding of the people's response to a Hansen's disease patient agreed with Teruya Kanhan's

²⁰ Saikawa Kazuo, *Utareta Kizu [Beaten Wound]* (Okinawa: Incorporated Foundation Okinawa Ken Yuuna Kyōkai [Okinawa Prefectural Yuuna Leprosy Prevention Association], 2010) 20.

description of the reality of ancestor worship. Teruya acknowledged that Okinawans worshiped the spirits of their ancestors, not with reverence, but with fear of evil spirits.²¹ This meant that Okinawan people, including Hansen's disease sufferers themselves denied the human dignity of the cursed.

How did Christians in Okinawa view Hansen's disease sufferers? Saikawa claimed that, even the life of a person who has Hansen's disease, was precious and irreplaceable. He or she should not be discriminated against by the community.²² He saw a Hansen's disease sufferer, not as cursed, but as a person whom God created, and he believed the leprosy person would gain complete recovery from the disease at the end of the world. While Okinawans saw Hansen's disease sufferers as cursed, Christians held an eschatological hope for recovery from the disease.

2.3. Summary of the Spiritual Field

This chapter concludes that, though Christians in Okinawa possessed theologies of social justice with an eschatological perspective during the period of the U.S. administration, Okinawan people had fearfully held to the tradition of ancestor worship, unaffected by the political transitions. The constitution of Japan and its laws, (including

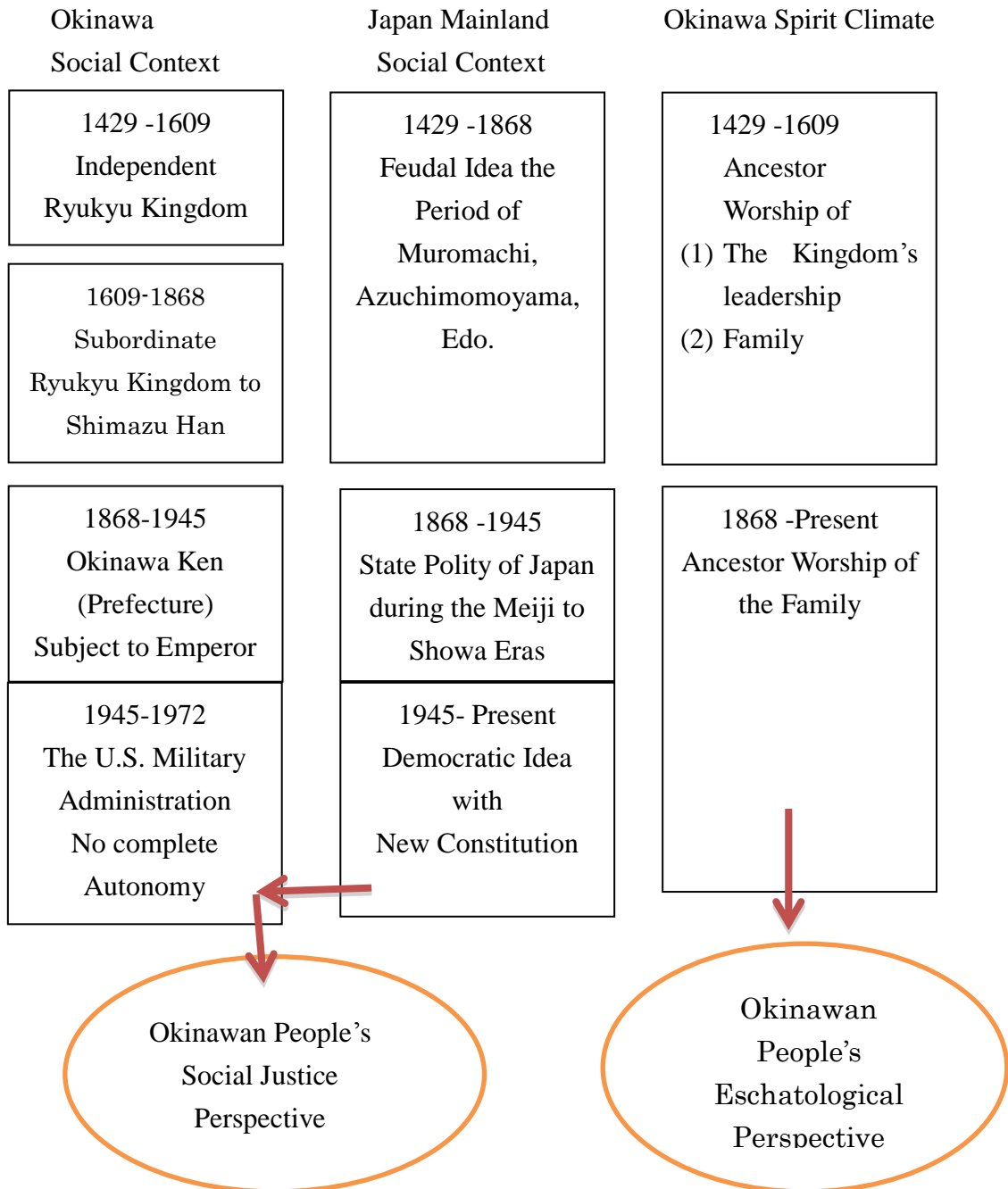
²¹ Teruya Kanhan, "Okinawa no Syukyo Dozoku (1) [Okinawan Indigenous Religion(1)]"

²² Saikawa Kazuo, *Utareta Kizu [Beaten Wound]* 22-23.

the FLEJ) shaped the Okinawan people's social justice perspective during the period of the U.S. administration.

As the theology of the ancestor worship had been built on the basis of an eschatological perspective, the people held forms of both social justice and eschatological perspectives. However, they did not share the redemptive theology of Christians in Okinawa. Christian leaders in Okinawa, including American missionaries, visiting lecturers, and medical doctors, with their strong eschatological hope, devoted themselves to staying present to share and ease the pain of the Okinawan people.

Fig. 2.1: The Position of the Protestant Theologies of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective, based on Socio-Political and Spiritual Contexts



3. Okinawa's Socio-Political Context during the U.S. Administration

This chapter describes the socio-political context during the U.S. administration of Okinawa from 1945 to 1972. In 1949, the People's Republic of China was established, and was perceived as a threat to U.S. interests. It was clear that Okinawa had been positioned as the U.S. military outpost in the Far East during the Cold War. From its military compounds in Okinawa, the U.S. military engaged in the Korean War (from 1950 to 1952), and the Vietnam War in the 1960s. In 1952, the Peace Treaty between the U.S. and Japan became law. However, based on Article 3 of the Treaty, the U.S. and Japan agreed to separate Okinawa from mainland Japan. Article 3 specified that the U.S. had the right to exercise any and all powers of administration, legislation, and jurisdiction over the Okinawan people.²³ Though the Government of Ryukyu Islands (hereafter GRI) was established in 1952, the U.S. military authority did not authorize absolute autonomy to the GRI. Thus, when the U.S. military violated the human rights of the Okinawans, they had no legal recourse. However, various Christians soon rose up to give a voice to the people.

In 1954 an American Methodist Church missionary stood up against the land confiscation by writing an article for the "Christian Century". A few years later in 1957

²³ Miyazato Seigen, *Amerika no Okinawa Tōchi [Administration of Okinawa by America]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1969) 41-42.

a Japanese Christian, and President of Tokyu University, Tadao Yanaihara (1893-1961), visited the prefecture and openly criticized the U.S. military administration of Okinawa. During the 1960s, Christians in Okinawa began to speak out on social justice issues.

Based on this socio-political context, this chapter first reviews the basic political context. Next, is a study of the relationship between the socio-political context and three social justice issues: (1) the land confiscation, (2) sexual assault incidents, and (3) the Hansen's disease issue. Finally, the chapter will describe the influence of the Cold War conflicts, (such as the Korean War in 1950s, and the Vietnam War in 1960s) on Christians in Okinawa.

3.1. The Basic Socio-Political Context during the U.S. Administration

After WWII in 1945, the U.S. military occupied Okinawa by issuing Proclamation No. 1, which declares, in Article I, that “final administrative responsibility are (sic) vested in me as Fleet Admiral, United States Navy, Commanding the forces of occupation and as Military Government.”²⁴ Article II, reads, “All powers of the Government of the Japanese Empire are hereby suspended.”²⁵ At the same time, the

²⁴ Gekkan Okinawa Sha ed, *Laws and Regulations During the U.S. Administration of Okinawa 1945-1972 (Book 1)*. (Okinawa: Ikemiya Shokai & Co., 1983) 38.

²⁵ Ibid.

military government also issued Proclamation No. 2, “War Crimes,” which specifies the death penalty in Article I, and in Article II, “the punishment of fines and imprisonment in order to maintain the public order of the occupied islands”.

Before the establishment of the governments of Okinawa, (the “Gunto” Governments of the four islands, Okinawa, Miyako, Yaeyama and Amami in 1950, and the GRI in 1952), the peoples’ human rights and dignity were infringed upon because the U.S. military government “denied the establishment of democracy.”²⁶

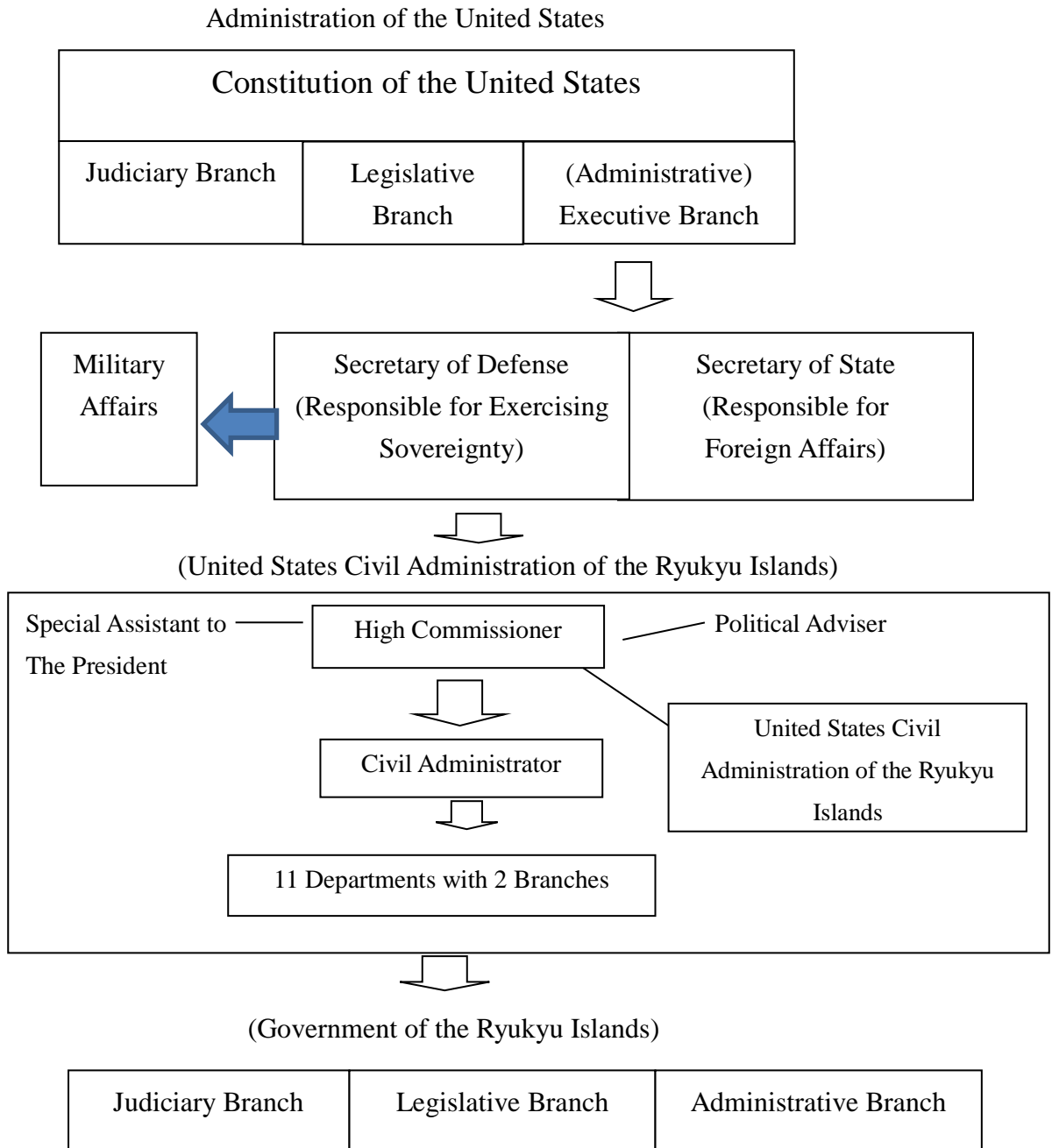
The crime report for the period from 1945 to 1949 proves the infringement upon the human rights of the Okinawan people. One hundred thirteen (113) Okinawans were killed in traffic accidents involving vehicles operated by U.S. military personnel. Of the total reports filed during the four-year period, American servicemen raped seventy (70) Okinawan women.²⁷

Even after the establishment of the GRI in 1952, Okinawa was subject to the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (hereafter USCAR), which belonged to the U.S. military. The subordinate relationship between the GRI and the USCAR is shown in the Fig. 3.1.

²⁶ Miyazato Seigen ed, *Sengo Okinawa no seiji to hō 1945-1972 nen [Politics and Laws in Postwar Okinawa (1945-1972)]* (Tokyo: University Tokyo Press, 1975) 122.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 123.

Figure 3.1: The United States Administration of Okinawa²⁸



²⁸ Miyazato Seigen ed, *Sengo Okinawa no seiji to hō*, 353.

It was clear that without authorizing absolute autonomy to the Okinawan people, achieving democratic politics was considered impossible. Therefore, the infringement upon the people's human rights by the U.S. military authority was regarded as a structural problem.

3.2. The Relationship between the Socio-Political Context and Three Social Justice Issues

The relationship between the social-political context and three social justice issues involving land confiscation, sexual assault incidents by American soldiers, and the Hansen's disease issue will be examined, in light of how Christians in Okinawa were affected by the social-political context.

As described in chronological Table 3.1, in 1946, under Directive No. 116, Okinawan Hansen's disease patients were segregated from the community. Article I of the directive states, "the segregation of lepers is deemed necessary for the protection of American garrison personnel on Okinawa, as well as the Okinawan themselves."²⁹ As the Article specifies, the directive was issued with the primary purpose being, not to protect Hansen's disease patients but to protect American garrison personnel. Thus, the law

²⁹ Gekkan Okinawa Sha ed, *Laws and Regulations During the U.S. Administration of Okinawa 1945-1972 (Book 3)* (Okinawa: Ikemiya Shokai & Co., 1983) 217.

itself hurt the human dignity of the Hansen’s disease patients.

When Okinawan farmers’ lands were confiscated by the military authority in the early 1950s, farmers had no legal recourse to resist, even though this right is guaranteed in the constitutions of both the U.S. and Japan. When Yumiko *chan* (term of endearment) a six-year-old girl, was raped and murdered by a U.S. soldier in 1955, the crime suspect was judged by court-martial, with the judge, attorney, and jury members bring appointed by the military.

Table 3.1: Chronological Table of the Socio-Political Context and Social Justice Issues

Year	Name	Remarks
1945	Declaration No.1 Declaration No.2 Military Government	Occupation by the U.S. Military started. Criminal Law was established for social order Administration from 1945-1950.
1946	Directive No. 116 Rape Incidents	Law for segregating Hansen’s disease patients. 28 Okinawan women were raped.
1947	Constitution of Japan Rape Incidents	New constitution of Japan was established. 26 Okinawan women were raped.
1949	China Communist Regime	The People’s Republic of China was established
1950	Korea War USCAR Gunto Governments	Outbreak of the Korean War. Administration from 1950-1972 Four governments until the GRI’s establishment
1952	Treaty of Peace with Japan GRI Okinawa Police	By Article 3, Okinawa was separated from Japan GRI was established, and abolished in 1972. Department of Okinawa Police was established.

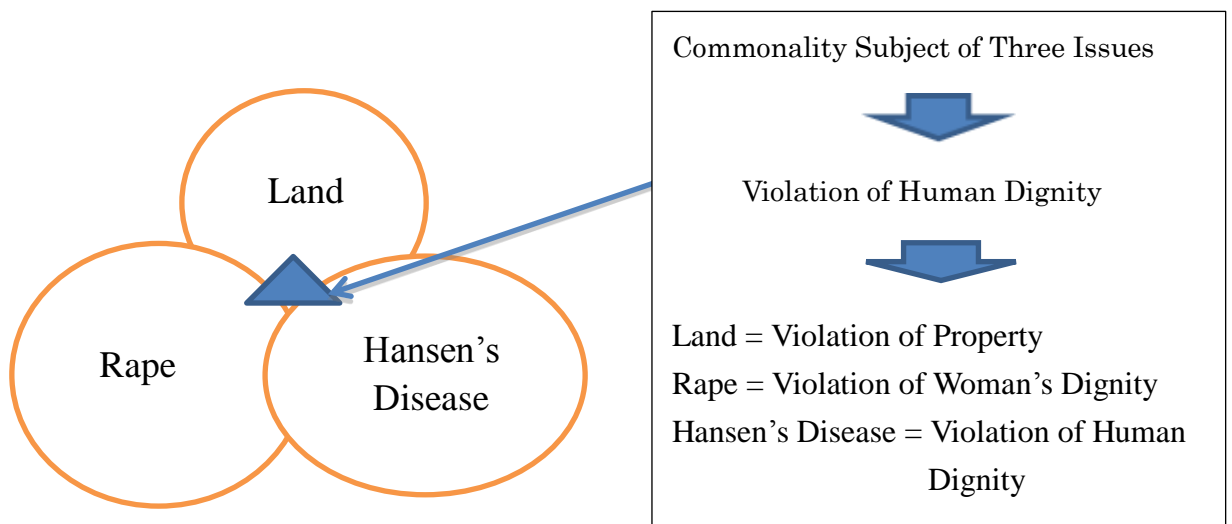
1953	Korean War	Established the cease-fire.
	Ordinance No. 9.	Law of the land confiscation
	Yumiko-chan Incident	A six-year-old girl was raped and killed
	Okinawa Society for the Defense of Children	Formed by Okinawa Teachers Association, PTA of Okinawa and Okinawa Women's Joint Association.
1954	Otis Bell	Land issue protest article in the Christian Century
1957	Yanaihara Tadao	Visited Okinawa for lecturing.
1960	Vietnam War	Outbreak of the war.
1966	Taira Osamu	Prayer at the installation of the High Commissioner
1969	OEC	Adopted the resolution for recovery of human rights
1970	Kinjō Shigeaki	Forced "mass death" article in the newspaper
	E.E. Bollinger	Article protesting poison gas published in the "Christian Century"

The chronological Table 3.1.1 shows that the social justice problems occurred from the beginning of the U.S. military administration. Though the GRI was established by Ordinance No 13, "the law of the establishment", and Ordinance No. 68, "the provisions of the GRI"; the purpose of the establishment was aimed primarily at defending the interests of the U.S., because the GRI did not have independent regulatory authority as shown below.

- a. The GRI had to obey the declaration, the ordinance, and the directives of the U.S. military authority.
- b. The GRI's administrative power was exercised by the Chief Executive, who was selected by the governor of the USCAR. The Chief Executive was not authorized to submit bills, but only to recommend them.
- c. The Legislature of the GRI had legislative power over internal local affairs.
- d. The courts of the GRI had jurisdiction over the civil and criminal affairs of the Okinawan people and aliens, (excluding the U.S. military personnel and their families). If a case before the GRI's court were against the interests of the U.S.,

the USCAR transferred the case to the court of the USCAR.³⁰ As the GRI was regarded as an agent of the USCAR,³¹ violations of Okinawa social justice were based on the political structure, which was legally defended by Article 3 of the Treaty of Peace with Japan, which specifies that the U.S. rule the islands, holding three powers: legislative, administrative (or executive), and judiciary.³² Thus, this discussion of the violation of human dignity concerning the three issues is based on the socio-political context as described in Fig. 3.2 below.

Fig. 3.2: Theologies of Social Justice for Christians in Okinawa



3.3. Influence of the wars in Korea, and Vietnam

When the Korean War broke out in 1950, the military tension between countries of the Free World and communist regimes increased in Far East Asia. J. William Frost recognized America's view against the communist states during the Cold War. He

³⁰ Miyazato Seigen ed, *Sengo Okinawa no seiji to hō* 138.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 353.

claimed:

The rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States soon developed in the Cold War...The two systems—one atheistic, communistic, and totalitarian and the other religious, capitalistic, and democratic—contested for supremacy in all regions in the world, using military, economic, and ideological weapons. Once again, a fusion of nationalism and religion allowed Americans to see their destiny in cosmic terms as defender of the free world and to pray for God’s support against the visible embodiment of the Antichrist.³³

Judging from Frost’s acknowledgment, it was apparent to American Christians that defending the Free World from Marxist materialism became their fundamental belief, regarding communists as the Antichrist. It was in 1954, one year after the cease-fire of the Korean War that Otis W. Bell, a missionary from the American Methodist Church (hereafter AMC) to the UCCO, wrote a protest article for the “Christian Century” on the land issue. Even though he spoke out against the U.S. military authority, addressing the land confiscation issue, he did not protest the existence of the U.S. military in Okinawa.

When the U.S. was locked in a protracted conflict in Vietnam during the 1960s and early ‘70s, American Christians raised questions about the war. Frost described the turn of American Christians’ recognition of the reality of the war.

American’s churches helped create a peace movement when the war was long, the governments in South Vietnam corrupt, the tactics of the American army

³³ Howard Clark. Kee, Albu Emily, Lindberg Carter, William J. Frost and Dana L. Robert. *Christianity A Social and Cultural History* (NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc, 1998) 494.

unsuccessful, and the human cost enormous. Guerrilla war turned out to be not a crusade, but normally ambiguous. Even the peace movement itself was fractious, with old-line pacifists working with Catholic and Protestant clergy, many already active in the civil rights movement, who joined with King in proclaiming that the Vietnam War violated just war standards and betrayed basic American values.³⁴

The civil rights activists protested the war, based on the judgment of the “just war” standards. On the other hand, Okinawan Christians opposed the Vietnam War, as they rejected war itself, based on the experience of realizing the calamity of WWII. Okinawa Christians’ viewed the Vietnam War from both aspects, as war victims and victimizers. Osamu Taira (b.1931), a pastor of the UCCO recognized that:

As I knew that the U.S. military facilities in Okinawa were places for carrying out sorties into Vietnam, I, who resided in Okinawa, recognized with pain that I was one of the war victimizers, though it was against my will.³⁵

Though Taira, a pacifist, non-violent activist, stood up for the socially vulnerable, he admitted that he victimized the Vietnamese people, as he lived in Okinawa, whose government provided the land for the U.S. military. However, Taira financially supported a Vietnamese war orphan, giving a monthly two-thousand-yen donation for two years. Though Okinawan Christians’ perceptions about the Vietnam War differed from those of American Christians, because Okinawan people were not involved in the

³⁴ Howard Clark. Kee, Albu Emily, Lindberg Carter, William J. Frost and Dana L. Robert. 502.

³⁵ Taira Osamu, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete [Having been obsessed with Okinawa]* (Tokyo: Shinkyō Publishing, 1993) 126.

actual conflict of the Vietnam War; still, their resentment of the U.S. military presence in Okinawa should be understood in light of their WWII experience.

4. Definition and Its Application of the Protestant Theologies of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective of the Four Denominations

This chapter reviews both the definition and its application of the Protestant theologies of social justice and eschatological understanding of four denominations; (1) the UCCO, (2) the OEC, (3) the OBC and (4) the SDA during the U.S. administration. The aim is to review in parallel how Christians in Okinawa responded to social justice problems. This will be described in detail in the following chapters. The definition of social justice will be reviewed separately from the eschatological understanding, so that the theological relationship between both understandings will be recognized clearly.

4.1. Definition of the Theologies of Social Justice of the Four Denominations

The denominational creeds were the essential source for defining the theologies of social justice of the four denominations. The creeds regarding social justice will be interpreted, based on their historical heritage, because the creeds and beliefs were established while overcoming religious conflicts in Christian history. For example, without recognizing the Baptist history of persecution and discrimination in Europe and the U.S., the theological meaning of the doctrine of the separation between church and state could not be understood. The definition of the theologies of social justice for the OBC and the SDA were made by considering their historical context, because their

creeds did not express claims of social justice in a direct way.

4.1.1. The UCCO's Definition of Theology of Social Justice

The UCCO adopted the UCCJ's "Confession of Faith" and "Guidelines for Christian Living" as their creeds in 1956. Their theological perspective of social justice was clearly specified in Article 5 of the Guidelines for Christian Living as follows:

We will endeavor, following the will of God, to uplift the morality of the state, to realize international justice, and to attain world peace.³⁶

The Okinawan people, including Christians did not have sovereignty of state during the period of the U.S. administration. Rather, the state specified in Article 5 could be regarded as Japan, because the Japanese government maintained a residual sovereignty over Okinawa during the period of the U.S. administration.

4.1.2. The OEC's Definition of the Theology of Social Justice

The Episcopal Church specified a theology of social justice in the Articles of the Book of Common Prayer (hereafter BCP) with the title, "For Social Justice and Service" as follows:

³⁶ Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan [The United Church of Japan], "Shinkou kokuhaku [Confession of Faith], 4 September 2013 <<http://uccj-e.org/life>>.

21. For Social Justice

Almighty God, who hast created us in thine own image:

Grant us grace fearlessly to contend against evil and to make no peace with oppression; and, that we may reverently use our freedom, help us to employ it in the maintenance of justice in our communities and among the nations, to the glory of thy holy Name; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, now and forever. Amen.³⁷

22. For Social Service

O Lord our heavenly Father, whose blessed Son came not to be ministered unto but to minister: Bless, we beseech thee, all who, following in his steps, give themselves to the service of others; that with wisdom, patience, and courage, they may minister in his name to the suffering, the friendless, and the needy; for the love of him who laid down his life for us, the same thy Son our Savior Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, for ever and ever. Amen.³⁸

The OEC specified a social justice definition based on the relationship between church and state, which was responsible for doing social justice in both local and international communities according to Article 21, and to the socially vulnerable according to Article 21.

4.1.3. The OBC's Definition of the Theology of Social Justice

The OBC specified a theology of social justice in Article 9 of the Declaration of

³⁷ Episcopal Church, "The Book of Common Prayer", Jan. 2007. 4 July 2013 <http://www.episcopalchurch.org/sites/default/files/downloads/book_of_common_prayer.pdf>.

³⁸ Ibid.

Faith as follows:

Article 9 The Church and the State

We believe that the state was established by God in order to maintain peace and order of the society of human beings. Therefore, we pray for, respect conscientiously and obey to the government of the state as long as it does not affront to the will of the only conscientious Lord, Jesus Christ who is the King of the kings.³⁹

Article 9 of “The Church and the State” specified the social justice perspective because Christians, complying with the dictates of conscience, should protest against the state authority in the case of violation of social justice. The Baptist Church had made considerable sacrifices to survive religious persecution in order to gain the right of freedom of religion, the most fundamental of human rights. Therefore Article 9 is the Baptist principle that was built upon the Baptist historical heritage from Europe and the U.S.A.

E.E. Bollinger (1918-2006), an American missionary to the OBC from American Baptist Churches, stated that “in 1639, the first Baptist Church was formed in the U.S.A...The thoughts of the freedom of religion and the separation between church and state was firmly established by the Baptist influence.”⁴⁰ As he introduced the Baptist’s

³⁹ Okinawa Baptist Convention, “Shinkou Sengen [Declaration of Faith],” 5 September 2013 <<http://okinawa-baptist.asia/profile.html>>.

⁴⁰ Edward E. Bollinger, “Baputesuto no Rekishi Shinyaku Seisho no Kyōkai [The History of

historical heritage, the Bill of Rights of the U.S., Article One, specifies the separation between church and state at the beginning as follows:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.⁴¹

As E.E. Bollinger wrote about Baptist history in the “Okinawa Baputesuto,” the OBC’s monthly periodical, it was clear that the Baptist theological perspective of social justice was publicly known in Okinawa in 1956 even though Bollinger did not refer to Article One of the Bill of Rights.

4.1.4. The SDA’s Definition of the Theology of Social Justice

The SDA Church did not define social justice in a direct way in the “Fundamental Beliefs,” the denominational creed.⁴² However, the SDA had a clear understanding of social justice based on the realization that violation of human dignity was an affront to the establishment of social justice. The SDA specified God’s Creation of human beings in the Article Six of the Fundamental Beliefs.

Baptist Church – Church of the New Testament Period], Okinawa Baptist 16 (1956): 1.

⁴¹ Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library, 2008. 22, August, 2013<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rights1.asp>.

⁴² SDA, Fundamental Beliefs, 4 July 2013 < www.adventist.org>.

The first man and woman were made in the image of God as the crowning work of Creation, given dominion over the world, and charged with responsibility to care for it.⁴³

As God created human beings in His own image, it was clear that human dignity was not meant to be undermined. The SDA confessed that, even if human beings discontinue their relationship with God, He promises that, through His grace as Creator, He will restore repentant sinful human beings to their relationship with Him.

They are born with weaknesses and tendencies to evil. But God in Christ reconciled the world to Himself and by His Spirit restores in penitent mortals, the image of their Maker.⁴⁴

The SDA recognized that the definition of human dignity attaches theological identity to the recovery of sinful human beings to the image in which God had created them, through the redemption of Jesus Christ on the cross. Therefore, it was apparent that, in their Fundamental Beliefs, the SDA specified a social justice that did not allow the undermining of human dignity.

4. 2. Eschatological Perspectives of the Four Denominations

The relationship between the theological social justice and eschatological understandings of the four denominations will be confirmed in discussions in the

⁴³ SDA, Fundamental Beliefs.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

following chapters. Victims of the three social justice cases, (the land confiscation, the sexual assault incident, and Hansen's disease), were placed under desperate circumstances. Nobody could save the distressed from helplessness, including Christians who could bring little hope of recovery to them, except for their eschatological hope. Christians believed that the victims would gain complete recovery of their damaged human dignity in the End Time. Though Christians recognized that even their works of helping the afflicted could not achieve their complete cure, (until the time of the second coming of the Lord); still, they could encourage the victims with that hope, which also unified both groups. Then, how did each of the four denominations maintain the eschatological understanding?

4.2.1. The UCCO's Eschatological Perspective

In 1956, the UCCO adopted the UCCJ's Confession of Faith as their own, which contained the eschatological perspective in the final words of the Confession of Faith as follows:

The Church is the Body of Christ the Lord, and is the congregation of those who are called by grace. The church observes public worship, preaches the Gospel aright, administers the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and being diligent in works of love, waits in hope for the coming again of the Lord.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan [The United Church of Japan], "Shinkou kokuhaku [Confession of Faith].

It was clear that the UCCO had an eschatological perspective because they hope for the second coming of the Lord.

4.2.2. The OEC's Eschatological Perspective

The OEC had been confirming an eschatological perspective by maintaining the confession of the Nicene Creed. In the Episcopal Mission News of Okinawa 15 November 1955 issue, the OEC stated that, "at the First Council of Nicene, the Nicene

Confession of Faith of the UCCO which adopted from the UCCJ in 1956.

We believe and confess that:

The Old and New Testaments, inspired of God, testify to Christ, reveal the truth of the Gospel, and are the sole canon upon which the Church should depend. By the Holy Spirit the Holy Bible is the Word of God which gives us full knowledge of God and salvation, and is the unerring standard of faith and life.

The One God, revealed by the Lord Jesus Christ, and testified to in the Holy Scripture, being Father, Son and Holy Spirit, is the triune God. The Son, who became man, for the salvation of us sinners was crucified and made our redemption by offering Himself to God as the perfect sacrifice once for all.

God chooses us by His grace, and by faith in Christ alone He forgives our sins and justifies us. In this unchangeable grace the Holy Spirit accomplishes His work by sanctifying us and causing us to bear fruits of righteousness.

The Church is the Body of Christ the Lord, and is the congregation of those who are called by grace. The church observes public worship, preaches the Gospel aright, administers the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and being diligent in works of love, waits in hope for the coming again of the Lord.

Thus we believe, and with the saints in all ages we confess the Apostles' Creed:

I believe in God the Father Almighty; Maker of heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord; who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and dead. I believe in the Holy Spirit; the holy catholic Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; and the life everlasting. Amen.

Creed which we regularly observe was established.”⁴⁶ One portion of the Nicene Creed specified the eschatological understanding as follows:

He will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead, and his kingdom will have no end.⁴⁷

The Nicene Creed clearly advocated the second coming of the Christ. The last part of the Nicene Creed concluded that “We look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.”⁴⁸ The conclusion of the Nicene Creed declares the restoration of the human dignity of both the dead and the living.

4.2.3. The OBC’s Eschatological Perspective

The OBC had a firm eschatological understanding based on Article 10 of the Declaration of Faith as follows:

10. Eternal Life

We believe in the end of the world when Christ judges the unfaithful to eternal punishment, and the faithful to everlasting life. Based on this judgment of Christ, we believe that God judges human beings to either heaven or to hell.

⁴⁶ Okinawa Episcopal Church, “Shinto Singaku Kōza – Nikea Shinjō ni tsuite [Theology Lecture for Members – On Nicene Creed] the Episcopal Mission News of Okinawa 15 November 1955 issue. 5.

⁴⁷ Episcopal Church, “Nicene Creed”, 20, July. 2013 <<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/page/creeds>>.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Article 10 promises the recovery of human dignity by rewarding the faithful with everlasting life. As the mortal would be given immortality at the second coming of the Lord, the transfer carries the same meaning as the recovery of human dignity. As Baptists survived persecution, it was clear that the Baptist declaration itself expressed the eschatological perspective judging from its historical heritage.

4.2.4. The SDA's Eschatological Perspective

The SDA had a clear definition of eschatological understanding in Article 25 of the Fundamental Beliefs as follows:

25. The Second Coming of Christ:

The second coming of Christ is the blessed hope of the church, the grand climax of the gospel. The Saviour's coming will be literal, personal, visible, and worldwide. When He returns, the righteous dead will be resurrected, and together with the righteous living will be glorified and taken to heaven, but the unrighteous will die. The almost complete fulfillment of most lines of prophecy, together with the present condition of the world, indicates that Christ's coming is imminent. The time of that event has not been revealed, and we are therefore exhorted to be ready at all times. (Titus 2:13; Heb. 9:28; John 14:1-3; Acts 1:9-11; Matt. 24:14; Rev. 1:7; Matt. 24:43, 44; 1 Thess. 4:13-18; 1 Cor. 15:51-54; 2 Thess. 1:7-10; 2:8; Rev. 14:14-20; 19:11-21; Matt. 24; Mark 13; Luke 21; 2 Tim. 3:1-5; 1 Thess. 5:1-6.)⁴⁹

Though Article 25 did not specify in a direct way the eschatological understanding which provided the recovery from helplessness and broken human dignity, the words of

⁴⁹ Seventh-Day Adventist Church, Fundamental Beliefs.

First Thessalonians 4:13 and 1 Corinthians 15: 54 specifies the recovery of dignity to the believer.

The First Thessalonians 4:13.

But we do not want to you to be ununiformed, brothers and sisters, about those who have died, so that you may not grieve as others do who have no hope.⁵⁰

The First Corinthians 15:54.

When this perishable body puts on imperishability, and this mortal body puts on immortality, then the saying that is written will be fulfilled:

“Death has been swallowed up in victory.”⁵¹

First Corinthians 15:54 urges people to have hope, and it also promises the complete recovery of broken human dignity with the word “imperishability.”

4.3. The Fundamental Creeds of the Four Denominations

Based on the definitions of the four denominations described previously, the fundamental creeds which supported the definitions are summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: The Definition of Social Justice with Eschatological Perspective of the Four Denominations

Denomination	Social Justice	Eschatological Perspective
UCCO	Guidelines of Christian Living Article 4 and Article 5,	The Apostles’ Creed of the Confession of Faith

⁵⁰ NRSV, I Thessalonians 4:13.

⁵¹ NRSV. I Corinthians 15:54.

OEC	The Book of Common Prayer Article 21 and Article 22.	The Nicene Creed
OBC	The Declaration of Faith Article 9.	The Declaration of Faith Article 10.
SDA	Fundamental Belief Article 6.	Fundamental Belief Article 25.

4.4. Application of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective

Based on the definition of the Protestant theology of social justice with an eschatological perspective, how Christians of the four denominations responded to social justice issues by standing firm on their beliefs will be verified by reviewing the relationship between their beliefs, and their commitment to the social justice issues.

4.4.1. The UCCO's Application

Those who stood up against the land confiscation were the UCCO's American Methodist Church missionaries, who helped Shōkō Ahagon (1901-2002), a Christian land owner of Iejima Island. Ahagon possessed a strong eschatological perspective based on his experience in protesting the U.S. military authority with an exhaustive non-violent, pacifist spirit. He was isolated from the Okinawan community, including Christians as he was labeled a communist by the U.S. military authority. His faith in

non-violent methods and pacifism was intertwined with the spirit of *Nuchi du Takara*, a word in Okinawan dialect, meaning “Life is a treasure.” Even though he was isolated from Okinawan society, he survived the isolation with these three spiritual core values; non-violence, pacifism, and the *Nuchi du Takara* motto. Clinging to these three core values rewarded Ahagon with a strong feeling of victory over the oppressor. Though Ahagon lost his hope in the return of his land, and eventually, the U.S. military secured Ie Island (Iejima) for an air base, Ahagon survived by clinging to these spiritual values, and his hope of restoration of dignity in the End Times.

Though Ahagon respected the American Methodist Church missionary, Harold C. Rickard (b.1918), it was Rickard, who was moved by Ahagon’s tenacious protest with his spiritual values, and eschatological hope as his mainstays. Therefore, both Christians Ahagon and Rickard viewed life from the perspectives of social justice and eschatology.

4.4.2. OEC’s Application

At the time when Hansen’s disease sufferers had been regarded as social outcasts, Episcopalian Christians in Okinawa assisted them in surviving severe persecution and prejudice. The Episcopalian priests who had been sent from Kaishun Hospital, an Episcopalian hospital for the Hansen’s disease patients in Kumamoto before WWII,

were pioneers for the ministry to Hansen's disease patients in Okinawa. In 1969, the OEC adopted a resolution that strongly requested the President of the U.S. and the Prime Minister of Japan to take steps to restore human rights of the Okinawan people. This generated public recognition of the OEC's commitment to social justice.

Christians with Hansen's disease were encouraged by a strong eschatological hope for complete recovery of their body at the End-Time. It was Christians, who assisted Hansen's disease patients. Many patients, and health workers, in turn were moved by the eschatological hope of the Christians with the disease. Yūsuke Tokuda and Keisa Aoki were both Hansen's disease suffering Christians who became Episcopalian ministers for assisting Okinawan Hansen's disease victims, and shepherding the Episcopalian congregation at Aikrakuen sanatorium for Hansen's disease patients. Yūsuke Tokuda composed a tanka, Japanese short poem of thirty-one syllables.

“Hansen's disease deprived me of everything except eternal life.”

The song represented both helplessness and hope. He had been in despair with his life because of the dreaded disease, but at the same time, he had hope because he believed the total recovery from his disease at the End Time. With eschatological belief, both of the Hansen's disease sufferers' ministers, Keisai Aoki and Yūsuke Tokuda devoted their lives in ministry to Hansen's disease sufferers in Okinawa during the U.S.

administration period.

4.4.3. The OBC's Application

The Baptist history shows that Baptist Christians conflicted with the state to gain the most fundamental freedom of human rights, the freedom of religion. As Baptist Christians suffered persecution even to martyrdom, it was apparent that martyrs died believing in the hope of the victory of resurrection. However, during the period of the U.S. administration, the OBC Christians did not devote themselves to assist the socially vulnerable.

In the late 1960s, Okinawan ministers and Edward E. Bollinger, an American Baptist Church's (hereafter ABC) missionary to the OBC, lifted their voices in protest of the violation of human rights of the Okinawan people. Most of the OBC pastors voiced their opposition to the violation of human rights in the Okinawa Baputesuto, the OBC's monthly publication. Edward E. Bollinger wrote an article for the Christian Century in July 1970 with the title, "Okinawa: The Poison Gas Issue." He stated:

If public officials on the west coast are so greatly concerned over the danger, how much more should Okinawan people be concerned? Anger is mounting here over what seems to the Okinawan people a blatantly selfish attitude – one which promotes local safety but refuses to recognize the moral responsibility of the United States toward the Okinawan people, over whom the U.S. government has possessed

virtually dictatorial power for the past 25 years.⁵²

Bollinger's statement expressed the strong criticism against the U.S. government and West Coast states' government on the issue of the poison gas transfer from Okinawa. Though it was an article published in 1970, (one year before the Okinawan reversion to Japan), his reference to "the past 25 years" indicated that he had been concerned about the violation of human rights for the whole of his pastoral career in Okinawa since 1953 when he and his family first arrived.

The OBC Christians, including Edward E. Bollinger, (but excluding English speaking Baptist churches outside of the military bases) had been concerned about the human right issues, even though they kept silent during the 1950s. Thus, it was clear that the OBC's ministers had a perspective of social justice.

However, as described previously, they did not have an eschatological perspective, even though it has been recognized in the Baptist history and their statements of faith.

4.4.4. The SDA's Application

The SDA applied their eschatological perspective for the medical ministry before the integrated medical system was established in Okinawa. Tokuo Hatanaka, the chair

⁵² Edward E. Bollinger, "Okinawa: The Poison Gas Issue," *The Christian Century* July (1970): 33.

of the SDA Okinawa district wrote the message for the 25th Anniversary of the Seventh-Day Medical Center. He commented that “it is said that we should continue the medical ministry until the closest time of the second coming of Jesus.”⁵³ As Hatanaka commented, SDA’s Christians devoted themselves to serving the Okinawan people through medical activities. However, SDA Christians did not get involved in conflicting with the U.S. military authority to protest against the violation of Okinawan people’s human rights during the period of the U.S. administration. SDA Christians had an apocalyptic perspective based on Article 27 “The Millennium and the End of Sin”.⁵⁴

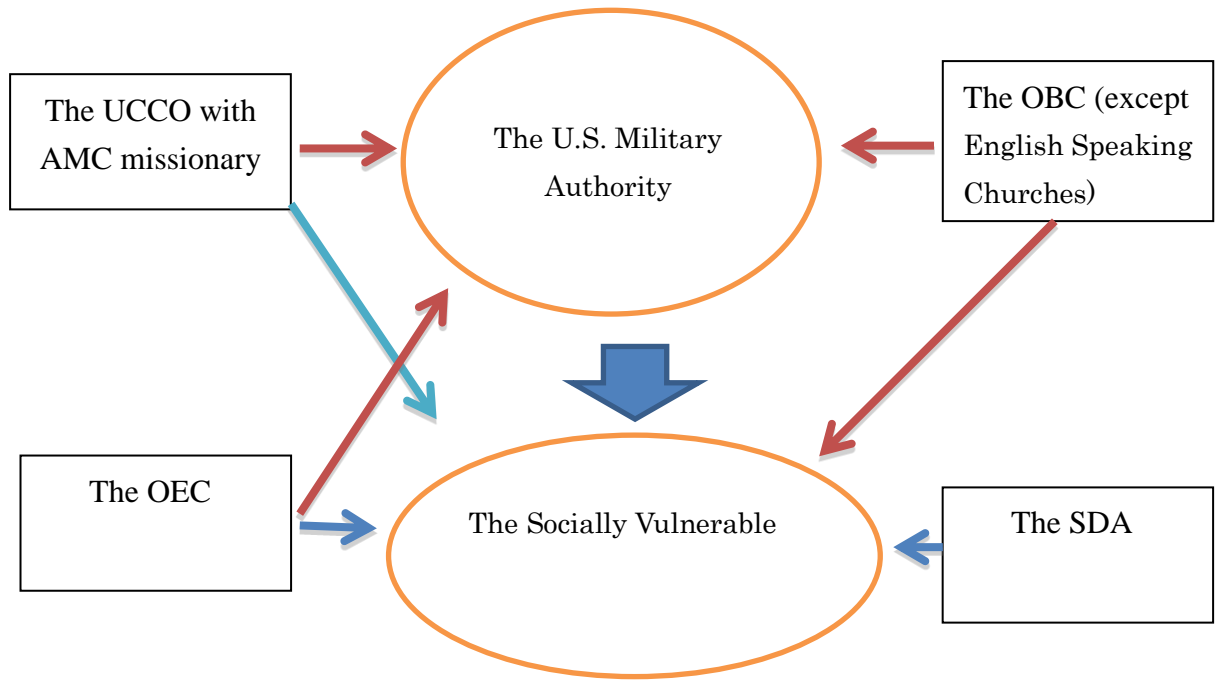
4.5. Concept of the Application of the Social Justice Issues

Based on the application of the social justice issues in the four denominations, the concept of the application is described in Fig. 4.1 and Fig. 4.2 below.

⁵³ Adventist Medical Center, Committee of the 25th Anniversary of Foundation ed., *the 25th Anniversary of Foundation* (Okinawa: Adventist Medical Center, 1979) 16.

⁵⁴ SDA, Fundamental Beliefs.

Fig. 4.1: Application of the Social Justice Issues of the Four Denominations



Remarks:

→ Assistance to the socially vulnerable

→ Protest against the U.S. military Authority for the human rights

→ Violation of human rights of Okinawan people by the U.S. military

Table 4.2: Relationship between the Four Denominations' Activities and the Social Justice Issues

	UCCO (Missionary AMC included)	OEC	OBC (Missionary ABC included)	SDA
U.S. Military Authority U.S. Government Government of Japan	Protested	Protested	Protested	Not-Protested
Land Issue	Protested			
Rape Incident		Criticized		
Hansen's Disease Issue	Cared	Cared and Shepherded		
Others Poison Gas Issue Medical Issue			Protested	Cared

Remarks: AMC stands for American Methodist Church

5. The land Issue

As described in the chapter on the State of the Field, Okinawan people recognized that the U.S. military was not a liberator from the Empire of Japan, but an oppressor because of the emergence of the land issue in the early 1950s. During the land confiscation, American Methodist Church's missionaries maintained that "basic principles of Christian ethics were being violated every day in the name of 'protecting democracy' and 'fighting Communism.'"⁵⁵ Though the land issue was acknowledged as a serious one, this chapter's purpose is not to explore the issue itself, but to identify the theology of social justice and eschatological perspective from which Christians in Okinawa responded to the issue. Those Christians who stood up against the U.S. military authority protested from a non-violent approach. Their eschatological hope emboldened them to stand firm, even from a non-winnable position in the face of the U.S. military's overwhelming force.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the believers' theology of social justice, reinforced with their eschatological perspective by focusing on the land confiscation issue in the 1950s. The chapter begins reviewing the socio-political context, and then proceeds to the land issue itself, followed by how Christians in Okinawa responded to it

⁵⁵ C. Harold Rickard, "The Okinawan Land Problem," *The Japan Christian Quarterly* Winter (1971): 4.

in light of their theology of social justice and eschatological hope.

5.1. The Socio-Political Context of the Land Issue

As the Korean War broke out in 1950, Okinawa was in a tense situation politically, because the U.S. military authority in Okinawa had to reorganize the combat structure. The land confiscation issue emerged in the early 1950s. It was the period when AMC's missionaries, sent from denominations and mission-related organizations of the U.S., came to Okinawa to assist Christians. The AMC's missionaries started devoting themselves to solving the land issue, even jeopardizing their own lives in the process.

Thus being the Okinawan socio-political situation, the landowners, whose farmlands had been confiscated coercively by the U.S. military, were isolated from the community. This included Christians, because the people trembled in fear of the U.S. military that controlled the island with an attitude that not only ignored, but outright violated the human rights and dignity of the citizens.

The examination on the land issue from a theological perspective will focus on the public dimension of faith, because the self-centered Christian, (lacking the community outlook of faith) cannot effectively counteract social justice problems, such as the land issue. (See Table 5.1 to understand the land issue sequence of events).

Table 5.1: Chronological Table of the Land Issue

Year	Name	Content
1951	Yoshio Higa	Higa claims Christians should not join the protest movement
1952	Ordinance 91	The Land procurement law
	GRI	The Government of the Ryukyu Islands is established
	LGRI	The Legislature of the Government of Ryukyu Islands is established
1953	Ordinance 105	The Law governing contracts with Okinawan land owners
	Ordinance 109	The Law governing land acquisition procedures
	Ordinance 110	The Law governing payment of compensation
1953	<i>Iejima</i> (Ie Island)	The U.S. military starts the investigation of <i>Iejima</i> (Ie Island)
1954	Otis Bell	Protest against the land issue in <i>the Christian Century</i>
1955	Rickard	American missionaries hold discussions with the U.S. military authority
	Price Team	U.S. Congress investigation team members visit Okinawa
1956	Price Team	The Price team announces the land issue recommendation
	LGRI	The LGRI adopts a resolution opposing the recommendation
1958	GRI	The GRI sends a negotiation team to the U.S. government

5.2. The Land Confiscation Issue

On 1 November 1952, the USCAR issued CA Ordinance No. 91,⁵⁶ which states that they (the U.S. military) could possess and occupy certain lands and properties necessary to the military government of the U.S. for the protection and security of Americans, Japanese, and the Okinawan people from the threat of Communism, based

⁵⁶ The United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands CA Ordinance No. 91, 5, Jan. 2013< <http://www.niraikanai.wvma.net/pages/archive.html>>.

on the military strategic purpose.⁵⁷ Article 2 of the ordinance states that the compensation for “private owners of property occupied for the above purpose commenced on 1 July 1950.”⁵⁸ Article 4 of the ordinance demands the exchange of contracts between Okinawan land owners and the USCAR, through the government of the Ryukyu Islands.

On 23 March 1953, the USCAR issued CA Ordinance No. 105 (Authority to Accomplish Execution of Leases and Rental Payment of Privately Owned Ryukyuan Lands Occupied by the United States of America for the Period from 1 July 1950 Through 27 April 1952), in which Article 4 authorized:

The Chief Executive of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, or such person or persons as he may designate to act for him, or hereby authorized, empowered, and directed to perform the following functions and responsibilities:

a. Represent and act as agent for the individual owners of lands comprehended by this ordinance, and as agent for such owners and each of them, execute and deliver lease agreements binding between such owners and the United States of America, covering the aforesaid occupancy of said owners’ lands and payment of rental therefor during the period of 1 July 1950 to 27 April 1952....⁵⁹

The USCAR issued the coercive ordinance because the landowners were strongly opposed to making agreements with the USCAR. The Ordinance made the landholders

⁵⁷ CA Ordinance No. 91.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Gekkan Okinawa Sha ed, *Laws and Regulations During the U.S. Administration of Okinawa 1945-1972 (Book 2)*, (Okinawa: Ikemiya Shokai & Co., 1983) 43-44.

receive the land fees coercively, because Article 5 states, “Any owner of land subject to the operation or coverage of this Ordinance may reject and nullify the authority of the Chief Executive to represent or bind him....”⁶⁰ Though the landowners opposed making the contract, even after a 60 percentage increase of the fee, the USCAR issued Ordinance 109 (Land Acquisition Procedure) on 3 April 1953. The Ordinance ordered coercive occupation of the lands, if a land owner failed to make an agreement within 30 days after the sending – of the land acquisition notice, (on which the USCAR’s appraised land prices for compensation were specified). On 10 April 1953, the USCAR issued a new Ordinance 110, “Procedure for Payment of Compensation for Land Acquisition,” which authorized the Government of the Ryukyu Islands to act as trustee for “receiving, holding, and paying to the registered owners of real property funds payable by the U.S.”⁶¹ On 10 April 1953, one day after the issuance of Ordinance 110, the land of Mawashi-Son (Village) Mekarū-Buraku (Community) was confiscated. The payment of the land fees to almost all of the land owners was made by the end of January 1954.

How did Okinawan people react to the confiscation? On 5 May 1953, the LGRI passed a resolution to protest the land confiscation by the USCAR, by claiming to reject

⁶⁰ Gekkan Okinawa Sha ed, *Laws and Regulations During the U.S. Administration of Okinawa 1945-1972 (Book 2)* 44.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 57.

Ordinances 91, 109 and 110.⁶² On 28 September 1953, the LGRI passed another resolution, ordering that the land acquisition and the price of the land compensation be resolved, based on the landowners' agreements. The LGRI passed the protest resolutions on 30 April, 30 August, and on 15 September 1954.

On 1 November 1954, D.A. Ogden, the Deputy Governor of the USCAR, Major General of the U.S. Army, sent a letter to the LGRI in response to its resolution dated 30 April 1954. That resolution protested the lump-sum payment for the owner's land, and for acquiring relocation property. Furthermore, the April resolution required that the land price compensation be based on the land owners' evaluation.⁶³ Ogden rejected the LGRI's resolution as being an unrealistic requirement.

5.3. Christians' Response to the Land Issue

The American Methodist Church's missionaries, who were sent to the UCCO protested against the U.S. military authority in an attempt to solve the land issue, while Okinawan Christians kept silent. The AMC missionaries' protest apparently represented the social justice theological understanding, bolstered by an End Times vision. On the

⁶² The Government of the Ryukyu Island ed., *Okinawa Gunyōchi Mondai no Keii [Progress of the U.S. Military Reservation]* (Okinawa: The GRI, 1959) 99-100.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 102.

other hand, the Okinawan Christians' theology of social justice on the land issue cannot be identified without recognizing the socio-politic context, because Okinawan Christians' intention of speaking out against social issues was suppressed by the U.S. military's political threat during the 1950s. Therefore, the Christians' response to the land issue will be examined from the perspectives of both parties; AMC's missionaries and Okinawa Christians.

5.3.1. AMC Missionaries' Protest

Though the UCCO became involved in the issue after it had attracted public attention, American missionaries started trying to solve the issue from 1949. Rickard mentioned that:

From 1949 to 1953, Mr. Otis Bell, Mr. Mario C. Barberi, and I discussed the land problem with certain chaplains and civilian employees of the U.S. Army. To every visitor to the UCCO we pointed out the land problem as a prime example of the violation of human rights of Okinawan people. Among those who shared our deep concern were: Dr. T.T. Braumbaugh, long a missionary in Japan and then Executive Secretary of the Okinawa Inter-board Committee; Dr. Paul Hutchison and Dr. Harold E. Fey, Editor of *the Christian Century*; and Dr. Wallace C. Merwin, Executive Secretary of the Far Eastern Joint Office, Division of Foreign Missions, The National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. (NCCC-USA).⁶⁴

Rickard's comment indicated that the American missionaries, together with the

⁶⁴ C. Harold Rickard, "The Okinawa Land Problem" 7.

UCCO, brought the land issue to the world's attention, by involving American ecumenical Christian enterprises. Their strategy to mobilize the public opinion of Americans on the issue with the American Christian bodies went on the right track. Bell's article in *The Christian Century* in the 20 January 1954 issue was positioned as a one part of their total strategy. However, Okinawan and Japanese media acknowledged that Bell's article went largely unnoticed.

The missionary team succeeded in involving the American Civil Liberties Union by sending their "information to Dr. Brumbaugh and to *The Christian Century*. Much of that information was passed on to the NCCC-USA and to the American Civil Liberties Union, who applied moral pressure in Congress, and were active in other ways to assist in solving the problem."⁶⁵

It was apparent that the American missionaries' collaboration with American ecumenical bodies and the American Civil Liberties Union in seeking to solve the land issue was accepted favorably by Okinawan and Japanese media. The editorial of *the Okinawa Times* on 30 September 1955 claimed that Bell's article, through which the American Civil Liberties Union became involved, might have been perceived as being oppositional the U.S. military authority, because the land issue was discussed outside

⁶⁵ C. Harold Rickard, "The Okinawa Land Problem" 7.

Okinawa. The editorial concluded that, "the democratic administration of Okinawa is expected to resolve the Okinawan issues by exchanging opinions for obtaining mutually satisfying decisions..."⁶⁶

Was the land issue an Okinawan domestic matter? Rickard regarded the land issue as a U.S. domestic matter as well, based on the following understanding:

- a. "Basic principles of Christian ethics were being violated every day in the name of 'protecting democracy' and 'fighting Communism'.
- b. The 'reservoir of goodwill' in Okinawa toward the United States was drying up; friends were fast becoming enemies.
- c. As a rural missionary, I saw the way the U.S. land policy affected individual farmers, as well as people in the cities.
- d. The U.S. policy was having an adverse effect on the Christian work, which the church was trying to do.
- e. The Okinawan people needed a voice to speak for them.

Finally, some of the missionaries working with the UCCO decided that – as American Christians – they could not conscientiously remain silent any longer."⁶⁷

Rickard's claim was directed to the people of his own country, (the U.S.). As his proclamation was based on fundamental Christian ethics, the land issue was a matter of the violation of human rights. As a missionary, he was so discouraged by the U.S. military authority, because it undermined what missionaries were striving to do for the Okinawan people. He claimed that Okinawans should stand up against the issue.

⁶⁶ *Okinawa Times*, "Jinken Renmei no Kōhyō ni sessite [On the Civil Liberties' Disclosure]." 30 September 1955. 1.

⁶⁷ C. Harold Rickard, "The Okinawa Land Problem" 5.

5.3.2. Ahagon's Protest

Despite the relentless criticism of the U.S. military authority for the land problem from both Japanese and Okinawan media, Okinawan Christians did not stand up against the issue except for Shōkō Ahagon, a Christian farmer of *Iejima* (Ie Island), whose land was confiscated by the U.S. military authority.

Ahagon mentioned that before the coercive confiscation of the land, he and the farmers were cooperative with the U.S. military, because he trusted the U.S. as a country of Christianity. He stated:

Because of fear that, if the Empire of Japan had defeated the U.S., we might have another war..., I even felt joy when the U.S. defeated the Empire of Japan, as the U.S. is a democratic country. Lincoln said; 'the government of the people, by the people, and for the people.' America was where the people shared the teachings of Christ... As I was a naïve Christian at that time, I thought the war would disappear, because the U.S. is a 'Christian' nation.....We trusted the U.S. military and I believed that cooperating with the occupying army was right.⁶⁸

Ahagon's comment represented the feeling of the Okinawan people in general, before the emergence of the land issue. The period of the emergence of the land acquisition problem was the watershed event in the history of the U.S. administration of

⁶⁸ Ahagon Shōkō, "Amerikagun to Tochi to Kyokai [American Military, Land and Church], 27 *Dosen no Minami kara: Okinawa Kirisutosha no Shōgen [From South of the 27th Latitude: The Witness of Okinawa Christians]*, ed. Okinawa District, The United Church of Christ of Japan, (Tokyo: The United Church of Christ of Japan Printing Office, 1971) 206.

Okinawa, as Masahide Ōta (b. 1925-), Governor of Okinawa Prefecture (1990-1998),⁶⁹ pointed out. He asserted that “The Okinawan people’s image of the U.S. military had precipitously changed from ‘liberator’ to ‘oppressor’ after the emergence of the coercive confiscation of the land”.⁷⁰ He was referencing American Journalist, Frank B. Gibney’s criticism of the U.S. military for making an administrative mistake on the land issue.⁷¹ Then, how did the U.S. military cause Ahagon to change his mind? Ahagon answers this question in his testimony about the time when the farmland owners were betrayed by the U.S. military. He said:

On 24 July 1953 Gotō, a Japanese American Nisei (second generation) soldier came to *Iejima* (Ie Island) for an investigation. At that time, we farmers of Maja village trusted in America, so a ward mayor, Kozō Ōshiro, and seven village farmers took a cooperative attitude toward him. We signed on the documents written in English, trusting (as we were told), that later, they would pay daily allowances. However, we were surprised when we learned later, that the documents we had signed with no reservations, were actually, the contract of removal! It was June 1954 when we recognized the threat of the American colonial policy, because the U.S. military ordered the removal of four houses: the Maja Ward houses of Kōkichi Chinen and Hana Chinen; and the Nishizaki Ward houses of Matsuzō Gima and Sachihiro Simabukuro, (due within five days).⁷²

⁶⁹ Ōta obtained a master degree from Syracuse University in 1954 after graduation from Waseda University. He was a professor at the University of the Ryukyus (1968-1990).

⁷⁰ Ōta Masahide, *Okinawa no Chōsen [Challenge of Okinawa]*, (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1990) 268-269.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 270.

⁷² Ahagon, Shōkō, *Beigun to Noumin: Okinawaken Ie jima [The US Military Forces and Farmer: Okinawa Prefecture Ie Island]*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999) 20-21.

After the incident, Ahagon committed himself to protesting the land issues with the village farmers based on the rule of petition.⁷³ Ahagon mentioned that he and other farmers made this rule in order to achieve recognition as real human beings.

Based on the rule, Ahagon tried every means available with village farmers to protest against the U.S. military authority. Every effort resulted in failure. It was before dawn on 11 March 1955 when, about 300 fully armed U.S. soldiers landed on *Iejima* (Ie Island). “Major Sharp, the USCAR land officer, accompanied by other Army and Air Force officers, presented to the mayor of Ie town, the U.S. Army’s official ultimatum, warning people to move off their property ‘voluntarily’ or be arrested.”⁷⁴ On 12 March, the next day, the U.S. Army’s survey began in Maja village. At this time three landowners were arrested. “An elderly man, Namizato was arrested, sent to Naha by plane, and locked up. The landowners tried to comply with the U.S. military

⁷³ The rule proclaimed:

- a. Greet with decency whenever we meet American military personnel.
- b. Without having anything (empty-handed), we will talk with American military personnel by sitting with as many people as possible.
- c. Not raising our hands higher than our ears.
- d. Keeping control of our tempers.
- e. Not telling a lie.
- f. Discuss with affection, in rational ways, with an attitude as for guiding a little child.
- g. Not fighting among Okinawans.

⁷⁴ Ahagon, Shōko, *The Island Where People Live*. Trans. C. Harold Rickard. (Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia, 1989) ix.

proclamation, but were rejected.”⁷⁵ Shūhei Higa (1901-1956), a Chief Executive of the Ryukyu Provisional Central Government, and Walter. M. Johnson, a Civil Administrator, announced that most of the landowners were cooperative with the U.S. military except for some ‘communists’. While Ahagon was in a sit-in protest of that announcement in front of the GRI building in Naha on 14 March, U.S. military soldiers demolished his house.⁷⁶

Ahagon and the other landowners had lost all hope for future negotiations with the U.S. military authority, so they began appealing to the Okinawan people in the guise of beggars.⁷⁷ They visited the English-speaking Catholic Church in Kainan, Naha City, but they were refused the chance to talk with them because they were not members of the church. Ahagon commented, “Is the church only a place for praising and preaching? Then they visited churches and temples and influential individuals, but, were refused assistance because of the peoples’ extreme fear of the U.S. military.”⁷⁸ When they visited the home of the President of the University of the Ryuyus, he responded with silence after saying tersely that the issue would be solved when his students started

⁷⁵ Ahagon, Shōko, *The Island Where People Live* 9.

⁷⁶ Ahagon, Shōkō, “Amerikagun to Tochi to Kyokai [American Military, Land and Church],” 211, and Ahagon, Shōkō, *The Island Where People Live* 9.

⁷⁷ Ahagon, Shōkō, *The Island Where People Live* 69.

⁷⁸ Ahagon Shōkō, “Amerikagun to Tochi to Kyokai [American Military, Land and Church]” 213.

relief activities concerning the issue. After all the rejection Ahagon uttered, “I cannot trust anyone anymore.”⁷⁹

Were Ahgon and his group betrayed even by the Okinawan people? Why could they not receive any support from them? On March 1955, the Ahagon’s group received a registered postal cash envelope from an anonymous group of the LGRI. The letter read, “Please burn after reading,” and, “The enclosed money was given by the legislative staff as a gift for your struggle to protect your land...It is a small amount, but we ask you to think of it as a gift for helping you to be victorious in your struggle, and to receive it in that spirit.”⁸⁰

It is no doubt that the anonymous letter with cash in the envelope, and with the words “please burn after reading” indicated that, though the legislative staff wanted to assist the land owners, they extremely feared the U.S. military authority. Why then, did the LGRI legislative staff members and the people whom Ahagon’s group had asked for support, have such an extreme fear of the U.S. military authority? The editorial of *the Okinawa Times* on 30 September 1955, entitled “On Announcement of the Civil Liberties Union” claims:

As many have observed, the Japan Civil Liberties Union and the Japan Federation of Bar Associations have dealt with the issue of the human rights of Okinawan

⁷⁹ Ahagon Shōkō, “Amerikagun to Tochi to Kyokai” 213.

⁸⁰ Ahagon, Shōkō, *The Island Where People Live* 69.

people...The issue, which originated from an *Asahi Shimbun* report that speaks in superlatives, stimulated the interests of the world...Dr. Bell dealt with the issue, and the American Civil Liberties Union gave weight to it, and assumed responsibility for solving the problem. It is beyond our imagination that resignation, similar to that of the prewar saying, ‘three wise monkeys’ (see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil), has come from Okinawan nature. Particularly, we show excessive constraint to the U.S. military, fearing that when we complain we will be regarded as communists, and ruin ourselves...⁸¹

The editorial of *the Okinawa Times* exposed the Okinawan people’s public feeling against the U.S. military authority. Holding on to the saying of “the wise three monkeys” was the means to protect their own lives. Thus, keeping distance from victims of the land issue, in accordance with the Japanese proverb of “see no evil, hear no evil and speak no evil” (concerning the U.S. military authority), was the way to live safely in Okinawa.

It was no doubt that the land confiscation incident by the U.S. military was more critical, than undemocratic. The issue brings to mind, Bell’s article in the 20 January 1945 issue of *the Christian Century*, in which he comments that “the Army believes that there will be no further such incident, for ‘we have shown them our might. The Okinawan leaders know better...They fear that someone is going to get injured.’”⁸² It was no less than savage for Bell to claim that the U.S. military has shown their might.

⁸¹ *Okinawa Times*, “Jinken Renmei no Kōhyō ni sessite [On the Civil Liberties’ Disclosure],” 30 September 1955.1.

⁸² Otis W. Bell, “Play Fair with Okinawan!” *the Christian Century* 6 (1954):76.

Why did not the U.S. military respect the farmers' will? Did not they realize that they would cause loss of confidence in the American value of democracy?

Under the social and political circumstances during this period, how did the UCCO's trustees justify their choice not to protest against the U.S. military authority?

5.3.3. The UCCO Trustees' Theological Justification for Refraining from Protesting

Yoshio Higa, in the UCCO's periodical, *Gosuperu* (Gospel) September 1951 issue, wrote an article entitled, "On Promotion of the Peace Movement," in which he claims that Christians' contribution to peace does not mean to devote ourselves to the world peace movement...Rather; a Christian contributes to peace by achieving the total transformation of his mind."⁸³

His assertion identifies his theological perspective on the relation between the church and political issues, by personalizing a political matter. How, then were the UCCO churches involved in the land issue, while Okinawan land owner farmers, (including the UCCO's Christians) were isolated from Okinawan society? Ryūichi Naka, (b.1937), a pastor of the UCCO, stated that "the theological opinion on the land issue of a representative majority of the UCCO's Executive Committee was that, protesting

⁸³ Higa Yoshio, "Sekai heiwa undo sokusin ni tsuite [On Promotion of Peace Movement]," *The Gosuperu* (Okinawa kirisuto kyoukai kikanshi) 9 (1951): 1.

against the U.S. military authority disgraced the Name of the Lord.”⁸⁴

It is natural to think that, Yoshio Higa, as Moderator of the UCCO at that period, might have influenced the UCCO’s board members to some extent, in light of his understanding on the relationship between the church and state, as recorded in the UCCO’s periodical “*Gosuperu* (Gospel)” September 1951 issue.

Okinawans highly expected the U.S. Congressional investigation team to act positively on the land issue, because they believed that the team would accept the-four requirements that were passed by the LGRI on 30 April 1954. The four requirements were:

- a. Opposition to the lump sum payment.
- b. Payment of equitable land rentals
- c. Prompt payment of compensation for damages.
- d. Opposition to the further requisition of land, and to the early release of requisitioned land no longer required by the military.⁸⁵

However, when the people realized that the requirements were rejected⁸⁶ by

⁸⁴ Naka Ryūichi, “Tochi Mondai to Kyokai,” *27 Dosen no Minami kara: Okinawa Kirisutosha no Shōgen [From South of the 27th Latitude: The Witness of Okinawa Christians]* ed. Okinawa District of The United Church of Christ of Japan (Tokyo: The United Church of Christ of Japan Printing Office, 1971) 176.

⁸⁵ The Government of the Ryukyu Island Okinawa ed, *Gunyōchi Mondai no Keii [Progress of the U.S. Military Reservation]*, 1959.

⁸⁶ Ryukyu-Okinawa History and Culture, “The recommendation of the Military Committee’s representatives of the House of Representatives,” <<http://www.niraikanai.wwma.net/pages/archive/price.html>>.

announcement of Moor on 20 June 1956, the issue became a political battle on a large scale by the population.

In summary then, the recommendations of the subcommittee are:

That the interest to be acquired in those properties known to be required for the indefinite future be the fee title or such maximum interest as can be acquired under existing law or under such modification as may be made to existing law. Where fee title or an interest closely approximating fee title is acquired, full fair value of the property, in accordance with valuation procedures set out elsewhere in this report, should be paid.

That in evaluating agricultural lands, predominant consideration should be given to agricultural productivity.

That in evaluating commercial-type properties, the comparable sales approach be used.

That all land, arable and non-arable, which can be returned to the local economy, should be so returned expeditiously.

That those lands now occupied by the military which are being farmed by the Ryukyans be continued in this use, and any other lands possible of cultivation be made available for such use.

That the government of the Ryukyu Islands initiate an aggressive program to the end that those lands in Okinawa not under the control of the military which are now lying fallow be rendered available for cultivation.

That the acquisition of additional lands by our military forces be kept to an absolute minimum.

That the Department of the Air Force re-examine its proposal to construct an airfield on the island of Miyako.

That the military departments permit maximum use of the forests of Okinawa by villagers and that this be done on a sympathetic and cooperative basis.

That United States forces initiate and prosecute a program to render all aid and assistance to the Ryukyans in restoring or otherwise preparing lands for cultivation.

That the Navy and Air Force approach the question of development of Yonabaru and Futenma in a careful and conservative manner with ultimate decisions based only on the most precise and detailed consideration of every social, economic and financial element.

It is recommended that the subcommittee's suggestion concerning the possibility of developing electrical power through the use of nuclear energy be given most serious consideration by the Department of Defense.

Why were Okinawan people discouraged by what Dr. Darley Downs, (who was sent from the NCCC-USA), had done for the Okinawan people? Ryūichi Naka claimed that, “Though we appreciate what he done for us, as long as he does not deny the U.S. military presence in Okinawa for protecting democracy and freedom, his recognition of the Okinawa land problem is essentially identical with the U.S. military policy.”⁸⁷

What Dr. Downs with American missionaries had done for the landowners, was based on the realistic protest, as Naka claimed. However, what they protested had liberated the landholders from their isolation from the Okinawan community, (including the Christian world). On the other hand, without staying present to suffer the pain of the land owners, even to the point of jeopardizing their own lives, it might have been impossible to undermine U.S. policy, given the social context of this period in Okinawa’s history.

5.4. Theology of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective on the Land Issue

How can we identify the theology of social justice with an eschatological perspective for both American missionaries and Okinawan Christians concerning the land confiscation issue? As AMC’s missionaries stood up against the land confiscation,

⁸⁷ Naka Ryūichi, “Tochi Mondai to Kyokai” 177.

while Okinawa Christians, except for Ahagon kept silent on the issue, their theological identification should be confirmed separately, in order to expose the differences in theological perspective between the two parties.

5.4.1. American Missionaries' Theological Perspective on the Land Issue.

Rickard states in an article in the Japan Christian Quarterly Winter 1971 Issue:

IV. Some Concluding Thoughts

What we learned from this experience? We did not accomplish all that we hoped to do, but I should like to mention some thoughts of my own.

- a. Sometimes it becomes necessary for missionaries and the church as a whole to speak out for justice. We have good precedent in the 8th century B.C. prophets and in Jesus himself.⁸⁸

Rickard's statement represents a strong perspective of social justice theology with an eschatological understanding because he admits that "we did not accomplish all that we hoped to do." Prophets in the 8th century B.C., including Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah proclaimed God's judgment upon the Israelites, along with hope for their repentance. The prophets' intention was not to dwell upon the destruction of the Israelites, but upon their salvation through restored faith in God. Prophets in the 8th century BC did not witness the fulfillment of what they prophesied, because it is Christ

⁸⁸ C. Harold Rickard, "The Okinawa Land Problem" 16.

who accomplished the work of salvation through His death on the cross, and who will fulfill all prophecy through the resurrection of the dead at the end of the World. Rickard clearly referred to Christians' social mandate when he said that the church must speak out about justice. Rickard also commented that:

The Church must not become so wrapped up in its own problems that it fails to response social needs. If we do, we are in danger of being like the priest and Levite who pass (sic) by on the other side, ignoring the persons who are in need of our help.⁸⁹

It was apparent that Rickard warned against the Okinawan churches that seemed to have been wrapped up in their own problems, because they kept silent on the land issue. Why did the churches keep silent, even though they understood that the landowners' human rights had been infringed upon by the U.S. military authority? This matter will be discussed in a later chapter because it is clear that Okinawan Christians did not ignore the violation of human rights of the land owners, even though they did not protest.

5.4.2. Okinawan Christians' Theological Perspective on the Land Issue.

Ahagon quoted a traditional Ryukyu poem, saying:

⁸⁹ C. Harold Rickard, "The Okinawa Land Problem" 16.

“‘*Nuchi du Takara*’, (life itself is a treasure), is the Ryukyu poem’s important phrase indeed. After having experienced a hell on earth during Okinawa War, we have been protesting against the military base for a half-century during the post-war period. Though I am now ninety years old, what I want to assert for my whole life are these words.”⁹⁰

Ahagon expressed his pacifist perspective by quoting the words, “*Nuchi du Takara*”, life itself is treasure. What he hoped for was a life on an island with no military bases. Though Ahagon had been isolated from the Okinawan Christian community, he respected Rickard, saying, “I wish to express my respect for Rev. Rickard...and offer my deep thanks to him for teaching the way of peace expressed in the Bible, ‘They who take up the sword will perish by the sword’”⁹¹ Like Rickard, Ahagon maintained his belief in life as a most valuable treasure, and in an island where there were no swords. His hope depended on the ultimate peace in Christ and in eternal life. Though he did not refer directly to eschatological words, he protested against the social justice issue from an eschatological—that is—future hope standpoint.

How could the theological perspective of the Okinawan Christians, who kept silent against the issue, be explained? Though the UCCO decided to ask the higher judiciaries in the U.S. to solve the land issue, they failed to stay present to share the

⁹⁰ Ahagon Shōkō, *Inochi koso Takara – Okinawa Hansen no Kokoro [Life itself is Treasure – Okinawan Anti-War Spirit]*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Sinsho, 1992) 2.

⁹¹ Ahagon Shōkō, *The Island where People Live* v.

pain of Ahagon and other farm landowners. In this they failed to respect the human dignity of the landholders. How did Okinawan Christians violate Ahagon's human dignity? When Ahagon and fellow farmers visited churches to ask for help after the U.S. forces confiscated their land, nobody extended helping hands to them. He expressed his sense of uncertainty to the church, "Are the churches the place only for praising and preaching? I cannot trust anyone anymore."⁹² Ahagon's confession indicated his feeling of isolation from the Christian community. Were Okinawa Christians of the UCCO afraid of the U.S. military because they labeled the landowners as communists?

It is apparent, judging from the editorial of *the Okinawa Times* dated 30 September 1955, that, indeed, Okinawans had that fear. This means that protesting against the U.S. military might jeopardize their lives. The Christians did not have enough faith to sacrifice their lives, even though Morihito Higa (1917-1973), Pastor of the Chūō Naha Church of the UCCO from 1950 to 1973, preached about loving a neighbor with the faith of a self-sacrificing spirit. The theological perspective of Okinawan Christians concerning the land confiscation in the 1950s could be defined as a self-centered faith with no public dimension of Christian ethics in general. As American missionary

⁹² Ahagon, "Americagun to Tochi to Kyokai [American Military, Land and Church]" 213.

Rickard criticized Okinawan Christians who did not speak out, an Okinawan minister, Ryūichi Naka recognized Rickard's criticism. Naka confessed, that "there is no evidence that the Okinawan churches of any denomination stood up against the land issue, because when Ahagon's group was visiting churches during the Beggar's March,⁹³ they were ignored by almost all churches."⁹⁴

In order to examine the theological perspective of the Okinawan churches, the books of the church history of Okinawa denominations should be examined, because they provide significant information on social justice issues. In 1973, the National Christian Council in Okinawa published "*Okinawa Kirisutokyo Shiryō* (Historical Materials of Christianity in Okinawa),"⁹⁵ in which the four denominations; the UCCO, Baptist, Episcopal and Church of Christ specified their own church history. These histories, (except for the Church of Christ), start from the origin of the church in the period before WWII.

Though, the AMC's missionaries worked toward solving the land issue, the social problem was not described in the history of the UCCO. Actually, none of the

⁹³ "On 21 July 1955, the entire village, so as to live, and to appeal to the world about the real situation, decided to become beggars. The Beggars' March began from Ie Town, to every section of Kunigami Town in the north, and cut through the main island of Okinawa vertically to Itoman in the south." Quoted from Ahagon, *The Island Where We Live*. 69.

⁹⁴ Naka Ryūichi, "Tochi Mondai to Kyokai" 179.

⁹⁵ Okinawa Christian Council, *Okinawa Kirisutokyo Shiryō [The Historical Material of Christianity of Okinawa]*, (Okinawa: Inochino Kotobasha, 1973).

denominations, the OBC, the OEC, Church of Christ, or the SDA, made any reference to the land issue at all. Though, at the time of the land issue, Yoshio Higa was Moderator of the UCCO and a pastor, who belonged to the Naha Chūō Church of the UCCO, they did not discuss the land issue in the book of the “*Hundred Years Anniversary of the Naha Chūō Church*”, which was published in 1998. The Okinawa Baptist Convention published both “*the Eighty Year’s History of Okinawa Baptists*”⁹⁶ in 1973 and “*the One Hundred Years of the Okinawa Baptists*” in 1993 without referring to the land issue. They did not list the land issue on the chronological table of the “the History of the Baptists,” nor in “The Community of Christianity;” but only in “the Society in General.”⁹⁷

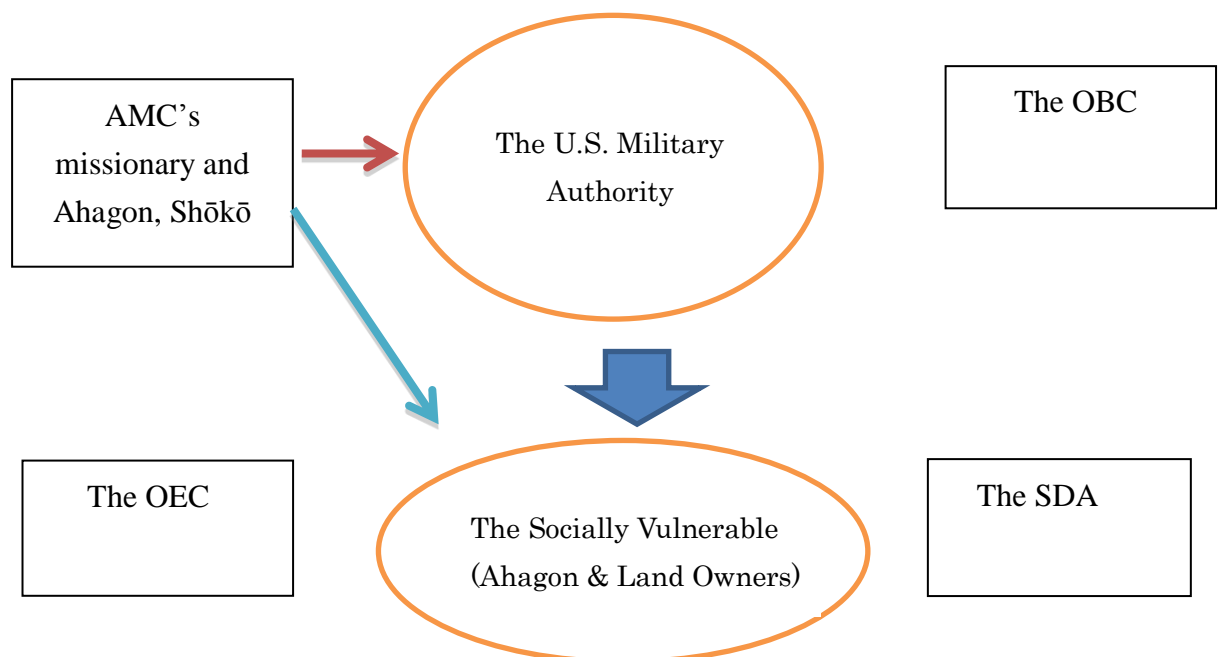
The fact that Okinawa Christians of the four denominations did not refer to the land issue in their commemorative books exposes clearly the historical perception concerning the problem. Their theological perspectives on the land confiscation are quite in contrast to Rickard’s comment. He confessed, “While touring the country and speaking about the Christian work in Okinawa, I always included the land problem in

⁹⁶ Okinawa Baptist Convention ed, *Senkyō no Ayumi Okinawa Baputesuto 80 Nenshi [Progress of Mission - The 80 Years’ History of Okinawa Baptist Church]*, (Okinawa: Okinawa Baptist Convention, 1973).

⁹⁷ Okinawa Baptist Convention ed, *Okinawa Baputesuto Hyakunen Shi [The 100 Years’ History of Okinawa Baptist Church]*, (Okinawa: Okinawa Baptist Convention, 1993) 320.

my talks, and constantly urged that we not settle for too little too soon.”⁹⁸ Though AMC’s missionaries agreed that the UCCO had adopted the UCCJ’s the Confession of Faith and the Guidelines of Christian Living, both sides had different theological perspectives on the social justice issue, because Okinawan Christians did not yet have the public dimension of theological understanding on the land issue.

Figure 5.1: The Social Justice Works on the Land Issue



Remarks:

→ Assistance to the socially vulnerable

→ Protest against the U.S. military Authority for the human rights

↓ Violation of human rights of the Okinawa people by the U.S. military

⁹⁸ C. Harold Rickard, “The Okinawa Land Problem” 4.

5.5. Conclusion

When the land confiscation problem broke out in the early 1950s, AMC's missionaries started becoming involved in the issue. They protested against the U.S. military authority, and even jeopardized their own lives, and their families' lives, for the sake of the farm landowners. The missionaries' protests encouraged the landholders. At a time when the landowners were isolated from the Okinawan people, including the Christian community, the efforts of the missionaries restored some sense of human dignity to them.

Both AMC's missionaries and the UCCO's Christians stood on the same Confession of Faith and the Guidelines of Christian Living, which contains the public dimension of the believer's life in Christ. Articles Four and Five proclaimed:

- IV. We will strive for the realization of Christ's justice and love throughout the world, by respecting each other's personality, loving our neighbors, and laboring for the welfare of society.
- V. We will endeavor, following the will of God, to uplift the morality of the taste,[Race? People?], to realize international justice, and to attain world peace.⁹⁹

That UCCO's Christians failed to stand up against the U.S. military, not only discouraged the landowners, and but also caused them to stumble, because the

⁹⁹ The United Church of Christ in Japan, "Seikatsu Kōryō [Guidelines of Christian Living]," 4 September 2013 < <http://uccj-e.org/life> >.

Okinawan Christians failed to adopt the teaching of the Guidelines of Christian Living into their lives.

Okinawan Christians shared the traditional Protestant doctrine with AMC's missionaries; however, their theology did not embrace the public dimension of social justice. The UCCO's theological perspective on the land issue identified with that of Okinawan believers from other denominations; the OBC, the OEC, Church of Christ, and SDA, because they kept silent on the land issue.

6. The Sexual Assault Issue

Suzuyo Takazato (b.1940), a Christian woman activist for helping sexual assault victims, commented that, “though the war ended, a new war against women started.”¹⁰⁰As she said, Okinawan people have been struggling against sexual assault crimes committed by the U.S. military servicemen since soon after WWII and up to the present. Victims and their families tended to hide the crimes, because of the sense of shame in having the incidents become publically known.

This chapter reviews how Christians in Okinawa responded to this issue by focusing on the incident of Yumiko-(*chan*), (*term of endearment*), a little girl who a U.S. military serviceman brutally raped and murdered in 1955. Okinawans felt indignation at the unrighteous judicature in the case, because the criminal was judged by the U.S. military code, barring any Okinawan participation in the judicial procedure.

Based on this socio-political context, this chapter explores the theology of social justice with an eschatological perspective for Christians in Okinawa, focusing on the violation of the human dignity of Okinawan women, who were sexually assaulted by American servicemen during the American administration of Okinawa. For achieving

¹⁰⁰ Takazato, Suzuyo, *Okinawa no Onna tachi – Josei no Jinken to Kichi, Guntai [Okinawan Women - Women's Human Rights, Military Facility and Military Forces]* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1996) 42.

the goal, this chapter; first reviews the socio-political context, then examines the sexual assault incident itself, followed by how Christians in Okinawa responded to the sexual assault incident, and finally seeks to identify their theology of social justice and eschatological perspective concerning the sexual assault incident. Since the media reported the case involving Yumiko-chan's fatal rape, this chapter focuses on the incident, in order to treat it objectively, based on detailed information obtained from the media.

6.1. The Socio-Political Context

Were there any legal regulations to protect an Okinawan woman from a sexual crime by U.S. servicemen during the U.S. administration period? As reviewed in the previous chapter, Okinawan people's human rights had been violated during the period of the U.S. military government until the establishment of the GRI and its police department in 1952. The reported number of the rape incidents from 1945 to 1949 shows the violation situation in Okinawa during the early post war period.

Table 6.1: Reported Number of the Rape Incidents¹⁰¹

Year	Reported Number of Cases	Year	Reported Number of Cases
1945	2	1948	13
1946	28	1949	1
1947	26		

Though the Ryukyu Police Department was founded when the GRI was established on 1 April 1952,¹⁰² an Okinawan police officer was not authorized to arrest an American military suspect, based on Article 1 of Ordinance No. 87¹⁰³ which specified that any personnel who should face a court-martial was excluded from Okinawan legal jurisdiction. Thus, Okinawan women victims were not allowed to wage a legal battle.

In this context, Okinawan people were politically vulnerable. The Ryukyu Police Department published the statistics on the ratio of arrests in 1968 for rape incidents by comparing the crimes committed by U.S. military personnel, with those committed by Okinawans and mainland Japanese as follows.

¹⁰¹ Miyazato, Seigen ed, *Sengo Okinawa no seiji to hō 1945-1972 nen [Politics and Laws in Postwar Okinawa (1945-1972)]* (Tokyo: University Tokyo Press, 1975) 123.

¹⁰² Gekkan Okinawa Sha ed, *Laws and Regulations During the U.S. Administration of Okinawa 1945-1972 (Book 1)* (Okinawa: Ikemiya, Shokai & Co., 1983) 112.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 1131-1133.

Table 6.2: Ratio of Arrests for Rape Incidents in Fiscal 1968¹⁰⁴

Okinawa	91%	Japan	92%
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The data shows that Okinawan police officers had been effective in arresting criminals since their ratio of arrests for rape incidents was only one percent lower than that of mainland Japan. What was the ratio of arrests for the rape incidents committed by the U.S. military personnel in Okinawa?

Table 6.3: Ratio of Arrests for Rape Incidents Committed by the U.S. military Personnel¹⁰⁵

Year	Number of Incidents	Number of Arrests	Ratio of Arrests
1964	17	9	52.9
1965	10	4	40
1966	19	9	52.9
1967	20	6	30
1968	18	6	33.4
Total	82	34	41.5

The data shows that Okinawan police officers could not arrest more than half of the crime suspects, and even if they arrested them, they had to hand over the suspects to the U.S. military authority. It was apparent that Okinawan dignity and human rights of the

¹⁰⁴ Ryukyu Keisatsu honbu keimubu keimuka [Ryukyu Police Station Police Affairs' Section], *Ryukyu Keisatsu toukeisho: 1968 Nendo* [Ryukyu Police Statistical book in 1968 fiscal year] (Naha: Ryuku keisatsuhonbu keimubukeimuka, 1969) 98-1.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

citizens had been infringed upon by the U.S. military authority. Under this social context, the Yumiko-chan incident occurred in 1955.

6.2. Yumiko-*chan* Incident

It was 3 September 1955 when a six-year-old girl, Yumiko-chan was raped and killed by an American serviceman.¹⁰⁶ The Okinawan newspaper, *the Ryukyu Shimpo* reported that the body of Yumiko-*chan* was found by an American soldier on Kadena Air Base on 4 September 1955, one day after Yumiko-*chan* was killed. The body was brought to the Koza Central Hospital for autopsy by the CID (Criminal Investigation Command), MP (Military Police), and Ryukyu Police officers.¹⁰⁷ On 9 September, Ryukyu Command Headquarters announced that the criminal suspect, Kadena Air Force Sergeant Isaac J. Hart, who allegedly raped and killed Yumiko-*chan*, was arrested.¹⁰⁸

Before the trial, on 12 September, Shūhei Higa (1901-1956), the Chief Executive of the GRI, requested the U.S. military to thoroughly observe military regulations, and disclose information concerning the trial to Vonna F. Burger, the Civil Administrator of the USCAR. Burger expressed sincere regrets about the incident in a letter that was sent

¹⁰⁶ *Rhukyu Shimpo*, “Yumikochan goroshi sinten [Yumikochan Murder Incident Progress],” 6 September 1955.

¹⁰⁷ *Rhukyu Shimpo*, “Zenrei naki kyōaku na hanzai yumiko-*chan* sōsa wo otte [Unprecedented Atrocious Criminal, Chasing Investigation of Yumikio-*chan* Incident],” 10 September 1955.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

to Shūhei Higa, without referring the public trial.¹⁰⁹

At a news conference on 16 September, RyCom (Ryukyu Command) Headquarters, with judicial counselors of the USCAR and the Air Force in attendance announced that:

A trial will be held with a judge and an attorney, who are to be nominated by the U.S. Military Government. The trial will review three charges against the suspect, who is charged with the commission of murder under the Article 118 of the Military Law, the crime of rape under the Article 120, and abduction under the Article 134. A suspect who is found guilty of committing violent sexual intercourse will be sentenced to death....¹¹⁰

Eleven jury members, (who were all American soldiers nominated by the judge), were selected for the public trial that was held at Zukeran military tribunal, (with an audience of about fifty in the courtroom) on 21 November 1955.¹¹¹ There was no doubt that the Okinawan people wanted the case to be settled through fair, impartial judgment. Was it difficult to expect fair judgment based on the U.S. military judicial system? Why then, did Okinawans consider the U.S. military judicatures unfair?

¹⁰⁹ *Ryukyu Shimpō*, “Beihei no Kyōaku Hanzai ni Gunki Syukusei, Saiban Kōkai nado Seifu Taisaku Minseifu he Mōsiire [Atrocious Crime of American Soldier, Request Purge of Military Regulation],” 13 September 1955.

¹¹⁰ *Ryukyu Shimpō*, “Yumiko chan jiken no gun saiban, mittsu no zaimai de shinri, gunji saiban toha, guntōkyoku happyō [Military Trial on Yumiko-chan Incident, Trial on Three Charges, What is the Military Trial? Announcement of the Military Authority],” 16 September 1955.

¹¹¹ *Ryukyu Shimpō*, “Saiban, shōnin jinmon ni hairu yumiko-chan jiken gun kōhan tsuduku [Started Trial and Examination of Witnesses, The Military Trial on Yumiko-chan Incident Continues],” 22 November 1955.

6.2.1. Reaction of the Okinawan People

On 11 September, the Second General Assembly of the Okinawa Teachers Association¹¹² (hereafter OTA), issued a statement on the Yumiko-chan incident. They claimed:

- a. We require that the convicted criminal be sentenced to receive capital punishment without making an allowance.
- b. If it is confirmed that Sergeant Hart is the criminal, we require the U.S. military in Okinawa to reflect on the incident to insure the stability of welfare and happiness of the Okinawan people. We are convinced that past crimes committed by U.S. military personnel have always been settled, based on the advantage of extraterritorial rights...
- c. We require the disclosure of the military trial to the Okinawan people, and the judicial decision as well.
- d. We require the GRI to negotiate with the USCAR to civilianize the jurisdiction of the court for the Okinawan people related case...¹¹³

The OTA's requirement was more aggressive than Shūhei Higa's requirement to the USCAR, because the OTA asked to change the court system by civilianizing the jurisdiction. For the OTA, then, what was the basis for protesting against the unfairness of the jurisdiction? Also, for the U.S. military authority, what was the basis for standing firm on the undemocratic way of administration for sexual crimes committed by American soldiers, without permitting the Okinawan people to have any involvement

¹¹² The Okinawa Teachers Association was not a union because the members consisted of all teachers, including such administrative staff as President of a school.

¹¹³ *Ryukyu Shimpo*, "Danko kyūmei e, kodomo wo mamoru kai tachiagaru [Strong requirement of Investigation, the Protecting Children Association Stood Up]," 10 Sep.1955.

in the proceedings of the jurisdiction?

In April 1945, after defeating the Japanese forces, the U.S. declared the establishment of the U.S. military government in Okinawa by issuing Proclamation No. 1 under the name of C. W. Nimitz (1885-1966), Fleet Admiral, United States Navy, Commander in Chief, United States Pacific Fleet and Pacific Ocean Areas.¹¹⁴ When the Treaty of Peace with Japan became effective on 28 April 1952, the U.S. administration of Okinawa was authorized with international and judicial powers, because Article Three declared, “The United States will have the right to exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands, (of Okinawa), including their territorial waters”.¹¹⁵

Thus, it was not surprising that the U.S. military authority, at the time of the Yumiko-chan incident in 1955, brought the suspect to military court-martial, under extraterritorial rights. This was regardless of the place where the victim was killed, (inside or outside the base), or of the time when the suspect killed the victim (on duty or off duty). This means that the OTA’s request to “civilianize the jurisdiction of the court for the Okinawan people-related case”¹¹⁶ was a claim without legal foundation from the

¹¹⁴ Kamata Kenji ed, *Okinawa Beigun Kichihō no Genzai [The Present Law of the U.S. Military in Okinawa]* (Tokyo: Hitotsubusha, 2000) 32.

¹¹⁵ Miyazato Seigen, *Amerika no Okinawa Tōchi [Administration of Okinawa by America]*42.

¹¹⁶ *Ryukyū Shimpō*, “Danko kyūmei e, kodomo wo mamoru kai tachiagaru,” 10, Sep. 1955.

standpoint of the U.S. military authority. There was no doubt that Okinawan victim of sex crimes were forced to be judicially isolated from the world, even though their human dignity had already been unmercifully damaged, through unspeakable crimes against them. Were there any means to publicize these incidents to the world?

At the end of 1952, based on a proposal of the OTA, the OPCA was established with the members of the Okinawan PTA and Okinawa Women's Association by selecting Chōbyō Yara, as the first chairperson of the OTA.¹¹⁷ Yara commented that:

When the construction of the base started into full-scale operation, crimes of sexual assault began occurring frequently, and children were also assaulted many times. It was the destiny of the people, who lived in the town of the military facility...At the end of 1953, in order to protect children from a damaging environment to the greatest possible degree, the Okinawa Protecting Children Association (OPCA) was established with the OTA's proposal for the PTA and Okinawan Women Association...The OPCA led the protest movement.¹¹⁸

As Yara commented, the OPCA's protest drew public attention by staging protest rallies at eight major cities, including Naha. Yara concluded that the U.S. military authority should sentence the suspect of the Yumiko-chan incident to receive capital punishment, because of the widespread protests of the island.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Yara Chōbyō, *Yara Chōbyō no Kaikoroku [Reminiscence of Yara Chōbyō]* 64

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ *Ryūkyū Shimpō*, "Yumiko-chan koroshi hannin kakutei, dai 22 kōshahōtai no Heart gunsō [Confirmed the Criminal of Yumiko-chan Incident, Sergeant Heart of The 22nd Anti-Aircraft Artillery]," 10 September 1955.

6.2.2. The U.S. Military Counter-Response to the Yumiko-chan Incident

The U.S. military authority opposed the Yumiko-chan incident being turned into a political issue, and therefore treated it as a personal matter. When Yara met Hope A. Diffenderfer, the Director of Education Department of the USCAR to protest the Yumiko-chan incident, Yara said, “The person who assaulted and killed such a young girl is not a human. It is the dirty pride of a war-winner who despises the Okinawan people.”¹²⁰ The Director replied, “We have no intention to despise the Okinawan people, so, what you have said are words of political action.”¹²¹ The discussion exposed the fact that the USCAR intended to eliminate the politicizing of the Yumiko-chan incident.

Why did Yara not regard the incident as a personal issue, but, rather a public one? As he was a chairperson of both the OTA and the OPCA, it is reasonable to think that he viewed the incident from an educator’s perspective. During the period of the Yumiko-chan incident he was involved in drafting the “Four Acts of Education,” which was approved by the LGRI in January 1956.

The Preamble of the Fundamental Act of Education declares, “We, as Japanese citizens, have shown our resolution, based on the universal principle to contribute to the

¹²⁰ Yara Chōbyō, *Yara Chōbyō no Kaikoroku [Reminiscence of Yara Chōbyō]* 64.

¹²¹ Ibid.

peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state.”¹²² Yara tried to protect Okinawan children who were under a damaging environment by establishing the public educational system so that he could prevent another incident.

During the period of the 1950s, the U.S. military intended to use the military facilities as long as possible, even though they understood that Okinawans wanted to return to Japan to recover their human rights which had been infringed upon, (as experienced in the Yumiko-chan incident). Dr. Bonner M. Crawford, Director of Education of the USCAR stated, “Let us remember that: The Japanese Government is for reversion; Ryukyus are for reversion; the U.S. Government is for reversion; that makes all of us for reversion.”¹²³ Though he acknowledged the Okinawan people’s requirement for reversion to Japan, he refused it for political purposes, claiming that, “in the tension of the world today created by those communist nations, an immediate reversion is impossible.”¹²⁴ Though Dr. Crawford spoke in a more respectable way than Diffenderfer, he claimed directly the intention of the USCAR to continue the U.S. administration of Okinawa without permitting Okinawa any legal jurisdiction.

¹²² Yara Chōbyō, *Yara Chōbyō no Kaikoroku [Reminiscence of Yara Chōbyō]* 52.

¹²³ Bonner M. Crawford, “1959 Nen no Ryukyu Kyōiku ni taisuru Jyū no kitai [A Decalogue for Ryukyuan Education in 1959]” *Bunkyō Jihō* 50 (1959): 3

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

It seemed that the Okinawan people had no legal alternative for protecting the rights of sexual assault victims during that period, except for expecting capital punishment, which would be sentenced by the U.S. military tribunal.

6.3. Christians' Response to the Sexual Assault Incident

How did Christians in Okinawa respond to the Yumiko-chan incident? Though sexual assault was a crime that infringed deeply upon the human dignity of women and their families, did Okinawan Christians keep silent for fear of the U.S. authority? Reviewing Christians' responses to both the Yumiko-chan incident itself, and other sexual related crimes that violated the human dignity of Okinawan women is required.

6.3.1. Christians' Response to the Yumiko-chan Incident

How did Christians in Okinawa consider this unreasonable judicial situation that drove sexual victims and their families into a helpless situation? No church stood up for the victims, but rather, regarded the incident as a personal issue, except for the priests of OEC, P. Finkenstadt and Mitsushige Shirai, who commented about the Yumiko-chan incident in *the Ryukyu Shimpo* dated 12 September 1955. Finkenstadt commented,

I feel angry, ashamed of, and deplore the crime of an American soldier who had

assaulted, raped and killed such a young girl. I apologize to all the Okinawan people...I ask your understanding that the criminal has a disease, deep inside of his heart...I believe that we will see that God's impartial justice will be done. ¹²⁵

Shirai, a Japanese priest commented on the Yumiko-chan incident by referring to another rape crime, that occurred 8 days after the Yumiko-chan incident.

Though the two incidents were done by criminals with abnormal character, we should not forgive such acts of brutality which defiled the name of the Lord. I agree completely that we cannot deny that the incident occurred because of a decrease in the cultural enrichment of American soldiers. That they expressed their disgust by assaulting Okinawan women, instead of resolving the matter inside the military facilities is incorrect, even though we may feel sympathy for them, being far away from their home land, and coming from such war fronts as Korea and others to the peaceful island of Okinawa. Even so, there is no reason that Okinawan people should redeem the American soldiers' helplessness. From a viewpoint of a person of religion, I urge the military authority to increase the cultural enrichment of all soldiers, and redeem the military dignity that had been hurt by the Okinawan people, by providing soldiers with a mental fallback position. And I urge the military authority to keep tight hands on the military regulations for eradicating the problems with the Okinawan people. ¹²⁶

Shirai warned against the issue without politicizing. However, he scrutinized the issue through a public protest viewpoint by avoiding treating the problem as a personal matter. Thus, he had urged the U.S. military authority to take a firm stance on the sexual crime issue during that period of the 1950s, and his comment contained a prophetic

¹²⁵ *Rhukyu Shimpo*, "Kami no na ni somuku kōi, beijin syūkyōka no koe wo kiku [Act Against the Name of God, Hear from American Religious Person]," 12 September 1955.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

meaning, because neither the military authority nor Christians in Okinawa (except for him), could see the issue from the perspective of the public dimension.

6.3.2. The Christian Response (by Yoshio Higa and Tsuru Ōshiro) to Sexual Related Crimes other than the Yumiko-chan Incident

In July 1945, when Yoshio Higa was the village mayor of the Haneji relocation camp, the American First Lieutenant asked Higa to build a brothel by providing pre-war prostitutes for American soldiers in the village as a preventive measure, to preclude sexual assaults against Okinawan women. Higa refused his suggestion by protesting, “It is absolutely unthinkable to build a brothel. What is most important for the military, in maintaining social security, is to enforce the discipline of soldiers.”¹²⁷ After he heard a rumor of the incident, (where Higa had protested against building a brothel and urged the military to enforce discipline), the First Lieutenant asked him again to build a brothel, saying, “As some women do not dislike this kind of thing, let’s find them (women) for this prostitute business, then, the incidents (of sexual assault) will reduce.”

¹²⁸ Higa replied, “As an American military officer, are you not ashamed of disclosing the moral disorder of the military by building a brothel? I will never permit the building

¹²⁷ Higa Yoshio, *Watashi no Sengo Hiwa [The Secret Story of My Post-War Life]* (Okinawa: Ryukyu Bunkyo Tosho Co., 1978) 137.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 138.

of a brothel in my village.”¹²⁹

Were there any other Christians in Okinawa who stood against the issue in 1950s? In the early 1950s, an Okinawan Baptist woman, Tsuru Ōshiro (1897-1976) fought against the prostitution issue with a firm belief that, “unless women participate in politics we cannot build a society in which women will become happy.”¹³⁰ When she became a president of the Okinawa Women’s Association, she requested the Director of the Health and Medical Department of the GRI to seek resolution of the issue of the prostitution business for American soldiers. She confessed that the director was negative about the proposal. Though she was a board member of the Okinawan Christian Association, she sought resolution of the issue by using a political channel.

Yoshio Higa and Tsuru Ōshiro spoke out on the issue of Okinawan women’s human dignity from their Christian ethical perspectives at the personal level, but not representing the church. How then, from the perspective of the public dimension, did Churches in Okinawa stand against, the reality of this period when the human dignity of Okinawan women was not legally guaranteed until the end of 1950s? No churches in Okinawa stood against the sexual crime issues in the 1950s.

¹²⁹ Higa Yoshio, *Watashi no Sengo Hiwa* 138.

¹³⁰ Okinawa Baptist Convention, Women Ministry ed. *Akashi Shū, Dai 1 syū, Syu ni Sitagatta Fujin tachi [Testimony Vol I, North Star – Ladies Who Followed the Lord]* (Okinawa: Okinawa Baptist Convention, 1995) 93.

It was clear that Christians in Okinawa spoke out against the issue, but it did not develop into an ecclesiastical work, because they regarded the issue as a personal matter. Why did the issue remain on a personal level? Yoshio Higa had protested strongly in a private conversation against establishing a brothel proposed by an American officer in 1945. However, his response to the officer's comment that, "as some women do not dislike this kind of thing, let's find them for this prostitute business,"¹³¹ lacked any hint of real concern for women, even though the American officer's comment expressed insult to the dignity of women. Higa did not seem to understand the profound sense of insult, and in fact, his question to the officer seemed to reflect more concern about the shame to the military. "...are you not ashamed of disclosing the moral disorder of the military by building a brothel?"

6.4. Theology of Social Justice with the Eschatological Perspective for Christians in Okinawa on the Sexual Assault Issue

How Christians in Okinawa responded to the sexual assault issues will be reviewed, based on the perspectives of social justice and eschatology separately, in order to confirm whether they embraced both perspectives or not, because Christians did not get involved in helping the sexual assault victims by staying present to their agony.

¹³¹ Higa Yoshio, *Watashi no Sengo Hiwa* 137.

6.4.1. Theology of Social Justice on the Sexual Assault Issue

When the Yumiko-chan incident occurred in 1955, P. Finkenstadt, an American Episcopal minister commented on the incident as a personal crime by accusing the criminal. Mitsushige Shirai, a Japanese minister, accused both the criminal and the military authority, and demanded better control of soldiers with stricter disciplinary rules.

Yoshio Higa rejected the American officer's persistent request in 1945 to establish a brothel in the village. Though Higa's motives for refusing the request lacked real concern for women's dignity, his personal moral stance against building a brothel did provide some protection for Okinawan women.

Tsuru Ōshiro protested against the GRI officials to eliminate the prostitute business in the Koza district. All of these Christians spoke out for social justice issues of sexual crime related matters. Although their accusations were made from a personal standpoint, without developing into a church protest movement, it was apparent that all of these believers had a strong social justice perspective in their theological understanding, because they protested against the U.S. military and GRI to try to solve the issues.

Even though they protested based on the social justice perspective, none of them, except Yoshio Higa, positioned the issue as a significant part of Okinawan church

history. No references concerning the issue appeared in such church historiographies as, *Okinawa Kirisutokyō Shiryō (Historiography Okinawan Christianity)*, *Okinawa Baputesto Hyakunen Shi (Okinawa Baptist Church 100th Anniversary)*, and *Okinawa Episcopalian Church 25th Anniversary*.¹³² Edward E. Bollinger, an ABC missionary to the OBC made no reference, either in his book entitled “*The Cross and the Floating Dragon: The Gospel in Ryukyu*” nor in his article for *the Japan Christian Quarterly* Winter 1971 issue, in which he summed up Okinawan church history during the U.S. administration of Okinawa. William A. Hio, an American priest of the OEC, did not make any reference to the sexual assault problem in his article for *the Japan Christian Quarterly* January 1964 issue entitled, “The Okinawa Episcopal Church” in which he introduced the Episcopalian church’s ministry in Okinawa.

6.4.2. Eschatological Perspective on the Sexual Assault Issue

Christians who spoke out against the sexual crime issues did so from a social justice perspective, but their theology did not contain the eschatological perspective because they did not stay present long-term to assist the sexual assault victims. It was 1995

¹³² Okinawa Christian Council, *Okinawa Kirisutokyo Shiryō*, OBC, *Okinawa Baputesuto Hyakunen Shi*, and Okinawa Diocese of Nippon Sei Ko Kai. *Senkyō 25 Syūnen Kinenshi SeikōKai no Ayumi [The 25 Years’ History of Ministry, The Progress of Episcopal Church]*. (Okinawa: Okinawa Diocese of Nippon Sei Ko Kai, 1976).

when Suzuyo Takazato, an Okinawa Christian human-rights activist with Francis Bowen, an AMC missionary established REICO for helping sexual assault victims.

According to the mission of REICO, sexual assault incident responses would be based on a comprehensive approach. The victims needed to have a judicial resolution including compensation, medical health treatment, and financial assistance for herself and her family, if necessary. For preventing sexual assaults, the U.S. military needed to impose a higher standard of strict disciplinary rules (code of conduct), and to provide a continuing education program for U.S. military personnel. Though there was no doubt that Okinawans strongly desired the withdrawal of the U.S. military facilities from Okinawa to preclude incidences of sexual crimes, the people had to face to the reality of the continuation of sexual assault incidents. From 1995, REICO, with its comprehensive approach, played a significant role in treating victims.

As the victims were under psychological distress, it was almost impossible to deliver them from their trauma. A victim, Ryōko-san confessed to Takazato on the phone that:

Though I have become a non-human being at the age of twenty-one, don't forget that I am a human being.”¹³³

¹³³ Takazato, *Okinawa no Onna tachi – Josei no Jinken to Kichi, Guntai [Okinawan Women – Women's Rights, Military Facility and Military Forces]* 6.

Ryōko-san (alias)'s comment indicated that she felt she was deprived of her human dignity. Though Ryōko-san expressed self-denial, it was her cry for the recovery of her human dignity. Without having an eschatological perspective, it was hard for Ryōko-san to hope her human dignity could be recovered.

How could her trauma be healed? Even capital punishment for the criminal, in demanding justice, could not completely restore her dignity as a person; although demanding justice for sexual assaults should be pursued based on a fair judicial system.

As Christians in Okinawa believed that recovery of the God's created dignity of human beings is based on an eschatological understanding, they should have stayed present to share the agony and helplessness of the sex crime victims. Furthermore, Christians should have demanded the establishment of the autonomy of jurisdiction for dealing with these sexual assault cases committed by the U.S. military servicemen. As Episcopalian ministers demanded the strengthening of discipline for soldiers to the U.S. military authority, their protest should have received recognition as a realistic Christian ethical responsibility for the issues.

Though Christians in Okinawa did not assist the sexual assault victims during the U.S. administration period, it was clear that Christians during this period, were in the process of recognizing the problem. Suzuyu Takazato commented at a memorial

symposium how she recognized the issue of sexual crime by the U.S. military servicemen in the 1960s. She said:

In 1967, I was installed as a staff member of the UCCO for one year...As I arranged the investigation plan on the Anti-Prostitution Act for the specialist who visited Okinawa from mainland Japan, I was informed about the issue of the U.S. military facilities in Okinawa and their related prostitution problems, and women's issues. I also had the chance to meet members of the LGRI. These experiences led me to my interest and commitment in following years.¹³⁴

Then, why did not Christians in Okinawa have an eschatological perspective for responding to sexual assault incidents during the period of the U.S. administration of Okinawa? It was apparent that Christians in Okinawa during that time had not yet awakened to the fact that they needed to take into consideration the victims' need to recover their human dignity. However, it is clearer to state that Okinawa had been in a socio-political context in which the next generation of Okinawan Christian activists, such as Suzuyo Takazato was nurtured.

6.5. Summarization of the Theology of Social Justice for the Sexual Assault Issue

Though Okinawa Christians failed to commit themselves in helping the sexual

¹³⁴ Okinawa Christian University, *Okinawa Kirisutokyo Gakuin Sōritsu 50 shūnen kinen shi [Okinawa Christian University 50 Years Anniversary of Foundation]* (Okinawa: Hirayama Press, 2009) 66.

assault victims during the U.S. administration period, it was apparent that Suzuyo Takazato recognized the seriousness of the issue in the 1960s; therefore, the theology of social justice for the sexual assault issue will be summarized, based on the chronological Table 6.4, and Figure 6.1 below.

Table 6.4: Time Table of the Christians' Response to the Sexual Assault Issue


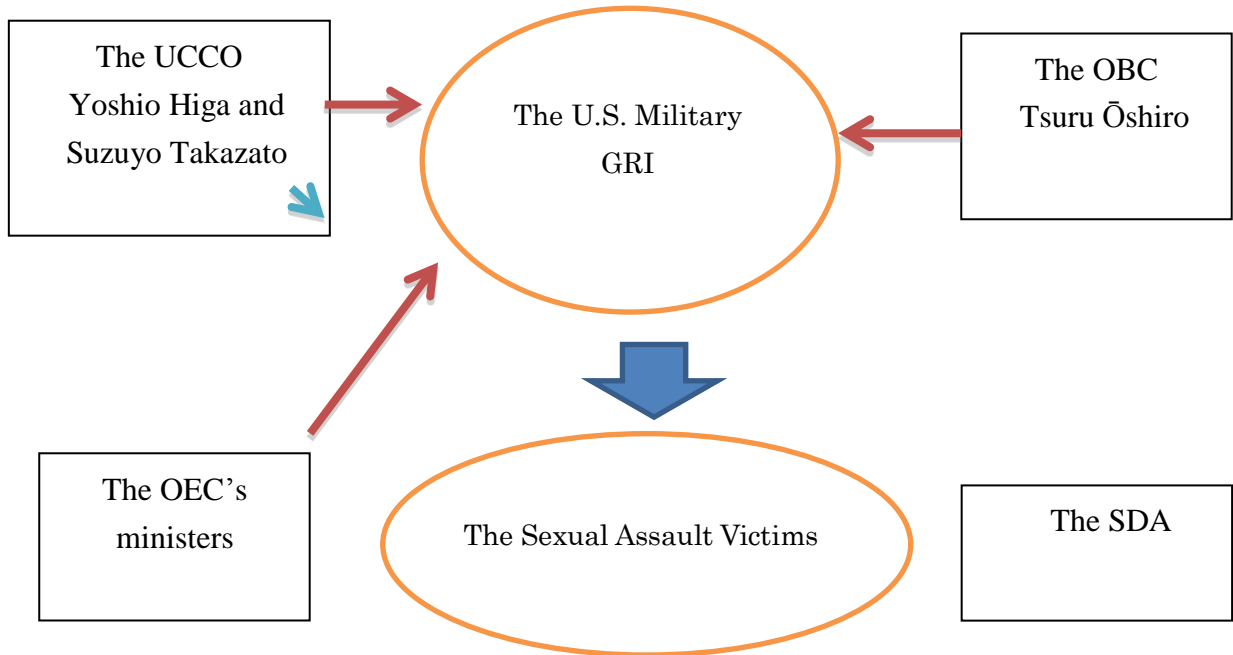
Year	Name	Response to the Sexual Assault Issue
1945	Yoshio Higa	Refused to make public prostitution place
1955	Yumiko-chan Incident	Six year old girl was raped and killed by the U.S. military serviceman.
1950s	Tsuru Ōshiro	Requested to establish Prostitution prevention measures
1967	Suzuyo Takazato	Recognition of the seriousness of the sexual crime issue
		
1995	REICO	Suzuyo Takazato established the Rape Emergency Intervention Counseling Center Okinawa (RECO)

Fig. 6.1: Christians' Response to the Sexual Assault Issue



Remarks:

- Protest against the U.S. military Authority for the sexual assault crime
- Recognition of the need to assist the sexual assault victims
- ↓ Violation of human dignity of Okinawa women by the U.S. military

6.6. Conclusion

After WWII, Okinawa women's human dignity had been violated by sexual assault crimes that were committed by the U.S. military servicemen. The victims and their families had been in agony of psychological trauma, feeling self-denial to the point of losing hope for the recovery of their human dignity. Some Christians in Okinawa spoke out against the sexual assault incidents by accusing criminal suspects, though

Okinawans had no legal measures for engaging in court battles, because of the infringement upon the citizens' rights and human dignity by the U.S. military authority. However, since Christian protests of the sexual assault issues were kept on a personal level, their voices were not developed to the point of becoming church protest movements.

It was apparent that those Christians in Okinawa who protested against the issues maintained a theology of social justice, without having eschatological perspectives because they failed to take into consideration the human dignity of the victims. They failed to stay present to the pain of the psychological trauma of the victims. It was 1995, (forty years after the 1955 Yumiko-chan incident), when Okinawa Christian activist, Suzuyo Takazato established REICO, where they took a comprehensive approach toward assisting victims. As it was apparent to them that the complete recovery of victims' human dignity would be accomplished at the end of the World, REICO's ministry maintained an eschatological perspective.

Though Christians in Okinawa did not hold an eschatological perspective for responding to the sexual assault issue during the period of the U.S. administration, the next generation Christian leader for assisting the victims, Suzuyo Takazato had been nurtured in the Okinawa socio-political context in the 1960s.

7. The Hansen's Disease Issue

In Okinawa, Hansen's disease sufferers were discriminated as social outcasts, because the people feared the disease's highly infectious nature. When a family member contracted Hansen's disease, all members of the family were exposed to discrimination by the community. During the period of the U.S. military administration of Okinawa, the U.S. military authority issued an ordinance which demanded the segregation of the Hansen's disease sufferers from the rest of the public in order to protect, primarily U.S. military personnel. Thus, the dignity of persons with Hansen's disease was not respected, since the ordinance's primary purpose was not protecting the disease sufferers but rather the U.S. military personnel.

Though the sufferers had been placed under a helpless situation in society, Christians stood up to assist them. Before WWII, Episcopalian Christians started a ministry for the Hansen's disease sufferers in Okinawa under the leadership of Hannah Riddell (1855-1932), the founder of the Episcopalian hospital for the Hansen's disease sufferers in Kumamoto Japan. During the years from 1941 to 1951, the UCCJ's ministers shepherded the Episcopalian congregation at the Airakuen Hansen's disease sanatorium, because the Episcopalian Church could not send ministers to Okinawa. From 1951 to the year of Okinawa's reversion to Japan in 1972, the Episcopalian Church in the U.S.A.

took ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Okinawa Episcopalian congregation.

Even though the Hansen's disease sufferers had survived under the prejudiced eyes of society, those Christians who helped the Hansen's disease sufferers regarded them, not as social outcasts, but as God-created human beings. Christians among the disease victims, and those who helped them developed a dialectical relationship, because those who helped the patients were influenced by them to devote themselves to serving the sufferers all their lives.

Based on the historical context of the Hansen's disease ministry in Okinawa, the purpose of this chapter is to explore the social justice and future hope, theme of this dissertation, by reviewing how Christians in Okinawa were associated with the Hansen's disease issue. To achieve this, the chapter will first probe the socio-political context, secondly, the Hansen's disease issue itself, thirdly how Christians in Okinawa responded to the Hansen's disease issue, and finally, the theology of social justice with an eschatological perspective on the Hansen's disease issue.

7.1. Socio-Political Context

One year after WWII, the U.S. military government commanded segregation of the Hansen's disease sufferers by issuing Directives No. 115 and 116, both dated 8

February 1946. Article 1 of No. 115 declared:

It is directed that all proven cases of leprosy shall be segregated at the Leprosarium on Yagaichi Shima, now in the process of rehabilitation. All lepers brought in to Military Government medical activities shall be transferred without delay to the Nago Dispensary for transportation to Yagachi Shima by that activity.¹³⁵

The Article 2 of the No. 116 declares:

No individual is permitted to visit Yagachi Shima without specific authorization of the Deputy Commander for Military Government. Trespassers are subject to severe disciplinary action.¹³⁶

Based on both Articles, Okinawans stricken with the disease were segregated from society, including their families, regardless of gender and age. It was clear that breaking off relationships with significant others would have caused difficulties such as mental disorders. As Article 1 of Directive No. 116 declared, “The segregation of lepers is deemed necessary for the protection of American garrison personnel on Okinawa, as well as the Okinawans themselves...,”¹³⁷ the Article did not include consideration for Okinawan Hansen’s disease sufferers.

On 26 August 1961, the GRI issued the Leprosy Disease Prevention Act,¹³⁸ which

¹³⁵ Gekkan Okinawa Sha ed, *Laws and Regulations During the U.S. Administration of Okinawa 1945-1972 (Book 3)* (Okinawa: Ikemiya Shokai & Co., 1983) 216.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Okinawa ken Yūna Kyōkai [Okinawa Prefecture Yūna Kyōkai], “The Leprosy Disease Prevention Act,” April 15, 2013 <<http://www.yuunakyokai.jp/about1.html>>.

authorized ambulatory treatment for respecting the human rights of the Hansen's disease sufferers. The World Health Organization (WHO) declared that "Today, the diagnosis and treatment of leprosy is easy, and most endemic countries are striving to fully integrate the Hansen's disease services into existing general health services."¹³⁹ Okinawa preceded Japan by thirty years for treatment of the victims of Hansen's disease in terms of respecting the human rights of patients, because the Japanese Government continued enforcing a segregation policy in the 1960s. It was in April 1996, that the Government of Japan abrogated the Leprosy Disease Prevention Act.

7.2. The Hansen's Disease Issue in Okinawa

The real problem of the Okinawa Hansen's disease issue during the U.S. administration was the lack of respect for the human dignity of the disease victims. As the U.S. military government held responsibility by law for the medical treatment of the Hansen's disease sufferers before the establishment of the GRI in 1952, (because of the contagiousness of the disease), Article I. of Directive 116 can be regarded as the law that violated the human dignity of the Hansen's disease patients. Article I stated:

¹³⁹ World Health Organization, "Leprosy elimination," 15 April 2013 <[http:// www.who.int/lep/en/](http://www.who.int/lep/en/)>.

The segregation of lepers is deemed necessary for the protection of American garrison personnel on Okinawa, as well as the Okinawans themselves...¹⁴⁰

The first priority of the law was to segregate the Hansen's disease sufferers from society, not providing treatment for them except to protect U.S. military personnel. Judging from the perspective of respecting human dignity, it was apparent that the U.S. military government used the law to justify treating the sufferers themselves as the disease.

Another hard fact of the Okinawan Hansen's disease issue was in the way the victims themselves faced the reality of the Okinawa socio-political situation, because of social prejudice and severe persecution. Kazuo Saikawa (1918-2007), a doctor at Okinawa Airakuen, the state sanatorium for the patients, commented that:

In Okinawa, when a family had a Hansen's disease sufferer, society looked upon all members of the victim's family with prejudiced eyes. Therefore, the whole family had an unnecessary fear of what the people in the society were thinking.¹⁴¹

Saikawa Kazuo's comment represented the seriousness of prejudice of Okinawan society against the members of the disease victim's family. How did they overcome

¹⁴⁰ Gekkan Okinawa Sha ed, *Laws and Regulations During the U.S. Administration of Okinawa 1945-1972 (Book 3)* (Okinawa: Ikemiya Shokai & Co., 1983) 217.

¹⁴¹ Shinjō Takashi ed, *Seikoukai Okinawa Senkyō Shōshi [Episcopal Church - Okinawa Episcopla Church's Short History]* (Okinawa: Diocese of Okinawa, Nippon Sei Kō Kai, 1989) 33.

these realities? How did Christians respond to the Hansen's disease issue?

7.3. Christians' Response to the Hansen's Disease Issue

Christians' response to the Hansen's disease issue may be reviewed from two categorized perspectives of those Christians who served the Hansen's disease sufferers, such as the staff of Airakuen sanatorium, church ministers, and a visiting lecturer. This included Christians, such as Episcopalian ministers who contracted the disease while working with the Hansen's disease sufferers. Though the relationship between the two groups could be classified into many social categories, such as a relationship between a giver and a recipient, or a Hansen's disease sufferer and a doctor; the response to the Hansen's disease issue is best examined from the Christian viewpoint that transcends the social classification. Then how did Christians transcend the social relationship between the Hansen's disease sufferers and those Christians who served them?

In order to understand clearly how Christians responded to the Hansen's disease issue, it is necessary to review the pre-WWII history of the Episcopalian Church's Hansen's disease ministry along with the UCCJ, by referring to the chronological table below, prior to examining the Hansen's disease ministry during the period of the U.S. administration.

7.1: Table of the Hansen's disease Ministry

Year	Name	Activity
1915	Maibara Seiji	Sent to Okinawa from Episcopal Kaishun Hospital for the Hansen's disease sufferers in Kumamoto to survey the Hansen's disease condition.
1927	Aoki Eisai	Assigned as a permanent basis ministry
1932	Arashiyama Jiken (Riot)	Haneji village people raised a riot to oppose the construction of the state sanatorium at Arashiyama.
1935	MTL	Four denominations established the Mission to Lepers (MLT), the Hansen's disease sufferer's relief association.
1938	Airakuen	Okinawa Airakuen, the state sanatorium for the Hansen's disease sufferers, was established.
1941	UCCJ	All Protestant Churches in Japan including Okinawa were unified by the Government of Empire of Japan.
1942	Airakuen Kōseikai	UCCJ took jurisdiction over Airakuen Kōseikai, Episcopalian congregation at Airakuen.
1945	WWII	End of WWII
1946	Higa Seijin OCA	Higa Seijin shepherded the Airakuen Kōseikai congregation. Okinawa Christians Association was established which developed to form the denomination of the UCCO in 1950.
	Directive No. 116.	Established Directive No.116 for segregation of Hansen's disease suffers by the U.S. Military Government.
1949	ECUSA	The Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. decided to take jurisdiction over the Episcopalian congregation in Okinawa.
1950	UCCO	The UCCO was established.
1951	ECUSA Missionaries	ECUSA's missionaries, Godfrey N.B. and William C. Heffner arrived in Okinawa.
	Jurisdiction Issue	A conference of ministers of the UCCO and OEC decided that the OEC took jurisdiction over the Airakuen congregation.
	House of Prayer Church, Airakuen	House of Prayer Church Aiakuen of the OEC was established.
1957	Yanaihara Tadao	Visited Airakuen
1958	All Soul's Church	OEC's English speaking church was established.
1961	Leprosy	GRI issued a Leprosy Prevention Law, which authorized

	Prevention Law	ambulatory treatment of the Hansen's disease.
1968	The Missionary Diocese of Okinawa	The Missionary Diocese of Okinawa was established by installing Edmond L. Browning as the first bishop
1969	Resolution	The Resolution of Full Citizenship Status, as provided by the Japanese Constitution for the people of Okinawa was adopted.
1972	Reversion to Japan	

7.3.1. The Episcopal Church's Ministry for Hansen's Disease Sufferers before WWII

It was in 1915 when Hannah Riddle, a missionary of the Church Mission Society (CMS) and the director of the Kaishun Hospital for the Hansen's disease sufferers in Kumamoto Japan, asked the Episcopalian Priest, Seiji Maibara to survey the living conditions of Hansen's disease sufferers in Okinawa. Maibara devoted himself to surveying, by serving disease victims on the streets who had been driven from society and from their families because of contracting the disease.¹⁴² Relief workers sent by Riddle encouraged victims to survive during this period. Though Maibara and Shinjaku Kishina came to Okinawa again in 1916, they were forced to leave because they encountered persecution from the village people on Iejima, (Ie Island). In 1924 and in 1926, a priest, Takuya Arato came to Okinawa and visited Nago-Cho (Town),

¹⁴² Shinjō Takashi ed, *Seikoukai Okinawa Senkyō Shōshi [Episcopal Church - Okinawa Episcopla Church's Short History]* (Okinawa: Diocese of Okinawa, Nippon Sei Kō Kai, 1989) 33.

Motobu-Cho (Town), Ōgimi-Son (Village), Haneji-Son (Village), Kin-Son (Village), Nakagami-Gun (County), and Naha-Shi (City) where he tried to start missions, but it resulted in little success because it was a short-term stay for only two months.

For achieving Riddle's requirement of a permanent ministry for the Hansen's disease sufferers in Okinawa, Aoki Eisai was sent to Okinawa on 2 March 1927. The next year, Episcopalian, Father Otobe Kanji came to Okinawa and held worship services and administered Holy Communion to the Hansen's disease sufferers and beggars. During his one-year stay in Okinawa, approximately twenty of the forty Hansen's disease sufferers were baptized. Every year during Lent, a priest from the Kaishun Hospital for the Hansen's disease suffers in Kumamoto came to Okinawa to officiate Lord's Suppers, and administer Baptisms at Kunigami-Gun (County) and Yagaji-Son (Village).¹⁴³ During that period, Aoki visited more than two-hundred fifty Hansen's disease sufferers, of whom one hundred twenty were baptized.

In March 1932, though the Okinawa Prefectural authority started to construct a sanatorium for the disease victims at Yagaji, Haneji-Son (Village), Kunigami-Gun (County) by purchasing 70,408 tsubo of land (232,748 square meters), the people of the village strongly opposed the project.¹⁴⁴ They protested on the grounds that the place

¹⁴³ Shinjō Takashi ed, *Seikoukai Okinawa Senkyō Shōshi* 36.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

was the source of water for the villages of Haneji and Nakijin. The village people's protests developed into riots, where they hindered the sanatorium construction and held protest rallies. During this difficult period, an Episcopalian minister spoke out. Itadori Tokuyama claimed:

Though three thousand Hansen's disease sufferers desired the establishment of a sanatorium, their dependence on the people had resulted in their being betrayed and left hopeless. Thus, for expecting the establishment of a sanatorium, we should start a love movement by looking up only to God, and call on the Okinawan people to reflect on their past conduct...¹⁴⁵

Tokuyama's claim contained a strong belief in the public dimension of faith and expected the Okinawan people's reflection. He believed that the establishment of the sanatorium could not be done by the people alone, but by God through faith. A half-year later in 1935, a priest, Otobe Kanji showed his mission vision by taking a holistic approach in the same Weekly Report. He claimed:

It is necessary to review the salvation of all Okinawan people in order to assure the salvation of the Okinawan Hansen's disease sufferers...Their salvation should be directed through: (1) politics, (2) industries, (3) education, (4) medical care, and (5) faith. The salvation of the Hansen's disease sufferers cannot be achieved by separating the salvation of the spirit from that of the body. We should preach the Gospel, and at the same time, save the body of a Hansen's disease sufferer.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Shinjō Takashi ed, *Seikoukai Okinawa Senkyō Shōshi* 40.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

Otabe's claim expressed both dimensions of personal and public understanding for saving the Okinawan people. Therefore, his understanding of mission did not only focus on salvation of the individual soul, but also on the salvation of the society. Aoki transferred his own private colony for the Hansen's disease sufferers to the government sanatorium. His work identified with Otabe's theological understanding for the public dimension.

During this period, Okinawan Churches such as Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai (Presbyterian), Methodist, Baptist, and Salvation Army stood up for helping Hansen's disease sufferers by establishing the MTL in 1935. They helped the disease-stricken by building a small house for them in Nago-Cho (Town), while they awaited the establishment of the national sanatorium. However, when the village people burned down the house, they had to escape to an uninhabited island.¹⁴⁷

Okinawan Christians' action for helping the Hansen's disease sufferers, even when they encountered persecution from the people of Haneji-Son (Village), represented their theological understanding from a comprehensive perspective, because they proceeded with their mission service, with the prefectural government, without focusing only on the salvation of the individual soul. In the post war period, how was the heritage of this

¹⁴⁷ Shinjō Takashi ed, *Seikoukai Okinawa Senkyō Shōshi* 41.

comprehensive mission work for helping the Hansen's disease sufferers handed down to the next generation?

7.3.2. Mission Service for Hansen's Disease Sufferers in the Early Stage of the Post War Period

When the Pacific War started in 1941, the Episcopalian mission work for Hansen's disease victims was disrupted because they could not send a minister to Okinawa. During this period, the UCCJ carried on the mission work for the Hansen's disease patients in Airakuen sanatorium.¹⁴⁸ After WWII, though Christians of Okinawa continued the Hansen's disease mission for patients of Airakuen, they encountered the church jurisdictional issue concerning the Airakuen congregation because the ECUSA had decided to send an American missionary to Okinawa for taking jurisdiction over Okinawa in response to the requirement of the Episcopal Church of Japan (Nippon Sei Ko Kai, hereafter NSKK) in 1949.

For solving the problem of jurisdiction over Airakuen, the representatives of Okinawan churches met in September 1951. These included: AMC's missionaries, Otis W. Bell and Rickard C. Harold, Yoshio Higa of the UCCO, Harlan Woodruff of the Church of Christ, and representatives of the OEC, Priests Canon N. Godfrey, William

¹⁴⁸ Okinawa Christian Council, *Okinawa Kirisutokyo Shiryō [The Historical Material of Christianity of Okinawa]* (Okinawa: Inochino Kotobasha, 1973) 202-203.

Heffner, and Goichi Nakayama.¹⁴⁹ They came to the conclusion that the OEC would take jurisdiction over the Airakuen in honor of the fact that the worship meetings had been led by Aoki, and with due respect for the ecclesiastical tradition from the Episcopalian Kaishun Hospital.¹⁵⁰ It was clear that the decision of the meeting reflected the strong intention of Aoki and Tokuda, as “Aoki asked Tokuda to tell missionary Otis Bell and other ministers of the UCCO that ‘we want to be off the back of Hannah Riddle since you are the church court member and the chair of the resident association.’”¹⁵¹

As a priest William A. Hio stated, “The original primary goal of the first two missionaries (Canon N. Godfrey, William Heffner) was to provide sacraments to the small group of Hansen’s disease sufferers in Airakuen,”¹⁵² the conclusion of the meeting allowed a blessing to come upon the OEC.

Then, how did the Airakuen congregation proceed with the mission service for the Hansen’s disease sufferers by observing the Episcopal tradition? Aoki Eisai commented, “Though Rev. Danjirō Hattori, a minister of the UCCJ came to Airakuen for preaching every Sunday, baptisms were held by the Episcopalian Church.”¹⁵³ Hattori’s comments

¹⁴⁹ Okinawa Christian Council, *Okinawa Kirisutokyo Shiryō* 203.

¹⁵⁰ Ishikawa, *Okinawa Kirisuto Kyōshi – Haijo to Yōnin no Kiseki* 438.

¹⁵¹ Shinjō Takashi, ed. *Seikoukai Okinawa Senkyō Shōshi* 68.

¹⁵² William A. Hio, 34. The author adds (Canon N. Godfrey, William Heffner).

¹⁵³ Aoki Eisai, Watanabe Nobuo eds. *Erabareta Shima [Elected Islands]* (Tokoy: Sinkyo Syuppan Sha, 1972) 292.

and the conclusion of the meeting, in which the leadership of Aoki for the worship was confirmed, indicated that they had been observing worship services based on the directory of the Episcopalian Church.

What Aoki mentioned meant that Hattori came to Airakuen just for preaching (as a visiting preacher) at worship services that had been arranged by an Episcopalian congregation. Therefore, there was no doubt that the Episcopalian tradition had been observed. Nobuo Watanabe (b.1923), an editor of Eisai Aoki's book entitled "*Erabareta Shima* (Elected Islands)", commented, "Aoki affirmed loyalty to the Episcopalian Church, and tried to demand Episcopalian standing in the ministry for the Hansen's disease sufferers."¹⁵⁴ For reviewing the ministry of the OEC for the Hansen's disease sufferers, examining the OEC's ministry development after the meeting is required.

7.3.3. The Episcopal Church Ministry for Hansen's Disease Sufferers in the Post War Period

On 21 March 1951, both Canon N. Godfrey and William Heffner, American Episcopal priests, came to Okinawa. On 29 April of the same year, the first Episcopalian worship service was held at the chapel on the U.S. military Oroku base with the attendance of Okinawan Episcopalian Luke Chōsin Kabira, his mother Tsuru and his

¹⁵⁴ Aoki Eisai, Watanabe Nobuo eds. *Erabareta Shima*, 292.

son. In June of the same year, both priests visited Airakuen because they were informed before coming to Okinawa that there were Episcopalian believers in Airakuen.¹⁵⁵

On 28 February 1952, Priest Godfrey baptized thirty-two members at the House of Prayer Church in Airakuen, as the first OEC's baptism ceremony. On February 1953, the OEC installed Father Kim as Priest, in charge of the House of Prayer Church in Airakuen and of St. John's Church, Nago-Cho (Town). On 2 November 1954, Teruo Kimoto was ordained as a priest by the Bishop Hinsuke Yashiro of the NSKK. This was the first ordination in Okinawa after the war. Since the House of Prayer Church, Airakuen, (established on 1 November 1953), was the first Episcopalian Church in Okinawa, it was clear that care for Hansen's disease sufferers played a significant part of their ministries.

The NSKK's Bishop Yashiro Hinsuke (1900-1970), remembered Priest Kimoto's dedication to helping the Hansen's disease victims. Though Kimoto was distinguished as the first minister sent from the NSKK after WWII, Yashiro reveals deeper insights about Kimoto's character and ministry, saying:

By the presence of Priest Kimoto, we recognize clearly the gospel of Christ...When we think of him; we have a keener impression that we have saved by the blood of Christ on the cross.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Shinjō Takashi ed, *Seikoukai Okinawa Senkyō Shōshi* 50.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

Yashiro's comment confirmed Kimoto's uncommon dedication to the Hansen's disease sufferers. He also contributed to promoting the patients' rehabilitation to society with activities; watching movies twice a month (borrowed from cultural halls), and collecting contributions for a car for driving practice. Why was Kimoto committed to the disease victims' rehabilitation to society, though they had been segregated by law at the leprosarium? From the theological perspective, a review of the meaning of their segregation from society will be examined based on the social context of Okinawa.

7.3.4. Tadao Yanaihara in Okinawa

In 1957, the OTU, and University of the Ryukyus invited Tadao Yanaihara (1893-1961), President of the University of Tokyo, as a lecturer of the Okinawa teachers' training meetings. As he was asked whether he wished something special for the trip or not, he made a twofold proposal; (1) to not treat him with wine, and (2) to arrange a visit to Airakuen. So, it was Yanaihara's own requirement to visit Airakuen. His lecture title at University of the Ryukyus was "the World, Okinawa, and University of the Ryukyus."¹⁵⁷ In conclusion, he advised the student audience to, "Recognize their own responsibility for contributing to world peace and happiness, not only for Okinawa

¹⁵⁷ Yanaihara Tadao, *Syuchō to Zuisō Sekai to Nihon to Okinawa ni tsuite [Thesis and Collection of Essays on the World, Japan and Okinawa]* (Tokyo: the University of Tokyo Press, 1957) 200.

itself, but for the world.”¹⁵⁸ For the teachers’ training meetings, Yanaihara lectured for three days on the subjects: “Educational Fundamental Issues,” “Post-War Educational Philosophy,” and “Post-War Ethnic Reconstruction and Education” (on 17, 18, and 19 January 1957, respectively).¹⁵⁹ On 19 January, Yanaihara lectured at Airakuen¹⁶⁰ on “Love,”¹⁶¹ based on theological perspectives, and in contrast with the lectures at the OTU’s training conferences, in which he discussed the issue of the Hansen’s disease sufferers without relating to political issues. He regarded the sanatorium for the Hansen’s disease sufferers as a microcosm of the larger society with the same kinds of problems, such as power struggles, conflicts of interest, the gap between the rich and the poor, and love affairs.¹⁶² Yanaihara might have been convinced that the sanatorium for the Hansen’s disease sufferers was not only a place for the patients for whom “ordinary” people felt sympathy, but a place for all the people, including the Hansen’s disease sufferers for whom the redemption of Jesus Christ was needed. Yanaihara believed, “Even in such a small and tight space of the sanatorium, when a person who lived a whole life with thanks and hope by loving and serving each other, his or her whole life would be more satisfactory and valuable than any other politicians, poets, and men of

¹⁵⁸ Yanaihara Tadao, *Syuchō to Zuisō Sekai to Nihon to Okinawa ni tsuite* 228-229.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 230-306.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 307-318.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 307.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 314.

letters who were active in a wide social context.”¹⁶³

Yanaihara asked the patients to live, not as a Hansen’s disease sufferer, but as an ordinary member of society by faith. Then how did Okinawan Christians accept Yanaihara’s theological understandings at this period, when the land confiscation issue and the sexual assault incidents occurred? It was clear, unfortunately, that Okinawan Christians did not understand the theological meaning of Yanaihara’s lectures, nor did they apply the teachings toward solving the Okinawan social issues, (as the Okinawan teachers did during that period).

None of the Christians of the Okinawan churches felt enthusiastic about the importance of Yanaihara’s prophetic messages, except Christians in Airakuen. The OBC did introduce one of Yanaihara’s lectures on the first page of its monthly periodical, *the Okinawa Baputesuto* (Okinawa Baptist) February 1957 Issue, (devoting almost a half-page). It was a lecture that Yanaihara had delivered at the Naha Commerce High School. However, the OBC did not present a comprehensive understanding of the lecture by relating it to any specific Okinawan social issues. The headline was simply, “World Peace and the Salvation of People”. It was clear that they perceived Yanaihara’s lecture as a message for an individual person, but not for

¹⁶³ Yanaihara Tadao, *Syuchō to Zuisō Sekai to Nihon to Okinawa ni tsuite* 316.

society.¹⁶⁴

How did the OEC and the UCCO perceive Yanaihara's lectures? The UCCO did not make any reference to Yanaihara's lectures in their periodicals or commemorative publications, except the reference on the chronological table of *the Okinawa Kirisutokyō Shiryō* of the Okinawa Christian Council with the words, "1 January 1957, Yanaihara Tadao arrived (for lectures to the OTC)."¹⁶⁵ The reference indicated that Yanaihara's lectures were only for the Christians at Airakuen, though he claimed Christians' responsibility for social issues.

7.3.5. Airakuen Staff' Response to the Hansen's Disease Issue

How did Christians in the Airakuen sanatorium live at the time of the segregation policy that was effective in the 1950s? Though they were segregated from the larger society, they lived in the midst of a community of faith. Utako Ishihara stated that:

The spirit for serving people, society, and God by being filled with true love that pleases God and a person, should be disciplined through faith...When Airakuen children go out into society, we pray that they will be with God all the time, and be united with people and God as a good vessel of society.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Okinawa Baptist Convention, "Yanaihara Sōchō Raitō [President Yanaihara Visited the Island]," *Okinawa Baputesuto [Okinawa Baptist]*. 20 (1957): 1.

¹⁶⁵ Okinawa Christian Council. *Okinawa Kirisutokyo Shiryō* 103.

¹⁶⁶ Okinawa Episcopal Church, "Shokan [Personal Comments]," *Okinawa Seikōkai Jihō [The Episcopal Mission News of Okinawa]* 39 (1958): 8.

Ishihara's comment testifies that she lived in the midst of society by faith even though Airakuen had been segregated from the society. Hers is the expression not of complaints but, rather of joy and hope. She was not discouraged by the isolation of Airakuen from mainline society, but expressed appreciation to the society with a song.

Airakuen, as its name indicates, is a paradise of love and comfort. Airakuen is upheld with sponsorship of all the people of the world...¹⁶⁷

Ishihara's song was praising God in the midst of her difficulty. She must have meant more than rhetoric, as Airakuen was founded after experiencing prejudice from the people of the local community in 1930s.

During the period of the U.S. military government administration of Okinawa, the Christian staff's care through their conduct of medical service for the patients at Airakuen differed from the medical service at general hospitals, because there, the people were frightened of the disease, and detested the Hansen's disease patients. In 1944, Dr. Saikawa Kazuo, who came to the Aiseien sanatorium for Lepers in Okayama Prefecture as a doctor, attended their worship services, as he wanted to befriend them. Looking back to this period he commented that:

¹⁶⁷ Okinawa Episcopal Church, "Shokan [Personal Comments]," Okinawa Seikōkai Jihō [The Episcopal Mission News of Okinawa] 39 (1958): 8.

At the time when Hansen's disease was regarded as a pernicious disease, sufferers were destined to die by facing a heartrending situation of sickness throughout the whole body; yet they were filled with thanks for the salvation of their souls by praying for the purification of the body at the time of the Second Coming of Christ and the resurrection. They were full of peace and thanks for having received eternal life because their exalted souls captured the real meaning of calamity...I am driven to confess that I have been supported by these authentic prayers throughout my career as a doctor for the Hansen's disease sufferers that spanned over forty years.¹⁶⁸

Though, as a doctor, he had been treating the patients, Saikawa confessed that he had been uplifted by the sufferers to whom he administered medical treatment. His dialectic theological understanding convinced him that his forty plus years as a doctor could neither have occurred nor continued without his communion through faith with the Christian sufferers. That communion enabled both, the doctor and patient to transcend the typical relationship between them, as the care-giver, and as the persons cared for.

How did Yoshiko Chinen, an Okinawan Christian nurse for the Hansen's disease patients, establish her theological understanding through her career as a nurse at Airakuen? While working at Airakuen as a nurse from May 1938, she had had many brushes with death, along with many of approximately nine hundred patients she served

¹⁶⁸ Saikawa Kazuo, *Mon wa Hirakare te - Raii no Higan Yonjyūnen no Michi [The Gate is Open, Medical Doctor's Ardent Wish]* (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobo, 1988) 116-117.

during the war.¹⁶⁹ In spite of her experiences, she recognized that:

The war inflicted more heavy sacrifices on the lives of women and ailing patients, particularly the Hansen's disease sufferers who had been abominably treated and segregated from society, even beyond that of some who engaged in war.¹⁷⁰

Her comment was based on her war experience. Chinen mentioned that, at the time of the so called, "great 10 October air-raid" in 1944, the main urban areas of Naha City and the southern region were devastated, and-Airakuen's main facilities of medical and treatment wards were almost destroyed in a fire.¹⁷¹ In the spring of 1945 when Okinawa was under imminent danger of war, the nursing staff of Airakuen had to risk their lives to deliver medicine to more than ten hiding caves where approximately nine-hundred patients were hiding.¹⁷²

Why did Chinen decide to remain at Airakuen after having experienced the above-mentioned deadly situation? After the war, one of the Hansen's disease sufferers, who could not easily turn a page of the Bible, said to her, "Though we have been given sufferings and distress in this world, we will be given grace when we go to heaven."¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District ed, *27 do sen no Minami kara-Okinawa kirisutosha no Shōgen [From the South of the Northern Latitude of 27 Degrees-Witness of Okinawan Christians]*. (Tokyo: The Board of Publications The United Church of Christ in Japan, 1971). 96-99.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 103.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 96.

¹⁷² Ibid., 98.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 101.

It was her words that made Chinen decide to stay at Airakuen. She shared an eschatological understanding with the Hansen's disease patient, just as Dr. Saikawa did at Aiseien sanatorium.

7.3.6. Hansen's Disease Christians' Response to the Hansen's Disease Issue

How did Christians with Hansen's disease overcome it? Kazuo Saikawa, a Christian doctor and director of Airakuen expressed his condolences at the funeral service for Tokuda Yūsuke. He said:

Tokuda used to say, "I knew God for the first time when I developed Hansen's disease."¹⁷⁴

Through the disease, Tokuda found the theological meaning of life. Tokuda's confession recalled the story, (recorded in the eighth chapter of Matthew) where Jesus Christ, heals a man with Hansen's disease, and Jesus says to him, "See that you don't tell anyone. But go, show yourself to the priest and offer the gift Moses commanded as a testimony to them."¹⁷⁵

Tokuda had lived in Okinawan society just as the Leper of the Biblical account, had

¹⁷⁴ Shinjō Takashi, *Kaitakusha tachi no omokage Okinawa Seikōkai no Senkyōsha [Shadows of Pioneers, Missionaries to Okinawa Episcopal Church]* (Okinawa: Okinawa Diocese Nippon Sei Kō Kai, 2005) 62.

¹⁷⁵ NRSV. Matthew 8:4.

shown himself to the priest in the Jewish community. Tokuda chose to live as a minister of the Episcopalian Church, as did Aoki Eisai after both of them were ordained as deacons in September 1966 by Bishop H.S. Kennedy. Bishop C.P. Gilson said in the sermon at the ordination, “It was the first ordination in the world, which authorized a man with Hansen’s disease to become a minister of the Episcopalian Church of the U.S.”¹⁷⁶

When Tokuda was ordained, he chose to help people (including the Hansen’s disease sufferers) who needed to be ministered to. However, his ordination was not really the moment authorizing Tokuda to be transformed from a recipient to a giver, because the very nature of being a Christian among society means theologically to live as a giver. Tokuda composed a tanka, a thirty-one-syllabled poem, reflecting his overarching value in life.

“This disease deprived me of everything except eternal life.”¹⁷⁷

Through this verse, Tokuda expressed his eschatological perspective. He contrasted his life, blighted by Hansen’s disease with eternal life in which he would be recovered, from his defiled soul and body.

¹⁷⁶ Shinjō Takashi, *Kaitakusha tachi no omokage* 63.

¹⁷⁷ Inorinoie Kyokai (House of the Prayer) ed. *Syu no Yō nari Ko Barunaba Tokuda Yūsuke, Ikō, Tuitō Bunsyū [The Late Priest Barunaba Tokuda Yūsuke, The Posthumous writings, Memorial Miscellany]* (Okinawa: Hokubu Kōsoku Insatsu, 1985) (Page unknown).

7.4. Theology of Social Justice with the Eschatological Perspective on the Hansen's Disease Issue

As the ECUSA started ministry for the Hansen's disease sufferers by sending two missionaries, Heffner and Godfrey in 1951, their theology of social justice with an eschatological perspective will be examined, firstly, based on the following Article 21 concerning Social Justice in the BCP. Secondly, their eschatological understanding will be confirmed through the example of the Episcopalian Church members, who devoted themselves in ministry to the Hansen's disease sufferers.

Article 21 For Social Justice

Almighty God, who hast created us in thine own image: Grant us grace fearlessly to contend against evil and to make no peace with oppression; and, that we may reverently use our freedom, help us to employ it in the maintenance of justice in our communities and among the nations, to the glory of the holy Name; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, now and forever. Amen.¹⁷⁸

In the light of the social justice definition of Article 21 that specifies the OEC's ministry to the Hansen's disease sufferers at Airakuen, it was apparent that the OEC held to the social justice perspective. Article 21 defined the social justice perspective based on the confrontational relationship between the church and the evil, oppressive authorities. Therefore, Christians were expected to contend fearlessly with these

¹⁷⁸ Episcopal Church, "The Book of Common Prayer."

authorities. It was apparent that the Okinawan people's prejudice toward Hansen's disease sufferers and the U.S. military's insensitive exercise of authority over them were perceived as identical with the evil and oppressive authorities, because they infringed on the human dignity of the sick.

How did both the Christians with Hansen's disease and other Christians who helped the victims maintain their eschatological perspective? As previously noted, both of them built a dialectical relationship with each other. The doctors and nurses who helped the Hansen's disease patients were convinced to serve them all of their lives. This was due to their experience of being so deeply moved by the sufferers' eschatological hope.

7.5. Conclusion

As described previously, Hannah Riddell, a missionary of the CMS and the founder of the Episcopalian Kaishun Hospital, started the mission for the Hansen's disease sufferers in Okinawa in 1915. Okinawan Christians took a stand to help the diseased, by establishing the MTL, an interdenominational association in 1935. When the Episcopalian Church of Japan could not send a minister to the Episcopalian congregation at Airakuen, because the Pacific War broke out in 1941, the UCCJ began assisting the Airakuen congregation under Danjirō Hattori, (a pastor of the UCCJ until

his return to the mainland Japan in 1944). After the war, the OCA's Minister, Seijin Higa shepherded the Airakuen congregation from 1946 until the ECUSA took jurisdiction over the OEC in 1951.

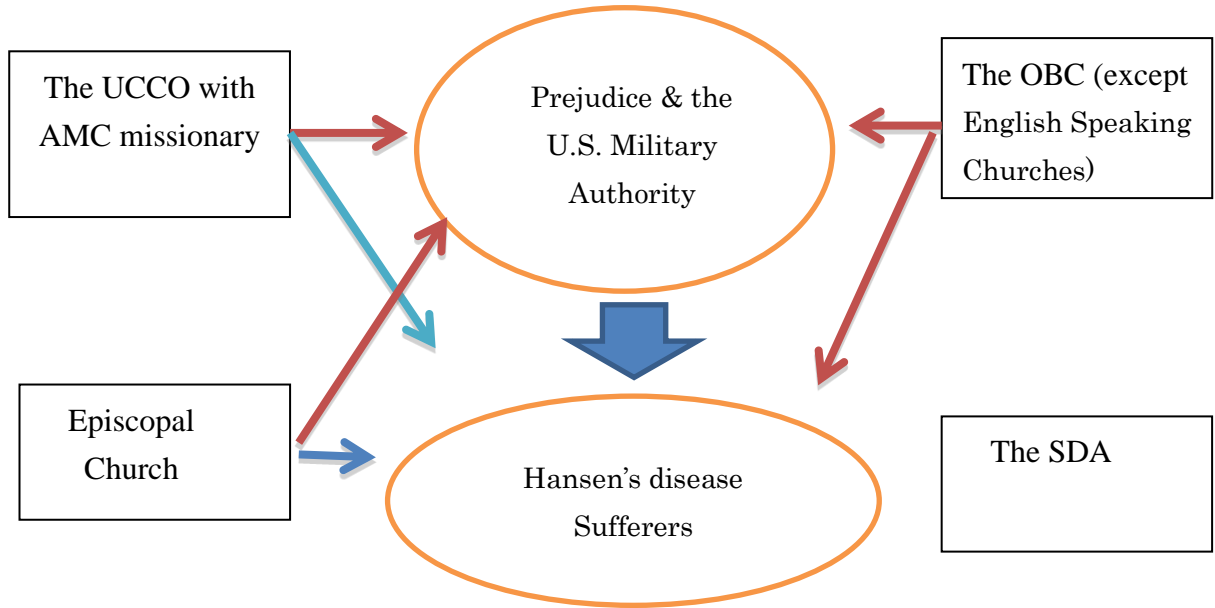
The Christian doctors and nursing staff of Airakuen also devoted themselves to providing medical treatment for the Hansen's disease patients. Therefore, the history of the ministry for the Hansen's disease sufferers proved that, though they had been despised as social outcasts because of fear of the contagiousness of the disease, Christians from the denominations took responsibility to shepherd the Airakuen congregation and provide treatments.

Though Christian Hansen's disease sufferers had been segregated from mainline society, they still encouraged the staff of the sanatorium by bringing meaning into their lives. This came from the health workers' realization that they were being prayed for by the patients. The patients' prayers ushered the staff into the life of the leper community. Christians who were affected by Hansen's disease expressed their eschatological understanding by praying for their complete cure at the time of the Second Coming of Christ. However, their hope was not exclusive, but, rather, inclusive based on the message of the doctrine of creation, that includes all humans in God's redemptive plan. The staff of Airakuen whose souls had been defiled by sin, could




receive the same hope as the patients, whose bodies were plagued by disease. Thus, it was the staff members as well, for whom Jesus felt sympathy for their defilements.

Both, those Christians who helped the Hansen's disease sufferers, and those Christians who were themselves stricken by the disease, devoted themselves to serving the victims. Therefore, Christians from both circumstances possessed the theological understanding of social justice with an eschatological perspective, because both helped the Hansen's disease sufferers and the socially vulnerable, by believing that the complete recovery from their disease (and from the burden of sin) will be given at the time of second coming of Christ.

Figure 7.1: Christians Response to the Hansen's Disease Issue



Remarks:

- (1)  Assistance to the socially vulnerable
- (2)  Protest against the U.S. military Authority for the human rights
- (3)  Violation of human rights of Okinawan people by the U.S. military

8. Protestant Theologies of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the Protestant theologies of social justice with an eschatological perspective of Christians in Okinawa by focusing on how Christians in Okinawa responded to the social justice issues by incorporating the three issues previously described; the land confiscation, sexual assault, and the Hansen's disease problem during the U.S. administration period.

A theological consistency between the summarized theology of this chapter, and those of the three social justice issues of the previous chapters will be confirmed by identifying the theological coherency between the two. This summarized theology focuses on describing chronologically; (1) Christians' justification of WWII, (2) their confession of war responsibility, (3) their thankfulness and eschatological hope, and finally, (4) their conviction to serve the socially vulnerable. These confessions of Christians in Okinawa have a domain that embraces the core theology of the previous three chapters.

This goal will be accomplished, starting with a review of the socio-political context, then describing the social justice issues during the U.S. administration period, followed by an analysis of how Christians responded to these issues, and concluding with the summarized theologies of social justice with an eschatological perspective of Christians

in Okinawa.

The SDA did not stand up against the U.S. military authority on the social justice issues during the U.S. administration period, so their theology on social justice issues will not be examined from the standpoint of involvement in the protests, but rather, from the content of their theology and historical heritage.

R.W. Schwarz claimed in the SDA's denominational textbook, "There was little purpose to Seventh-Day Adventists' participation in the political process."¹⁷⁹ The SDA had been under political discrimination in America throughout their history, because they maintained their belief in such practices as observing the Sabbath on Saturday, and held to a strong eschatological perspective in which they saw, "American Protestantism was becoming corrupt."¹⁸⁰ Therefore, they had kept a distance from political authority since the middle of the nineteenth century. They strongly claimed the separation between church and state. However, their history in both the U.S. and Japan should be regarded as one not of compromising, but confronting political authority by confirming their military non-combatant stance during the American Civil War, and as seen in the imprisonment of the SDA Christians during WWII in Japan.

¹⁷⁹ R.W. Schwarz, *Right Bearers to the Remnant* (Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1979) 175.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

8.1. Socio-Political Context during the U.S. Administration Period

As described in the socio-political context of Chapter II, Okinawa had been under the Cold-War structure during the whole period of the U.S. administration of Okinawa from 1945 to 1972. Since Okinawa was positioned as America's outpost in Asia, when, citizens (including Christians) spoke out against social justice issues, they were suppressed by the U.S. military authority in the name of protecting the Free World. It was an era when the U.S. military authority regarded protests against social injustices as anti-American. Therefore, it became policy to label the protester as "communist."

Okinawa social justice issues were thus rooted in the U.S. military structure during the Cold-War era. This means that Christians' responses to the issues cannot be recognized without reviewing the public dimension of their faith.

8.2. Social Justice Issues during the U.S. Administration Period

In addition to the three social justice issues, reviewed in the previous chapters, the issue of peace had been the greatest concern for Okinawan Christians, because they repented of the Japanese militarism that they had justified during WWII. Their confession of war responsibility during the war was made at the starting stage of the U.S. occupation, so Christians' responses to the social justice issues were heavily

connected to the issue of peace in Okinawa during the U.S. administration period.

A majority of Okinawa Christians kept silent on social justice issues, because they had personalized them, and they feared the suppression of the U.S. military authority. However, this chapter concludes that even though Okinawa Christians initially kept silent, they still held to the theology of social justice, because they started speaking out in public during the 1960s, having been encouraged by Osamu Taira's inauguration prayer, which was supported by both Okinawan and Japanese media.

8.3. Christians' Response to Social Justice Issues

Those Christians in Okinawa who responded to social issues were categorized into three groups. Those who expressed deep repentance for war during the decade just after WWII belonged to the first group. They were James Matthew, Antei Hiyane, Isamu Yonashiro, Chōshō Nakazato and Yoshio Higa. The second group of Christians consisted of those who spoke out on the social justice issues. These included: Otis Bell, Tadao Yanaihara, Osamu Taira, ministers of the OBC, and Edmond L. Browning. The SDA Christians belonged to the third group, based on their pioneering medical ministry which begun prior to the establishment of the integrated social welfare system in Okinawa.

8.3.1. Christian Leaders' Repentance

Just after WWII, Christians in Okinawa expressed repentance for war, and the peace-oriented characteristics of the Christian leaders were identified.

8.3.1.1. Repentance of an American Chaplain

It was James Matthews, an American chaplain, who, through his sermon in the first worship service at a relocation camp in Haneji village in 1945, kindled a peace-oriented spirit in Yoshio Higa. Matthews preached:

Human beings are all bothers. How greatly a war sadden God the Father! God's real intention for us is to make a peaceful world by getting along together. Both America and Japan went against God's intention. We sinned. As an American person, I apologize to you because you have been cornered in a desperate situation since a strong America turned out to have defeated Japan. America will be strongly committed to helping you to achieve a sound recovery. We have done wrong to God. Let America do its best for saving this Island.¹⁸¹

Matthews's sermon moved Higa, an interpreter. Higa confessed, "It was the first time for me as a Christian to interpret a pastor's sermon at church. Toward the end, I interpreted through tears. As a matter of course, Matthews preached, crying."¹⁸²

Matthews delivered the sermon in the relocation camp just after the end of the battle of

¹⁸¹ Higa Yoshio, *Watashi no Sengo Hiwa* [The Secret Story of My Post-War Life] (Okinawa: Ryukyu Bunkyo Tosho Co., 1978) 128-129.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 129.

Okinawa in July 1945.¹⁸³ It was his confession of sin to God as an American Christian. He made an apology to God for what America had done to the Okinawan people. Higa testified, “It seemed that the Holy Spirit descended, and all attendees were embraced by the warm hands of God. The narrow worship place of the tent at once fell into profound silence.”¹⁸⁴

8.3.1.2. The Repentance of Antei Hiyane, who had Justified Japanese Imperialism

Antei Hiyane (1892-1970), one of the first generation Okinawan Christians, confessed repentance at Itoman Church (of the UCCO) when he visited Okinawa as a requirement of the U.S. occupation authority in 1949.¹⁸⁵ Hiyane gave a sermon titled “Shuri Castle Collapsed.” He preached:

The day of 15 August is unforgettable for Japanese, as it was the day when we ended the sinful world war and recovered peace... After the war on 15 August, Japan set its aim toward establishing a democratic state. It goes without saying, Okinawa also has the same great vision...Shuri Castle is like dust in the wind. Let us stop sticking to Okinawa’s past indefinitely...Let us construct a new Okinawa by being born with Christianity...Okinawa at present faces a time of revolution that is more serious than the time of the abolition of the Ryukyu Kingdom. What we have been suffering is cause for the revolution.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Higa Yoshio, *Watashi no Sengo Hiwa* 125.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁸⁵ The United Church of Christ in Japan, *Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan shi shiryoshu* 306.

¹⁸⁶ Hiyane Antei, “Shurijō wa tsuburetaga [Shuri Castle Collapsed],” *Gosuperu (The Gospel)* 2 (1949):16-19.

Though Hiyane expressed the wartime responsibility in an indirect way, he showed repentance by claiming to abandon the Japan of the past, when he had been justifying Japanese imperialism. Hiyane had played a significantly important role for defending the theology of Japanese imperialism toward the world, (especially toward Asian countries), through a “Letter to the Christians in the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere from the United Church of Christ in Japan”. Thus, it was clear, in his Shuri Castle sermon, that he wanted to eradicate the theological justification stated in his former letter.

8.3.1.3. Okinawan Christian Minister’s Public Repentance for War

On 23 June 1951, the day the Battle of Okinawa ended, Isamu Yonashiro, a pastor of the OCA gave the opening prayer at the Rally for World Peace Promotion.¹⁸⁷

Yonashiro’s prayer is considered as a peace-oriented prayer with characteristics, like Matthews and Higa Yoshio, of defining the war responsibility of Okinawan Christians.

He prayed:

...As our beloved homeland has been transformed into a battlefield, spirits of our fathers and sons, brothers and sisters, and even mothers and wives, have fallen on the battlefields. Furthermore, we acted like a fools to have reduced to dust the

¹⁸⁷ The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District, “Heiwa no Inori [The prayer for Peace],” *Gosuperu [Gospel]* 8 (1951): N.pag.

culture of our fathers by war. We recognize in the words of the Bible that the wages of sin is death...I am overwhelmed by the painful awareness of the horrors of war, and I cry for peace. Lord, bring peace on earth...Lord save us. We are on the verge of perishing. We cannot save ourselves. Lord, we are helpless...Lord, make me a peaceful person before we lose hope for peace...Bless the spirits of thousands of our fellow citizens who were sacrificed for our sins six years ago...¹⁸⁸

Yonashiro's prayer of making a claim for peace in a public place as a representative of the UCCO was the first Okinawa Christian's testimony of war responsibility to the Okinawan people. The rally was held at Naha City with approximately 2000 participants on 23 June 1951. Ten local private associations, including the UCCO joined in organizing the rally by sending two representatives from each association. The UCCO sent Kotsuken Ikemiya and Chōshō Nakazato, who played primary roles in the rally.¹⁸⁹ At that time, Nakazato wrote an essay for the *Gosuperu (Gospel)*, a UCCO periodical. He claimed:

...In the world today, the countries of the free world and capitalism are confronting the countries of materialism and communism. Both regimes are cornered to the most regrettable point where they are engaged in a fatal battle...This final battle between opposing regimes that claim incompatible world-views will turn the world into a corrupt modern culture. This is God's judgment. Unless people understand God's truth, repent of every sin involved in the struggle, and return to the peace movement for loving God and people, we cannot prevent the destruction of the world.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ The United Church of Christ in Japan, *Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan shi shiryoshu dai 3kan* 345-347.

¹⁸⁹ The United Church of Christ in Japan. *Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan shi shiryoshu* 344.

¹⁹⁰ The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District. ed. *27 do sen no Minami kara* 160.

Since the rally was held at the time of the Korean War, both Kanazato and Yonashiro showed a pacifistic understanding, containing eschatological interpretations. As Okinawa served as the U.S. military front-line base during the Korean War, there were no doubt that their claims were unexaggerated.

8.3.1.4. Repentance of a School Principal who Sent Students to War

Shōsuke Shiroma, an Okinawan pastor of the OBC and a student of Naha Commerce

High School when Nakazato was the president of the school, testified:

In the spring of 1965 when I was installed as Pastor of Shuri Baptist Church, first, I visited Pastor Chōshō Nakazato of Shuri Church of the UCCO, (my former teacher at the Naha Commerce High School). No sooner did I greet him than, Nakazato bowed his head politely and said, “I regret what I did during the war. I apologize.” I was humbled by his apology. It was his confession of war responsibility as a Christian, because he had made the students worship at the altar of the Emperor and Empress every week.¹⁹¹

Nakazato’s repentance represented clearly the theological characteristics of the first generation Christians of the UCCO, who had justified Japanese Imperialism theologically, when the Japanese Protestant churches were unified to the UCCJ by the Japanese Imperial Government in 1941.

¹⁹¹ The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District Naha Cyūō Kyokai, *The United Church of Christ in Japan Naha Cyūō Kyokai, Souritsu Hyakusyūnen Kineshi [The 100th Anniversary of Foundation]* (Okinawa: The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District Naha Cyūō Kyokai, 1998) 60.

8.3.1.5. Repentance of the Chairperson of the UCCO

In 1954, nine years after Matthews's sermon, Yoshio Higa's prayer, at the memorial service for Ernie Pyle at *Iejima*, (Ie Island), is placed as one of the most significant prayers that represent the characteristics of the peace-oriented Okinawan Christians. He prayed at the service as a representative of the OCA:

It was significantly regrettable that Ernie Pyle, a great reporter lost his life by war. However, if both America and Japan reflect on why they had engaged in war, his sacrifice would be in accord with God's will. As God's intention for us is not to damage and kill each other, his death is not meaningless because it makes us reflect on what the war brought to us. Lord, may you embrace him with your hands. However, when we see the world today, it does not seem that we are acting in accordance with God's will. Though we made a great mistake by killing thousands of people in a moment with atomic bombs, it is said that we have made even more destructive hydrogen bombs. God, if you judge mankind to be punished, destroy our shallow-minds again.¹⁹²

Higa prayed in front of American military personnel because it was a memorial service for an American reporter, Ernie Pyle. Then, Shūhei Higa, the Chief Executive of the GRI asked Yoshio Higa, "How did you dare to pray in front of the American people?"¹⁹³ "I prayed to God"¹⁹⁴ was Higa's reply to the question. Thus, his prayer, like James Matthews's prayer, contained the confession of sin and acknowledgment of God's good intentions for humankind and His will for peace.

¹⁹² Higa Yoshio, *Watashi no Sengo Hiwa*. 395.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 396.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

8.3.2. Those Christians who Protested against Social Justice Issues

Many Christians stood up for social justice in the 1960s. However, before that, when post-war problems were increasing in the 1950's, the AMC's missionaries, and Tadao Yanaihara had played a significant role as protesting harbingers when most Okinawa Christians were silent. Those Christians who protested were classified into two groups. The AMC's missionaries and Tadao Yanaihara, belonged to the first group, and the protestors of the 1960s comprised the other. Since the AMC's missionaries' protest was reviewed in the chapter on the land issue, Tadao Yanaihara's protest will be examined here.

8.3.2.1. Protest of the President of the University of Tokyo

Tadao Yanaihara's lectures to Okinawans will be analyzed, considering how much he motivated Okinawan believers and others when he visited the Prefecture in 1957. He had accepted the invitations of the OTU and the University of the Ryukyus, and during his stay in Okinawa, Yanahihara lectured six times as follows:

16 January, University of the Ryukyus

17 January, The Third Okinawa Teachers Union's Studying Conference

18 January, The Koza Teachers Union's Lecture Meeting

19 January, Airakuen

19 January, Naha Commerce Senior High School

20 January, Shuri Church of the UCCO

At University of the Ryukyus, he delivered a lecture entitled, “The World, Okinawa, and the University of the Ryukyus”¹⁹⁵ in which he said:

It has become apparent by reviewing the current modernized state’s constitutional protection, that fundamental human rights have become the main purpose of politics, regardless of race and ethnic group, or the status between the ruler and the ruled...The main policy for solving the problems of the ruled by different ethnic groups should be based on this principle. ¹⁹⁶

As Yanaihara was a scholar of the study of colonization policy, he emphasized fundamental human rights protection by lecturing on the past history of the colonization policy of the world. Thus, what he said about the importance of protecting fundamental human rights was harshly critical toward the U.S. military administration of Okinawa. After all, this was the era in the 1950s when the U.S. military authority was flagrantly infringing upon the human rights of the Okinawan people. Because, protecting human rights is synonymous with the very existence of humanity, Yanaihara, based on his pacifistic perspective, asserted also, “Though politics aims at world peace and the existence of all humanity, as real politics rely upon military capacity, it is utterly incoherent.”¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Yanaihara Tadao, *Syuchō to Zuisō Sekai to Nihon to Okinawa ni tsuite.*, 200.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 218.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 219.

Yanaihara's contention implied indirectly that the U.S. military could not have rightly governed Okinawa without placing the highest priority on the respect of the human rights of the people. Then, what was the political contradiction of the U.S. military administration of Okinawa in the 1950s? The political discrepancy of the U.S. military clearly emerged in the process of establishing education laws. On 28 February 1952, the USCAR issued Ordinance 66, "the Fundamental Law of Education", in which the aim of education and the educational principle were specified as follows:

Aim of Education

Education shall aim at the full development of personality, striving for the rearing of a people, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual value, respect labor and have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with the independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful and democratic state and society.¹⁹⁸

Educational Principle

The goal of education must be realized through various opportunities and situations. To accomplish this, academic freedom shall be respected and practiced, the initiative spirit shall be fostered, and the principles thereby contributing to the promotion and development of a culture dedicated to the practice of the democratic way of life.¹⁹⁹

Though the U.S. military had infringed on the Okinawan people's human rights

¹⁹⁸ Gekkan Okinawa Sha ed, *Laws and Regulations During the U.S. Administration of Okinawa 1945-1972 (Book 1)* (Okinawa: Ikemiya Shokai & Co., 1983) 934.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

regarding the land issue in 1950s, they had to specify, in the educational ordinance, the importance of esteeming the value of individuals. Thus, there was the apparent discrepancy between what they had done to the Okinawan people, and what they had to declare in the ordinance about the importance of human rights.

Yara commented that, after receiving the USCAR's authorization. He drafted the Fundamental Law of Education that was enacted into law by the LGRI on 10 January 1958.²⁰⁰ He confirmed that:

We wanted to use the preamble of the Fundamental Law of Education of mainland Japan, however, as Okinawa was not under the Constitution of Japan, we employed different words without changing the meaning of the preamble as follows:²⁰¹

The First Paragraph of the Preamble of the Fundamental Law of Education of Japan

Having established the Constitution of Japan, we have shown our resolution to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state. The realization of this ideal shall depend fundamentally on the power of education.²⁰²

The First Paragraph of the Fundamental Law of Education of Okinawa

We, as Japanese citizens, have shown our resolution based on the universal principle to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Okinawa Prefectural Board of Education, *Okinawa no Sengokyouikusi* [The Post War history of Education in Okinawa] (Okinawa:Central Publishing,1978) 918.

²⁰¹ Yara Chōbyō, *Yara Chōbyō no Kaikoroku* [Memories of Yara Chōbyō] 52.

²⁰² Ministry of Education, <http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/kihon/data/07080117.htm>.

²⁰³ Houseika Jimukyoku [the Legislature of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands], *Ryukyu*

Yara's statement testified that the OTU's leaders desired strongly to identify with the new Japan, which had revolutionized its political structure from totalitarianism with the emperor at the top, to a democratic state, because they wanted to educate the next generation of Okinawan people with the spirit of democracy and peace. Since Okinawa was under the U.S. military in the midst of the Cold War in the 1950s, what they had legislated as the democratic law of education, exposed the discrepancy between the "spirit of democracy and peace," and the military-first policy of the U.S. military administration. This is the interpretation of the Yanahirara's criticism against the administration of the U.S. military authority, based on the context of Okinawa in the 1950s. Accordingly, Yanaihara asserted, "though politics aims at world peace and the continued existence of all humanity, as real politics relies on military capacity, it is utterly incoherent."²⁰⁴

8.3.2.2. Osamu Taira's Protest that Kindled Protest Enthusiasm in Okinawa Christians

At the time of Pearl Harbor in 1941, Osamu Taira (b. 1931) was in the fourth grade of elementary school on Miyako Island, Okinawa. Taira confessed, "I danced with joy at the news of the attack on Pearl Harbor. I was such a military young boy."²⁰⁵ After

Houreisyu [Statute Books of Ryukyu] (Okinawa: Kkdō Press, 1959) 347.

²⁰⁴ Yanaihara Tadao, *Syuchō to Zuisō Sekai to Nihon to Okinawa ni tsuite* 219.

²⁰⁵ Taira Osamu, *Chiisana Shima karano Ōkina Toi [Big Question from a Small Island]*(Tokyo:

WWII, he had a feeling of ambivalence toward high school teachers who suddenly had metamorphosed into pacifism without having deeply reflected on themselves during the war. It was then that he was invited to go to church. He recollected:

It was a flash of light and astonishment, as, at that time I had lost my natural sense of trust in other people. However, I was still suspicious, because I did not want to go through another painful experience such as I had at school. After a spiritual struggle, I bet my life on Christ...Thus, Okinawa is the place where I met the living Christ. For me, attachment to Okinawa, and living here with self-consciousness, along with attaining exaltation in Christ through submerging myself in him; together, make up two sides of a coin.²⁰⁶

Taira's conversion experience testifies that he encountered Jesus Christ at a time when he had been in conflict with the old value of Japanese spirituality, which demanded the Japanese people, as subjects, to respect the emperor, even to the point of sacrificing their lives based on the imperial rescript on education.²⁰⁷ In 1952, Taira entered Tokyo Union Theological Seminary when he was in his third year at the University of the Ryukyus. After graduating from the seminary in 1959, he was installed as Pastor of the Jōchi Church of the UCCO in Koza City, a town with U.S. military bases.

Shinkyō Publishing, 1998) 106.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.m 107.

²⁰⁷ Kato Yasuo ed., *Kyōiku Chokugo [The imperial rescript on Education]* (Tokyo: Jinja Shinposha 1978) 41.

In 1964, Taira had the chance to study at International Christian University in Tokyo. In addition, he studied for one year at the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee in 1965. While he was staying in Nashville, he attended a memorial meeting for the victims of the struggle during the American civil rights movement. Taira was deeply touched by the African-American spiritual hymn of mourning, “Nobody Knows the Trouble I’ve Seen.”²⁰⁸ He describes this second conversion experience:

I recognized that we, Okinawa Christians, together with the U.S. military, had trampled on the people who were deprived of their human rights.²⁰⁹

In an interview with Taira on 17 June 2011, he clearly stated that this encounter with the American civil rights movement was his turning point, when he decided to commit himself to stand up for the oppressed people in Okinawa.²¹⁰ In 1966 after he returned to Okinawa, Taira’s prayer for Ferdinand Thomas Unger, the High Commissioner, represents how he had transformed himself into a pastor who stands up human rights. He prayed:

Our dear God, we thank thee for this opportunity to come together before Thee at

²⁰⁸ Taira Osamu, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete [Having been obsessed with Okinawa]*(Tokyo: Shinkyō Publishing, 1993) 17.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Taira Osamu, personal interview on 17 June 2011.

the investiture of our new High Commissioner. During the past 20 years, wars and threats of wars have caused a situation, which has caused many to be unnaturally separated from their homes and loved ones and has caused Okinawa to be separated from her Mother Country. Dear Lord, we earnestly pray that peace may come quickly to our world, in order that the New High Commissioner might be the last High Commissioner it would be necessary to send us.

However, we should not escape from the reality that we see at this ceremony.

Let us not escape from it, nor be crushed by it. Let us, on the contrary, accept the reality decisively and courageously. And let us work hopefully and fruitfully together with our High Commissioner to achieve our long-cherished goal of world peace and normal relationships between our nations.

Our Father, there are a million citizens in the Ryukyus that Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ died for. Make the new High Commissioner bow deeply before the dignity of the people for whom he has been sent and thus make him obey Thee.

Jesus Christ, with all authority in heaven and on earth, exercised His authority only in such a way as to wash people's feet. Show our High Commissioner the same way of exercising his authority.

Dear God, give us and the High Commissioner strength to accept with serenity the things that cannot be changed. Give us courage to change the things that can and should be changed. And give us wisdom to distinguish one from the other.

In Jesus' name we pray, Amen.²¹¹

Contrary to the previously described prayers in the 1950s, Taira prayed for peace by refusing the U.S. military's existence in Okinawa. He prayed that the U.S. Military should govern Okinawa by respecting the human dignity of the Okinawan people until the removal of the military presence. As his prayer clearly contains an aggressive attitude of protesting against the U.S. military authority, he was criticized by the media of America, while applauded by the media of mainland Japan and Okinawa.

²¹¹ Taira Osamu himself through Etsumi, his wife sent the English version original prayer manuscript to Mikio Miyagi, the author, on 14 October 2010.

The *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, the English newspaper for the U.S. military with the headline of “Prayer Tinged Politics” commented:

The most popular man in Okinawa today is a minister who says a mighty good prayer. Well, Rev. Osamu Taira may not be too popular with U.S. officials on the American-occupied Island, but he would probably be the average Okinawa’s nomination for man of the year.²¹²

The article did not comment on the meaning of Taira’s prayer but criticized Taira by declaring the prayer as anti-American. The editor of the *Morning Stars*, another American newspaper also responded with sharp criticism of Taira with the headline, “Prayer Book Becomes Demagogue’s Best Friend.”²¹³ Unlike the two American newspapers, Joseph M. Smith, in the journal of the United Christian Society of Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) supported Taira’s prayer with the title “Okinawa Pastor’s Prayer Stirs Controversy over the U.S. Occupation.”²¹⁴

American Christians are challenged to manifest their maturity which is prepared to support in all possible ways the responsible involvement of the church in the urgent affairs of society. This is needed even when such participation may seem to ally Christians with forces that are directed against the interest powers including the United States.

²¹² *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, “Prayer Tinged Politics,” 6 November 1966.

²¹³ *Morning Stars*, “Prayer Book Becomes Demagogue’s Best Friend,” 6 November 1966.

²¹⁴ Joseph M. Smith, “Okinawa Pastor’s Prayer Stirs Controversy over the U.S. Occupation,” *Leaven, Bulletin of the United Christian Society of Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* 19 (1967): 3.

Smith supported Taira, and he dared to assert that American Christians should consider being involved in solving the Okinawan social issue, even though it would undermine the interests of the U.S. In the 1960s, the African American civil rights movement, and peace movement swept across the U.S. William J. Frost commented that “under King’s leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the civil rights movement joined blacks and whites, adults and college students, and prominent Protestant and Catholic and Jewish rabbis in a prophetic crusade against injustice.”²¹⁵ He also commented that “Southern governors led a movement, centered in the Democratic Party and supported by the white churches, determined to preserve the status quo...between 1962 and 1965, ninety-three Southern black churches were burned...”²¹⁶

When Taira made the prayer in 1966, as it was the time when the U.S. was in the conflict over the civil rights and peace movements. What Taira prayed received both criticism and approbation from Americans who represented the American social trends in the 1960s. There was no doubt that Taira’s theological perspective on social issues involving the human rights of Okinawans originated from the civil rights movement in

²¹⁵ Howard C. Kee, Emily Albu, Carter Lindberg, William J. Frost and Dana L. Robert. *Christianity A Social and Cultural History* (NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc, 1998) 500.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

the U.S. Taira admits this, and his study in Nashville Tennessee for one year in 1965 supports the fact. However, his pacifistic standpoint had already been formed when he became a Christian on Miyako Island, Okinawa, having converted from militarism when he was a high school student. Thus, Taira's theology consisted of two layers: pacifism and the social justice oriented theology. The former originated from Okinawa post-war social context, and the latter was incorporated based on the civil rights movement in the U.S. Though American media criticized Taira's prayer, it is ironic that his prayer that expressed his two-layered theology was generated by the American victory in the Pacific War, and the Civil Rights movement. This means that, judging from a theological perspective, the American media's criticism of Taira's prayer was against American values.

8.3.2.3. Protest of a Baptist Minister who Broke Silence

The principle of the separation of church and state was one of the primary reasons that Okinawa Baptist ministers left the UCCO, and established the Okinawa Baptist Convention in 1955; so the OBC's leaders had not been involved directly in social issues from the very beginning of the U.S. administration period. One exception, however, was the adoption of the statement against "the Defense of the Nationalization

of the Yasukuni Shrine” on 25 February 1971, (one year prior to the reversion of Okinawa to Japan).

Mamoru Kuniyoshi (b. 1933), the chairperson of the OBC in 1968, wrote an article for the *Okinawa Baputesuto (Okinawa Baptist)* November issue, entitled, “In Preparation for the General Assembly of the OBC.” He asserts:

The separation of the church and state is more important than the principle of the separation of religion and politics. The constructive understanding of the principle is to claim to establish a good bilateral relationship between the church and politics, in which they respect each domain without receiving any infringement from others. We should confirm that the most basic human right of freedom is the freedom of religion, to the extent that the separation of the church and state exists.²¹⁷

There is no doubt that Kuniyoshi’s interpretation of the principle of the separation between church and state controlled the OBC’s members during the U.S. administration, judging from Yowan’s statement in 1968. He insists:

...Today, Christians have awakened to political consciousness. It is a good trend. The principle of the separation between the church and state should not be an excuse to cover the Christians’ non-involvement in politics anymore.²¹⁸

Yowan’s insistence exposed the contradiction of the interpretation of the principle based on the Okinawan social context, because the citizens’ basic human rights had not

²¹⁷ Kuniyosi Mamoru, “Dai 15 Kai Renmei Soukai ni sonaete [In Preparation for the 15th General Assembly,]” *Okinawa Baputesuto (Okinawa Baptist)* 154 (1968): 4.

²¹⁸ Yowan Ken, “Hukuin Senkyou no Kinkyūsei [Urgency of Evangelization],” *Okinawa Baputesuto (Okinawa Baptist)* 151(1968): 1.

been protected under the administration of Okinawa by the U.S. military authority. This means that the OBC should have spoken out for the recovery of the basic human rights of the Okinawan people, before defining the principle of the separation between church and state. That would have been more in line with what the Episcopal Church of Okinawa insisted in its resolution.

However, it was apparent that theological understanding on the social justice issues of the Okinawan Baptist leaders had been the same as that of the UCCO, regardless of their involvement in the social justice issues. Similar to the UCCO's leadership, the OBC's leaders, particularly, Shōsuke Shiroma (b.1927) and Kuniyoshi Mamoru (b. 1933) repented that they had justified Japanese militarism. Shiroma confessed, "I was prepared to give my life to the emperor, as I had been brainwashed by the education of Kōminka (the education for making people become subjects of the emperor)."²¹⁹

It was after Taira's prayer in 1966, when OBC's leaders, such as Ryōken Nago, Mamoru Kuniyoshi, Seiken Hayashi, and Takeshi Tōyama started speaking out on social political issues in public. Nago wrote an article for the *Okinawa Baputesuto* titled, "Statement in Politics" in which he claims:

²¹⁹ The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District Naha Cyūō Kyokai, *The United Church of Christ in Japan Naha Cyūō Kyokai, Souritsu Hyakusyūnen Kineshi [The 100th Anniversary of Foundation]* (Okinawa: The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District Naha Cyūō Kyokai, 1998) 60.

Rev. Taira Osamu's prayer for the inauguration ceremony for the High Commissioner gained prominent attention in journalism. Though I do not think that his prayer was surprising at all, his prayer was regarded as something unusual...Today, giving a statement in politics, particularly against the administrative policy of the U.S. military authority, requires encouragement. However, I seriously wonder if we need encouragement to make this kind of prayer. If Christians and churches take a responsibility for social issues, we are not allowed to keep our eyes closed to the reality of Okinawa.²²⁰

Nago's statement that he did not think that Taira's prayer was unusual, exposed the fact that OBC's ministers had kept silent on the social issues during the period prior to Taira's prayer. Though Nago made the statement as a personal opinion, other OBC's ministers followed in speaking out on social issues in the *Okinawa Baputesuto*. Kuniyoshi Mamoru wrote on "The Peacemakers"²²¹ in July 1967. Hayasi Seiken wrote on "Peace with God"²²² in September 1968. Kuniyoshi wrote on "War and Peace"²²³ in July 1969. Yowan wrote about "The Security Treaty, Okinawa and the Yasukuni Shrine"²²⁴ in October 1969.

²²⁰ Nago Ryōken, "Watashi no iken- Seiji eno hatsugen [My View, Statement in Politics]," *Okinawa Baputesuto (Okinawa Baptist)* 131 (1966): 2.

²²¹ Kuniyoshi Mamoru, "Heiwa wo tsukuridasu hito [The Peacemaker]," *Okinawa Baputesuto (Okinawa Baptist)* 138 (1967): 1.

²²² Hayashi Kiyomi, "Kami tonno Heiwa [The Peace with God]," *Okinawa Baputesuto (Okinawa Baptist)* 152 (1968): 1.

²²³ Kuniyoshi Mamoru, "Sensou to heiwa [War and Peace]," *Okinawa Baputesuto (Okinawa Baptist)* 162 (1969): 3.

²²⁴ Yowan Ken. "Anpo, Okinawa, Yasukuni [Security Treaty, Okinawa and Yasukuni Shrine],"

It was clear that similar to the UCCO's leader, OBC's leadership had the theology on social justice issues with a peace oriented perspective during the time of the U.S. administration.

8.3.2.4. Protest of the Episcopal Church in the USA, Okinawa Mission Diocese

The Episcopal Church of Okinawa has a history of being devoted to evangelical ministries, including a mission for the Hansen's disease victims. However, they tended not to become involved in socio-political issues such as the land confiscations and rape incidents of the 1950s and 1960s. Therefore, the Episcopalian Church's resolution on the subject of "The Restoration of Full Citizenship Status as provided by the Japanese Constitution for the people of Okinawa,"²²⁵ in 6 July 1969 was a sensational decision made by a conservative Episcopalian church. The resolution requested that their demand for the recovery of the human rights of Okinawan people protected under the Japanese Constitution should be made known to the political leaders of the U.S., Japan and Okinawa, (including the President of the U.S. and the Prime Minister of Japan).

The Episcopalian bishop took a strong leadership in church. The Episcopal Church

Okinawa Baputesuto (Okinawa Baptist) 165(1969): 3.

²²⁵ Seikoukai Okinawa kyōku [Diocese of Okinawa Episcopal Church], "The First Special Diocesan Convocation". *Seikoukai Okinawa Dnedō Kyōku Jihō [Missionary Diocese of Okinawa Bulletin]* 127 (1969): 7.

acclaimed him worthy of the bishop's inheritance of apostleship, according to the Book of Common Prayer, testifying, "A bishop in God's holy Church is called to be one with the apostles in proclaiming Christ's resurrection, and interpreting the Gospel, and to testify to Christ's sovereignty as Lord of lords and King of kings."²²⁶ Therefore, there was no doubt that Edmond L. Browning, Bishop of the Missionary Diocese of Okinawa, took such strong leadership in the process of drafting the resolution.

Why did Browning have such a strong desire to adopt the resolution? For discerning his intention, examining his ecclesiastical career up to the adoption of the resolution, particularly in Okinawa, may provide some theological implications.

(b. Mar. 11, 1929). He was born in Corpus Christi, Texas. Browning received his B.A. in 1952 and his B.D. in 1954 from the University of the South. He was ordained deacon on July 2, 1954, and priest on May 23, 1955. Browning was an assistant at the Church of the Good Shepherd, Corpus Christi, 1954-1956; Rector of the Church of the Redeemer, Eagle Pass, Texas, 1956-1959; and Priest-in-charge of All Souls Church, Okinawa, 1959-1963. From 1963 to 1965, he and his wife studied at the Language School in Kobe, Japan, before returning to Okinawa to serve St. Matthew's Church in Oroku until 1968. On Jan. 5, 1968, Browning was consecrated the first Missionary Bishop of Okinawa. He resigned on May 16, 1971, to become the Bishop-in-Charge of the Convocation of American Churches in Europe.²²⁷

²²⁶ Episcopal Church, "The Book of Common Prayer", Jan. 2007. 4 July 2013 <http://www.episcopalchurch.org/sites/default/files/downloads/book_of_common_prayer.pdf > 517.

²²⁷ Episcopal Church. "Presiding Bishop," 4 July 2013 <<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/page/past-presiding-bishops>>.

His career confirms that during his ecclesiastical work in Okinawa, he served both English and Okinawan congregations; All Souls Church, from 1959 to 1963, and an Okinawan Congregation, St. Matthew's Church in Oroku, from 1965 until he was consecrated the first Missionary Bishop of Okinawa in 1968. His career shows that he had experience with the congregation for the American Episcopalian military personnel and their family members, and Okinawan Episcopalians, the Christians of "the ruled" in Okinawa. Therefore, Browning drafted the resolution just after he became Priest for the Okinawan congregation. How, then did Browning realize the truth of the Okinawan social situation when he drafted the resolution in the late 1960s? For *the Japan Christian Quarterly* of the Fall 1969 Issue, Browning, co-wrote with William Elder, an American missionary to the UCCJ, a thesis titled "The Prospect of Okinawa's Return to Japan."²²⁸ The authors inveighed against the U.S. military administration's undemocratic system with the following observation:

He (The High Commissioner) has absolute authority and responsibility for administrations of both the American military bases and the society of Okinawa. He may promulgate law, remove an elected official from his office, and veto a law passed by the Okinawan Legislature. The U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR) is an American-staffed administration body, headed by a Civil Administrator who acts for the High Commissioner. There is a Government of

²²⁸ Browning, Edmond and William Elder, "The Prospect of Okinawa's Return to Japan," *The Japan Christian Quarterly* Fall (1969): 250.

Ryukyus (GRI) established by the same executive orders of the U.S. President that established USCAR. It has an elected unicameral legislature. The Chief Executive of the GRI was first appointed by the High Commissioner. After 1962 he was elected by the legislature, and in November 1968 for the first time he was elected by popular vote. However, there seems to be a certain sense of “playing” at government in the GRI legislature. After all, any law which is passed which conflicts with a USCAR law is automatically invalid....((The High Commissioner) was added by author.)²²⁹

Browning’s above statement had the same perspective with Yanaihara’s assertion on colonialism in his book, *Shokuminchi Seisaku (The Study of Colonial Policy)*, in which Yanaihara claimed, “In the place where there is no respect for the personalities of individuals, there is no justice. Love is respecting the personalities of individuals and making sacrifice.”²³⁰ Browning’s perspective also was identified with Taira’s who prayed, “Make the new High Commissioner bow deeply before the dignity of the people for whom he has been sent and thus make him obey Thee.”²³¹

8.3.2.5. Protest of the Casualty of Forced Mass Deaths

After completion of his M. Div. degree at Union Theological Seminary in New York City in 1960, Shigeaki Kinjō (b.1929) was installed as an associate pastor of Shuri

²²⁹ Browning, Edmond and William Elder, “The Prospect of Okinawa’s Return to Japan” 250.

²³⁰ Yanaihara Tadao, *Shokuminchi Seisaku [The Study of Colonial Policy]*(Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1963) 483.

²³¹ The United Church of Christ in Japan, *Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan shi shiryoshu dai 3kan* 426. English translation was supplied by Taira Osamu to the author on 14 October 2010.

Church of the UCCO, under the senior pastor Chōshō Nakazato. He was also committed to teaching Christianity at Okinawa Christian College, which was founded in 1957.

Kinjō was a well-known pastor and a college faculty member. He was recognized by the media, including the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) because of the issue of the forced mass deaths of WWII. He confessed that he had to kill his family, at the age of sixteen, one day after the U.S. military landed on *Tokashiki* Island (Tokashiki Jima) on 28 March 1945.²³² Through his experience of the forced mass deaths, his theological perspective on peace and on the human rights of the Okinawan people was formed by focusing on the preciousness of his own life.

What made Kinjō commit the cardinal sin of killing even his family? He insisted strongly that he was brainwashed into obeying Japanese militarism that taught people to die before being captured by enemy. The *Senjinkun* military code, (instruction for the Battlefield) said, “Do not live as a captive to be subjected to humiliating treatment.”²³³ Japanese military spirituality regarded that, being subject to humiliating treatment from the US and the UK was most dishonorable in Japanese society during WWII. Therefore, during the period, even non-combatant Okinawan people were forced

²³² Kinjō ,Shigeaki, *Shūdan Jiketsu o Kokoro ni Kizande [Taking the Forced Mass Deaths To Hear]* (Tokyo: Tōbunken, 1995) 50-57.

²³³ Ikeda Shoten ed, *Sakusen Yōmurei [Warfare Law]* (Tokyo: Ikeda Shoten, 1971) 11.

to follow the spirit of the instruction of the military code. Kinjō testified about his feeling before committing the forced mass deaths. He thought, “What would we do if only we survived? What would happen to us if we were captured by the ogre-beast Americans and British? We had heard that men would be sheared in half, and women would be raped, then killed.”²³⁴

At Tokashiki Island, the Japanese soldiers delivered hand grenades to the residents of the island after shouting “Banzai (Long Live the Emperor). The soldiers ordered them; “if you encounter enemy soldiers, throw one at them, and then use the other to kill yourself.”²³⁵ There existed no alternative for Kinjō but to commit the forced mass deaths by killing his family and himself. After Kinjō and his brother killed their mother, younger brother and sister, one boy said, “Let us die by killing even a single American soldier, as we are destined to die.”²³⁶ After he followed the boy’s advice, Kinjō was captured.

After surviving the forced mass death, Kinjō was filled with feelings of despair and doubt about why he had to lose his parent and siblings in such a cruel way. At eighteen, when he was still helpless and filled with skepticism at the chasm of death, he met

²³⁴ Kinjō, Shigeaki, ““Kyousei shuudan shi’ kara ikasarete [Having survived the “Forced Mass Deaths” of Okinawa],” *The 3rd Asia Inter-Religious Conference on Article 9 of the Japanese Peace Constitution* (Tokyo: Asia Inter-Religious Conference on Article 9, 2012) 85.

²³⁵ Kinjō, Shigeaki. *Shūdan Jiketsu o Kokoro ni Kizande* 50.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 55.

Toshio Tanahara, a Christian who had returned from the South Pacific Mandate. The Bible fascinated Kinjō, because he had been driven into a corner by the question of his family's abnormal death. He testified:

Just at this moment, Jesus Christ who, as the Lord who died on the cross, and resurrected from dead, came to me. The cross is, not thought nor dogma, but the ultimate historical reality of love, and the power that is realized by faith. Jesus Christ has become my liberator, and the leading guide of my life, and the One who saved me from the suffering of the war experience. The new hopeful horizon appeared in my life.²³⁷

Kinjō's above statement identifies with his theology that confesses that Jesus Christ saved him from his agony, caused by the psychological trauma of the forced mass deaths. Through faith in Jesus Christ, he was given the encouragement to live and to hope. Kinjō was baptized on 18 February 1948, after three years of agony over the trauma of the forced mass death. He commented, "I was given faith by leaving my anguish to Jesus Christ, who died on the cross. He redeemed all my sin, though there was no sin in him."²³⁸

Kinjō's theology concluded that leaving the suffering of trauma to Jesus Christ, who took the burden of his suffering, encouraged him to live and to hope. Then, by faith, he faced the reality of his sin, and decided to tell his experience to the next generation.

²³⁷ Kinjō Shigeaki, *Shūdan Jiketsu o Kokoro ni Kizande* 75.

²³⁸ Kinjō Shigeaki, "Okinawa wa mohaya tatakaukoto wo manabanai [Okinawa shall not learn war any more], *Fukuin to Sekai [Gospel and World]* 8 (2012):24.

How did he tell his experience to the people? He explained:

Though I had been giving a testimony about the forced mass deaths to intimate small groups, it was 1970 when I started to talk about the story in public through mass media, because it was the historical moment when Akamatsu Yoshitsugu, who had been Captain of the Army Maritime Suicide Attack Units on Tokashiki Island at the time of the forced mass deaths in 1945, came to Okinawa.²³⁹

For Kinjō, Akamatsu's visit to Okinawa in 1970 meant that Kinjō had to revisit the Japanese militarism of 1945 that had created so much conflict in his life. Thus, it was a historical moment for Kinjō, now as a Christian to again feel the conflict with old Japan.

How was the encounter with Akamatsu? On 15 April 1970, Kinjō wrote for the *Ryukyu Shimpō*:

Why should I talk about the past heartrending catastrophe of which now, I hate to even think? I cannot talk about the story if it rubs salt in old wounds. However, I dare to talk about the story, as I trust that this kind of heartrending catastrophe of the past shall not happen again. I want to think about the meaning of the war responsibility that I spoke about the first time in the newspaper. The media focused on the controversy, as to whether Mr. Akamatsu made the decision of the forced mass death. The fact itself has been called into question. Though the answer is needed, if why the catastrophe happened is not called into question, it discontinues the relevance of the single incident as part of the whole history. The meaning of shaping the real history should be made by interpreting and building the individual incidents from a comprehensive perspective.

Therefore, if the war responsibility is called into question by investigating Mr. Akamatsu as an isolated matter, the deep meaning of the war responsibility would be forgotten. Of course, he will be called into question as a responsible military official at the time. At the same time, all military personnel and all Japanese individuals

²³⁹ Kinjō Shigeaki, *Shūdan Jiketsu o Kokoro ni Kizande* 170-171.

should be called into question. A war victim is also called into question from a phenomenal standpoint. All persons who were involved in war are victims and offenders.

War is a crime beyond each individual person. Then, is not each individual person called into question? Therein lays the point here. War resembles closely the sin concept of Christianity. Sin acts on an individual's subjective will by captivating the person, in spite of the sin's demonic energy that exists beyond the individual. Therefore, a sin acts only through an individual though it exists beyond the individual. It is not universal sin, but a free individual who is called into question. Concerning war responsibility, an individual is called into question, though a sin exists beyond the person. It is neither a specific individual, nor ideology, nor a political party who makes an accusation. It is a precious person's own consciousness. The war responsibility of Akamatsu, thus assumes a symbolic meaning. His war responsibility should be directed to me, and to all Japanese individuals.²⁴⁰

In the newspaper, Kinjō clarified the war responsibility from a Christian theological perspective for the people, based on the Okinawa social context of the forced mass deaths of 1945. When Akamatsu visited Okinawa on 26 March 1970, Okinawan people criticized him for visiting Okinawa, as he had been a responsible military official of the Tokashiki Island massacre. When Akamatsu visited Okinawa, Kinjō, in the interview in the newspaper, commented that “the war victims should not remain in despair. The most important thing for the victims is how to live today by overcoming the bitterness of the past. From this perspective, a war is never forgivable. I question Akamatsu for his

²⁴⁰ Kinjō Shigeaki, “Tokashikijima no Syūdanjiketsu to Sensōsekinin no Imi suru mono [The Forced Mass Death at Tokashiki Island and the Meaning of the War Responsibility],” *Ryūkyū Shimpō*, 15 April 1970.

responsibility of war.”²⁴¹

Kinjō not only focused on the war responsibility, but also confronted the Japanese military spirituality, which demanded the loyalty of the subjects even to the point of sacrificing their lives. He confronted that spirituality, describing how a person can overcome the bitterness of the past, and asserted one’s desire for peace. How was it possible to overcome the bitterness of a past in which the victims lost their families? Kinjō tried to convince the victims to overcome the past by recognizing themselves to be both victims and victimizers. This was because Okinawans themselves had killed the enemy, and their beloved family members for the country in war. Then, Kinjō referred to the sinful nature of human beings from a theological perspective by relating sin to war.

Kinjō’s article in the newspaper was a message to Okinawans to encouraging them to live today, without neglecting the reality of the bitter past. To overcome the past brings hope for the future. It is an eschatological message that encourages living today by transcending the past. Kinjō’s message also offered reconciliation between the victims and victimizers when he said “I do not intend to condemn Akamatsu...However, if he desires never to engage in war again, by recognizing Tokashiki as the island of

²⁴¹ *Okinawa Times*, “Kojinteki hihan wa Sinai – Kibishiku toitai sensōsekinin [Not Condemn Him on a Personal Basis – Inquire the War Responsibility Rigorously],” 27 March 1970.

tragedy, his visiting Okinawa becomes meaningful.”²⁴² Kinjō asked Akamatsu, without condemning his war responsibility, to share the hope for peace by facing the reality of the past.

8.3.3. The SDA’s Response to the Social Justice Issue

The social justice response taken by the SDA will be reviewed independently, since the SDA had been keeping its distance from mainstream Protestant churches during the U.S. administration. Also, one of their prime missions, the medical ministry, did not seem to be a ministry of social justice.

However, based on Article 3, “The Father of the SDA Fundamental Beliefs”, it was clear that medical ministry should be categorized as one of the social justice ministries.

Article 3 declares:

God the eternal Father is the Creator, Source, Sustainer, and the Sovereign of all creation....²⁴³

In order to respond to the Will of God who is sovereign over all of His creation (including created human beings,) respecting the dignity of each person is a duty of

²⁴² *Okinawa Times*, “Kojinteki hihan wa Sinai – Kibishiku toitai sensōsekinin [Not Condemn Him on a Personal Basis – Inquire the War Responsibility Rigorously],” 27 March 1970.

²⁴³ Inorinoie Kyokai [House of the Prayer] ed. *Syu no Yō nari Ko Barunaba Tokuda Yūsuke, Ikō, Tuitō Bunsyū [The Late Priest Barunaba Tokuda Yūsuke, The Posthumous writings, Memorial Miscellany]* (Okinawa: Hokubu Kōsoku Insatsu, 1985)

significant importance for SDA Christians. Elder Robert H. Pierson, the President of the General Conference, commented that, “in ministering to the whole man, it is our purpose to bring into harmony with God the physical, mental and spiritual phases of man’s existence.”²⁴⁴ It was apparent that the SDA of Okinawa aimed to serve the Okinawan people’s physical needs, and spiritual needs as well.

From the beginning, Elder E.E. Jensen, the first president of the Okinawa mission “founded the church in the Shuri Church building, when there were no members, then established a church elementary and junior high school in the third year. And furthermore, he founded a clinic. What Jensen did at the first stage of his ministry was exactly built on the SDA’s three primary ministries which were: (1) proclaiming the Word, (2) teaching, and (3), the ministry of caring based on the SDA’s theological principle of making people whole.”²⁴⁵

Though the SDA church transcended the world, based on an eschatological understanding by praying for the completion of the world at the time of the second coming of Christ,²⁴⁶ their ministry in Okinawa during the U.S. administration period was accepted by the Okinawan people with great appreciation, as they set up free clinics

²⁴⁴ Adventist Medical Center Committee of the 25th Anniversary of Foundation 12.

²⁴⁵ The Kirisuto Shimbun ed. *Christian Yearbook 2004* (Tokyo: Kirisuto Shimbunsha, 2003) 103.

²⁴⁶ The Kirisuto Shimbun ed. *Christian Yearbook 2004* 103.

on such small islands as Kudakajima, Ikeijima, Tsukenjima, Miyako, Yaeyama, and at Okuma village. At the Adventist Medical Center in Naha, the average number of O.P.D. (Outpatient Department) patients per year from 1969 to 1972 was 45,597. The mayor of Naha City, Yoshimatsu Taira commented, “We appreciate what the staff of the Adventist Medical Center has been doing, not only for the Naha citizens, but also for all Okinawan people, since the confusing post-war period when medical care facilities were needed.”²⁴⁷

As the SDA church provided what the Okinawan people desperately needed during the U.S. administration period, based on their theology; even though the medical ministry did not seem like a social justice ministry, their ministries were accepted by the Okinawan people.

8.4. Summarized Theologies of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective for Christians in Okinawa

The summarized theology will be reviewed by separating the theology of social justice from that of eschatology in order to define the two subjects clearly.

²⁴⁷ Adventist Medical Center Committee of the 25th Anniversary of Foundation 2.

8.4.1. Summarized Theology of Social Justice

As described previously, Christians' responses to the social justice issues started by their having repented of what they had done during WWII. The repentance developed into the peace movement, and then to protesting against the violation of fundamental human rights of the people of Okinawa by the U.S. military authority in the 1960s. The yearly chronological table below indicates Christians' responses to the social issues at a glance.

Table 8.1: Chronological Table of Christians' Activity in Okinawa

Year	Name	Activity for Peace and Human Rights
1945	James Matthews	Repentance for WWII
1946	Hiyane, Antei	Repentance for WWII
1951	Yonashiro, Isamu	Repentance for WWII
1954	Higa, Yoshio	Repentance for WWII

(In early 1950s, such social issues as the land confiscation and rape incident occurred.)



-----War Repentance-----

1954	Otis Bell	Protest against the land issue
1957	Yanaihara, Tadao	Protest against the U.S. military administration policy
1966	Taira, Osamu	Protest for human rights of Okinawan people
1968	OEC	Resolution for human rights of Okinawan people
1970	Kinjō, Shigeaki	Protest against Japanese imperialism



-----Protest against Social Injustice-----

Though the peace issue was different theologically from the social justice issue, Christians in Okinawa identified the two issues as the same, because both issues were related to the infringement upon human dignity. How did Christians differentiate between the definitions of the peace issue from the social justice issues? Episcopalians and the UCCO, based on Article 18 of the Book of Common Prayer and Article 5 of the Guidelines for Christian Living, defined the peace issue as follows.

Article 18 For Peace of the Book of Common Prayer of the ECUSA

O Almighty God, kindle, we beseech thee, in every heart the true love of peace, and guide with thy wisdom those who take counsel for the nations of the earth, that in tranquility thy dominion may increase till the earth is filled with the knowledge of thy love; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigned with thee, in the Holy Spirit, one God, now and forever. Amen.²⁴⁸

Article 5 the Guidelines for Christian Living of the UCCO, adopted from the UCCJ

We will endeavor, following the will of God, to uplift the morality of state, to realize international justice, and to attain world peace.²⁴⁹

It was apparent that those Christians who repented for the war came from a pacifistic perspective, whereas the non-pacifist Christians did not deny the use of force, or power for attaining peace. Therefore, the Okinawa social justice issues will be discussed separately from the peace issue. In the article by Otis W. Bell in the *Christian Century* in 1954, he stated:

²⁴⁸ The Episcopal Church, *The Book of Common Prayer*.

²⁴⁹ The United Church of Christ in Japan, "Seikatsu Kōryō [Guidelines for Christian Living].

Let the army run its bases, but let a civilian administration be appointed to deal with the people. A change must take place soon, else we will be occupying a rebellious Okinawa for years to come (sic).²⁵⁰

Bell confirmed the U.S. military presence in Okinawa, so it was apparent that even though AMC's missionaries had been working together on social justice matters with the UCCO's Okinawa pacifistic Christians, they took opposing views on the peace issue concerning the use of military force. However, American ministers of the UCCO, the OEC, the OBC and the SDA did not seem to be pacifists, because there were no records which proved them so. More precisely, to be a pacifist or a non-pacifist depended on their own conscience.

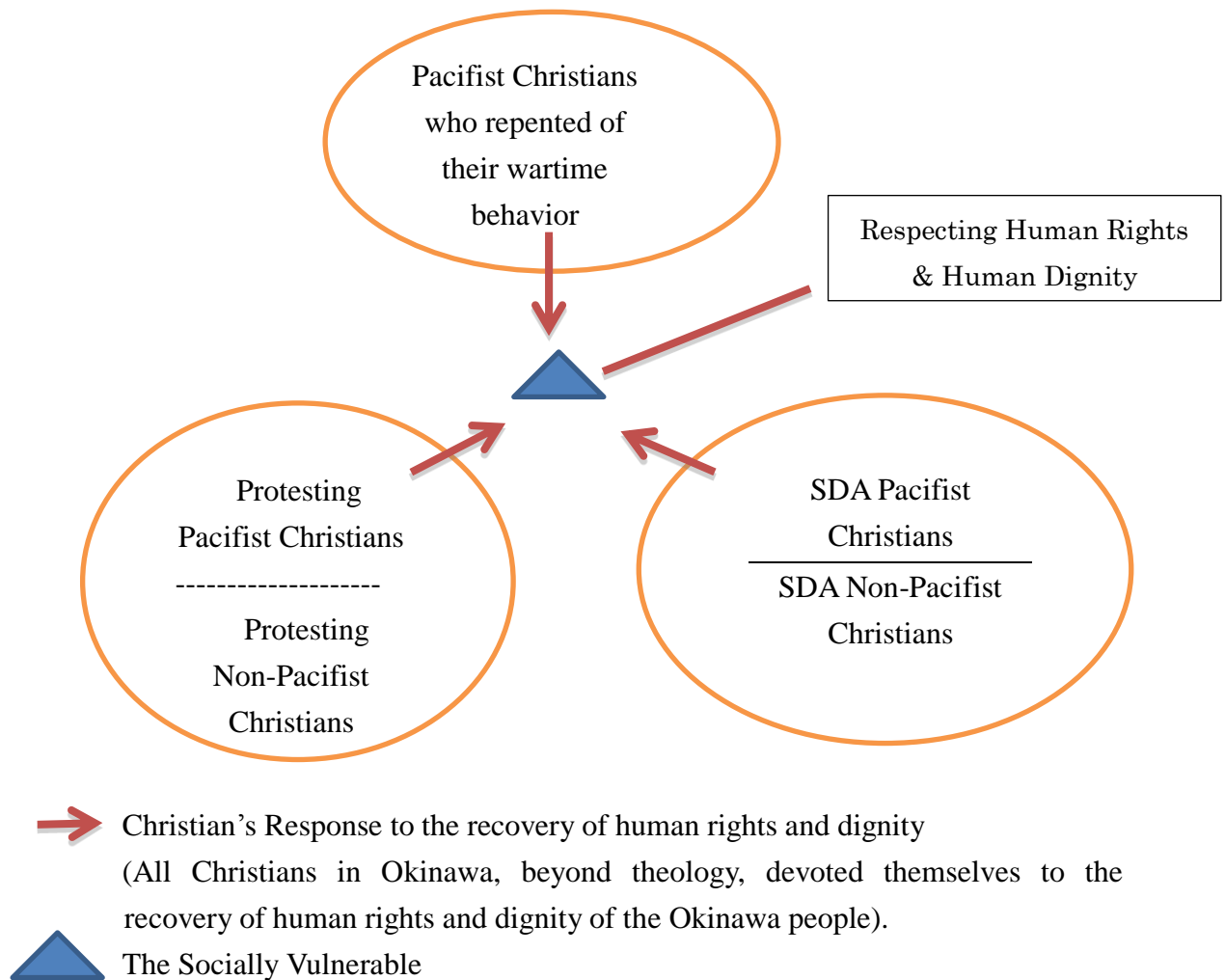
When the SDA General Conference was required to state the denomination's position concerning its non-combatant posture in the 1930s, the SDA concluded that SDA members had the right to act in accord with the dictates of their personal conscientious conviction.²⁵¹ R.W. Schwarz confirmed, that "the numbers of pacifists and complete conscientious objectors among Adventists was neither large nor influential."²⁵² As a conclusion, it was clear that Christians in Okinawa devoted themselves to the social justice issues beyond the differences of their theological perspectives on peace, as shown in Figure 8.1.

²⁵⁰ Otis W. Bell, "Play Fair with Okinawan!" *the Christian Century* 6 (1954):76.

²⁵¹ R.W. Schwarz, *Right Bearers to the Remnant* 439-440.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 440.

Figure 8.1: Christians' Repentance and Protest

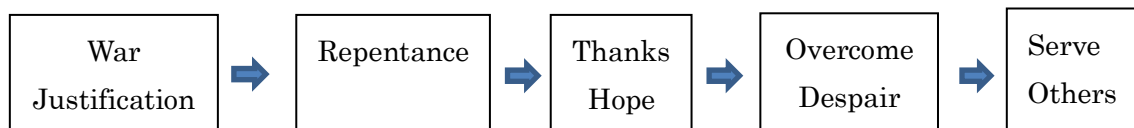


8.4.2. Summarized Eschatological Perspective

How did Christians in Okinawa maintain an eschatological perspective in the theology of social justice? As described previously, Shigeaki Kinjō and Shōkō Nakazato caused their family to die. Antei Hiyane, Morihito Higa, and Osamu Taira were convinced to be honorable and dutiful to justify Japanese military imperialism in order to identify Okinawan people as real Japanese. After expressing their repentance for

what they had done during the war, they could overcome their despair and helplessness. Their repentance enabled them to give thanks and appreciation to God. They hoped to serve others, which helped them overcome their despair, and convinced them that complete recovery of lost human dignity would be given at the time of the World End. This theological analysis concludes that the Christians in Okinawa had been following these steps through the experience of the calamity of WWII. The history of Christians in Okinawa during the U.S. administration period can be structured on their eschatological tradition.

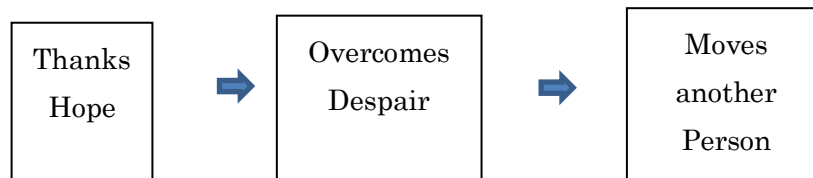
Figure 8.2: Flow of Eschatology of Christians in Okinawa



Then how can the calamities of the three previously described issues be interpreted, based on the summarized eschatological perspective of Christians in Okinawa above? As described previously concerning the Hansens’s disease issue, the Christian doctor Kazuo Saikawa was moved by prayers for the complete recovery of the Hansen’s disease patients. Yūsuke Tokuda, a Hansen’s disease infected OEC minister, confessed that “Hansen’s disease deprived me of everything except the everlasting life.” Kazuo Saikawa was moved by leprosy patients who had overcome their helplessness. This

means that those who overcame despair with their eschatological perspective, sometimes encouraged another person because he recognized that eschatological strength.

Figure 8.3: Hope of an Eschatological Perspective



Ahagon hoped from his pacifistic and eschatological perspective that his confiscated land would be returned, though his land was occupied by the U.S. military until he died. It was certain that Ahagon's eschatological hope moved many Christians to protest against the presence of the U.S. military bases in Okinawa.

Though rape victims cried to the point of denying even their own existence, Christians in Okinawa hoped for the complete recovery of women's human dignity through maintaining an eschatological perspective.

8.5. Theological Consistency between the Summarized Theology, and the Theologies in Three Chapters

How can theological consistency between the summarized theology described in this chapter and theologies of three previous chapters be identified? Did the summarized theology have a domain which embraced the core theological subjects of the three

previous chapters? The theological consistency will be clarified by identifying such core theological subjects as repentance, an encounter with Christians, an eschatological hope, and serving others. Core theological subjects of the previous three chapters were: violation of human rights and dignities, despair and helplessness, encounters with Christians, faith with eschatological hope, and loving the socially vulnerable as described in Figure 8.4. On the other hand, the core theological subjects of the summarized theology are: justification of war, repentance concerning war involvement, encounters with Christians, and eschatological hope for peace as described in Figure 8.5.

Figure 8.4: Core Theological Subjects of the previous Three Chapters

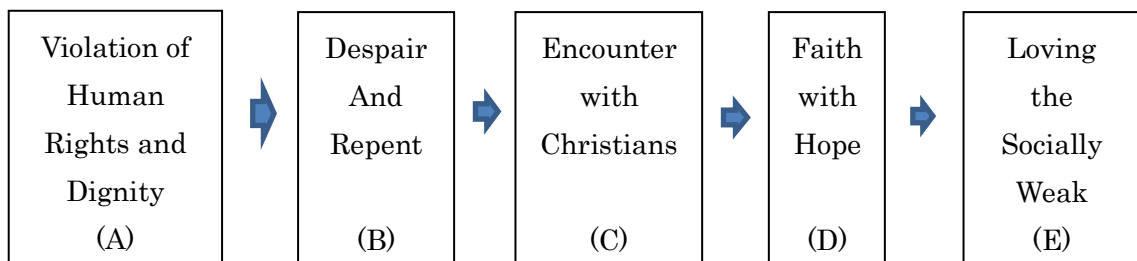
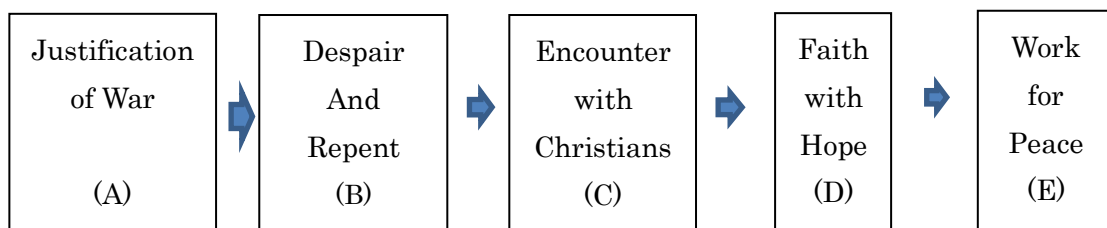


Figure 8.5: Core Theological Subjects of the Summarized Theology



It was apparent that both theologies were built by following the same theological

subjects. The last subjects of “Loving the Socially Vulnerable” and “Work for Peace” expressed the same theological meanings, because working for peace aims at preventing any loss of war victims, including the socially vulnerable.

Even though the theological consistency between the two of them can be recognized, the sexual assault victims during the U.S. administration were not assisted by any Christians in Okinawa. No Christians except missionaries of the AMC stood up against the U.S. military authority. Most of the Okinawan Christians kept silent on the social justice issues during the 1950s.

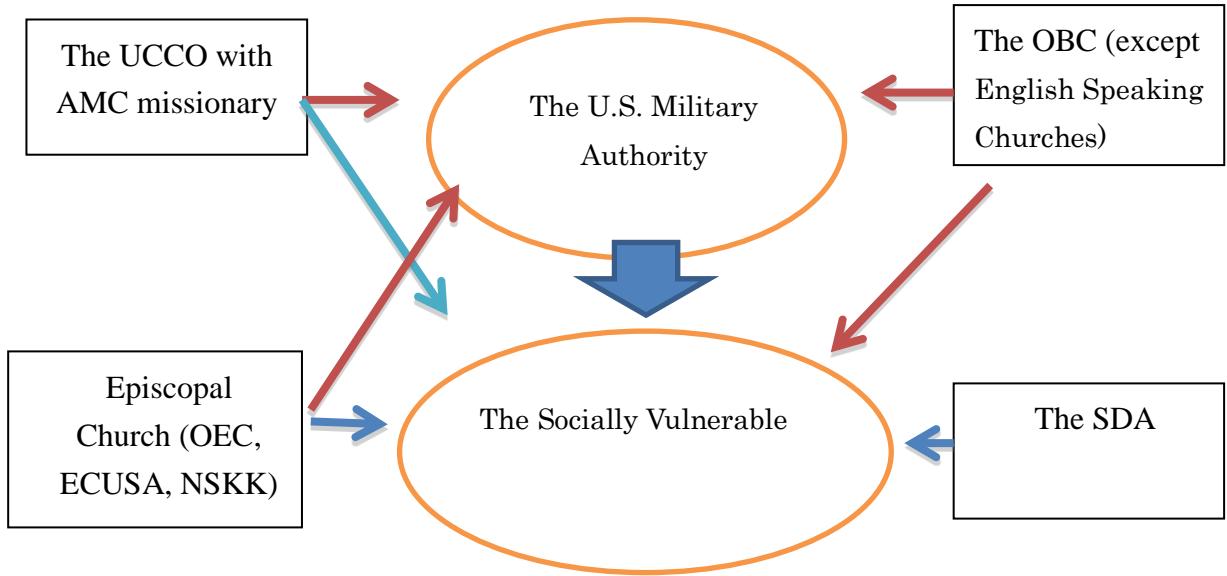
Therefore, what Christians in Okinawa did for social justice issues with an eschatological perspective during the U.S. administration was not perfect, based on the cases as described in the previous three chapters. This means that no single church or denomination, or individual believers were in accord with what they believed based on their creeds, (upon which their perspectives of social justice and eschatology were founded). However, Christians in Okinawa devoted themselves to assisting the socially vulnerable; reaching beyond their denominations, theological differences, and nationalities during the U.S. administration period. Thus, this chapter concludes that Christians in Okinawa during the U.S. administration held to their theology of social justice with an eschatological perspective.

8.6. Conclusion

The theologies of social justice with an eschatological perspective for Christians in Okinawa were identified by reviewing the chronological history of Christians in Okinawa during the U.S. administration period. After WWII, Christians in Okinawa expressed deep repentance for WWII. Repentance for the war brought energy to commit them to working for peace in 1950s, and it developed into protesting against the social justice issues in the 1960s.

The history of Christians in Okinawa itself could be identified with an eschatological perspective because repentance brought appreciation and hope to overcome their desperate helplessness. The social justice issues described in the previous three chapters could be recognized as the one of the issues of the summarized theologies of social justice with an eschatological perspective, because the victims' eschatological conviction moved Christians in Okinawa to protest against the loss of human dignity. (See Figure 8.6 of the Summarized Theologies of Social Justice with an Eschatological Perspective below, which was introduced in the Chapter 1, Introduction).

Figure 8.6: The Summarized Theology of Social Justice



Remarks:

→ Assistance to the socially vulnerable

→ Protest against the U.S. military Authority for the human rights

↓ Violation of human rights of Okinawa people by the U.S. military

9. Conclusion

The goal of this dissertation was to identify the Protestant theologies from an eschatological perspective for Christians in Okinawa during the U.S. administration period. To achieve this purpose, three social justice cases and four mainstream denominations were examined, based on their socio-political context, to attempt to define their summarized theologies of social justice that embraced an eschatological perspective for Christians in Okinawa.

Findings were that, neither individual Christians, nor denominations responded to all social justice cases in accord with what they should have done, based on their creeds of Confession of Faith, Fundamental Belief, Guidelines of Christian Living, and the Book of Common Prayer. In the 1950s, none of the Christians stayed present to the agony of the sexual assault victims, who were under a desperate situation, even to the point of denying their own dignity as a person. However, in spite of the inconsistency in Christians' responses to individual cases, this summarized theology concludes that Protestant Christians in Okinawa held the theology of social justice with an eschatological perspective, because they repented after having kept silent on the social justice issues, and devoted themselves to assisting the weak of society, believing that the human dignity of individuals can be recovered.

Edmond L. Browning, the Bishop of the Episcopalian Church of the Missionary

Diocese of Okinawa stated, “A church is not allowed to keep silent on these issues anymore after the bishop’s announcement of the resolution, which demanded the human rights restoration of Okinawan people.”²⁵³ His comment expressed that Christians in Okinawa had been recognizing the infringement upon the human rights of Okinawans during the U.S. administration. ABC’s missionary, Edward E. Bollinger commented in a protest article for the *Christian Century* in 1970, “The U.S. government has possessed virtually dictatorial powers for the past 25 years.”²⁵⁴ Being assigned as an ABC’s missionary to the OBC in 1955, when the Yumiko-chan rape incident occurred, he quickly recognized the U.S. administration of Okinawa as, not democratic, but rather, “dictatorial.” Thus, both influential American Christian leaders’ recognition of Okinawan social justice issues leads to the conclusion that, regardless of their actual responses to the social justice issues, Christians in Okinawa held faithfully to their theology of social justice.

How well had Christians in Okinawa held on to the eschatological perspective of their theology, when facing the social justice issues during the U.S. administration period? When the people’s human rights were infringed upon by the U.S. military authority, many were driven to the depths of despair and helplessness. However, those

²⁵³ Shinjō Takashi, *Kaitakusha tachi no omokage Okinawa Seikōkai no Senkyōshi* 17-18.

²⁵⁴ Bollinger, Edward E., “Okinawa: The Poison Gas Issue,” *The Christian Century* July (1970): 33.

Christians who were in desperate and helpless situations, gained a strong enough faith to find zest for living, facing the reality that they could serve victims. [This is very much in accord with II Corinthians 1:3-7] They had an eschatological hope for the complete recovery of human rights and human dignities of victims. Even though, it was clear that what they had lost could not be redeemed, they committed themselves to preventing other violations of human rights and wars. They protested through non-violent means, against the strongest military giant of the world. Without having an eschatological understanding, how could Christians have had the courage to engage in such a losing battle?

Lastly, what can be expected to develop from this subject of the Protestant theology of social justice with an eschatological perspective in the current world? It is clear that this dissertation's purpose is not in exposing to the world the cruelty of the U.S. administration, but to introduce how Christians in Okinawa responded to the social justice issues by holding to non-violent means, based on an eschatological hope. The violation of the human rights and human dignities of Okinawan people by the U.S. administration should be clarified in public. In this light the real purpose of this dissertation's claim is clearly evident; to prevent further serious infringements upon human rights in the world.

It is ironic that this dissertation introduced the American values' of democracy from moral perspectives of such Christians in Okinawa as; missionaries of the AMC, the ABC, the SDA, and a bishop of the ECUSA. These are discussed alongside Okinawa Christian leaders including Osamu Taira and Shigeaki Kinjō who studied in American seminaries.

Another goal of this dissertation is that it will lead to further discussions about social justice issues in the world, particularly, in countries where military authorities rule, (and/or had ruled). This is because violation of human rights is often carried out in the name of protecting the interests and ideologies of the states of military power.

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