

The Life and Theology of Reverend Osamu Taira: A Christian Response during the U.S. Administration of Okinawa (1945-1972)

MIYAGI, Mikio

1. Introduction

This paper will be an examination of the life of Reverend Taira Osamu (b.1931) and the substance of his theology during the period from the end of World War II in 1945 until the reversion of the government of Okinawa to Japan in 1972. The conditions of the life of Taira Osamu and his experiences during World War II contributed to the development of his pacifistic theology.

There are only a few studies that discuss Okinawan issues during the period between 1945 and 1972 from the point of view of Christianity and none that focus on Taira Osamu and his theology.⁽¹⁾ This paper is my own analysis of his life and thought. I will discuss these subjects by relating them to the history, points of view and politics of Okinawa during this period. I will examine the content of Taira Osamu's theology, particularly his theological understanding of war and peace.

In addition, I will include theological perspectives, materials and documents related to the history and population of Okinawa. Political issues within the Japanese Government and the extent of the authority of the United States military occupation will also be considered. In 1952, Japan signed the Treaty of San Francisco, which stated that the United States will have the right to exercise any and all powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands, the largest of which is Okinawa

Island.

Taira Osamu became nationally famous in Japan after local media⁽²⁾ and the *Asahi Shimbun*,⁽³⁾ a national newspaper, reported on Rev. Taira's prayer at the 1966 investiture of Lieutenant General Ferdinand Thomas Unger as High Commissioner for the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR), in an editorial titled *Okinawa seiji eno jūmin no negai* [Okinawan people's wish for politics]:

Taira prayed for world peace in order that the new High Commissioner might be the last High Commissioner, a normal relation between Okinawa and its fatherland, and let the High Commissioner bow deeply before the dignity of the million people of Okinawa...although the U.S. increased validity of its Okinawan facilities because of the escalation of the Vietnam war, both governments of Japan and the U.S. should consider Okinawan people's requirements of Okinawan reunion with Japan, and, both should review their demand for greater autonomy, and the increase of financial assistance to Okinawa.⁽⁴⁾

Many scholars, such as Ōta Masahide⁽⁵⁾ and Miyazato Seigen⁽⁶⁾ have discussed Okinawan issues by shedding light on land confiscation, the infringement of human rights, and the recovery of democracy from sociological and political science perspectives. However, as Taira is a Christian pastor committed to social justice issues, discussing Okinawan issues from Rev. Taira's theological perspective provides an analysis from a different viewpoint.

In order to understand Taira's theology, I have referred to his two books,⁽⁷⁾ joint papers,⁽⁸⁾ contributions to newspapers, manuscripts of his sermons, newspaper articles, and periodical articles. Moreover, I conducted an interview

with him on 17 June 2011. Taira's two books are a collection of his writings from the 1970s and 1980s that focus on Okinawan social justice issues through a theological perspective. Although his books analyzed social and political issues mainly relating to the United States military occupation and Japanese social and political history from the Meiji period until 1990s, I have focused on Okinawan issues based on the period from the end of World War II in 1945 until the reversion of Okinawa to Japan in 1972.

To comprehend the social and political context of Okinawan life during the U.S. occupation, the books of Miyazato Seigen, a scholar of political science, were used as reference.⁽⁹⁾ In order to understand Taira's pacifist theology critically, I compared the tenets of his theology with negative criticisms of his ideas. In particular, I compared Taira's pacifist theology with the theology of those opposed to pacifism. This comparison was based on Protestant Christian theological debates at the time of the establishment of the World Council of Churches, a period which lasted from the 1940s to the 1950s.

2. The Life of Taira Osamu

Taira was born in 1931 on Miyako Island in Okinawa Prefecture. In 1944, when he was a first-year student in junior high school, one year before the end of World War II, his family moved to Taiwan. In 1945, after Japan surrendered, he and his family returned to Miyako Island. During his one-year stay in Taiwan, he experienced the psychological pain of discrimination when students who came from the Japanese mainland, jeered at him for being a Ryukyuan. He later stated that this deeply painful experience took root in his heart and made him love Okinawa so much that he became obsessed with local patriotism.⁽¹⁰⁾

This attitude did not keep him, after returning to his home town in 1945, from being skeptical of a complete turnaround of school teachers' educational

orientation from wartime militarism to postwar pacifism. He did not see any self-examination by the teachers or any acknowledgement that wartime attitudes had to be repudiated after the war.⁽¹¹⁾

In 1948, Taira was invited to a Christian church service. Afterward he did not remember the content of the sermon, but he was impressed that the pastor preached with conviction. He confessed that:

It was a chink of light and astonishment as I had lost natural sense of trust of other people at this period. However, I was still suspicious because I didn't want to go through again painful experiences which I had at school. After spiritual struggle, I bet my life on Christ... Thus, Okinawa is the place I meet the living Christ. For me, attachment to Okinawa and living Okinawa with self-consciousness, and attaining exaltation by Christ through submerging myself in him, is the two sides of coin.⁽¹²⁾

After his conversion, this pastor guided him at the church on the small island of Miyako. When Taira was a senior high school student, the pastor fell victim to tuberculosis and died. At the end of his life the pastor asked him to take care of the church. Taira confessed that "though he could not accept his word as he was even a student boy, he was moved by the word, and, strangely, he took his word seriously."⁽¹³⁾ After three years education at the University of the Ryukyus, in 1952, he had internalized the pastor's request. Taira then transferred to Tokyo Union Theological Seminary, his tuition paid for by a scholarship sponsored by the U.S. military. In 1959, Taira was installed as a pastor of Jōchi church of the United Church of Christ in Okinawa at Koza City. From the beginning of his pastoral career, he was involved in the complications caused by the U.S. military

based in Koza City. In 1985, he recalled that:

I started having doubt about that the U.S. military forces were wrong though I had felt a sense of intimacy to them...I doubted whether it had been right decision to had received scholarship of the U.S. military ...I recognized the evil side of the U.S. military. It was a dismal reality of the human beings.⁽¹⁴⁾

In 1965, Taira had the opportunity to study at the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A. There, he joined a memorial meeting for the victims of the American civil rights struggle. He was deeply touched by the African American spiritual hymns of mourning. These hymns made him reflect on Christians' way of life in his hometown in Okinawa. He thought that "Christians in Okinawa were building church by snuggling up to the U.S. military which ruled Okinawa. This made Christians hard to listen to voice of Okinawan depressed people."⁽¹⁵⁾ In an interview conducted in 2011, Taira said that "I recognized that we, Okinawan Christians together with the U.S. military, had trampled on the people who were deprived of their human rights."⁽¹⁶⁾ In the interview, he clearly stated that this encounter with the American civil rights movement was the origin of his pacifist theology.

Reading these reflections I became convinced that Taira's life experience up to this period nurtured his peace-oriented theological concepts, which were augmented with great empathy for oppressed people. When Taira saw African-American people, he identified their sufferings with those of the Okinawan people. He concluded that building a church by those who would not help the oppressed people were not "the way of Jesus Christ."⁽¹⁷⁾ Notwithstanding that we recognize that his conviction developed into his prayer at the investiture of

the new High Commissioner in 1966, we need to examine Taira's theology by relating his pacifistic theology with the Okinawan social context after he returned to Okinawa from the U.S. in 1965.

3. Taira Osamu's Theology

Taira's theology is rooted in his experience in Taiwan, his home town in Miyako Island, and his work as a pastor in Koza City. His theology was expanded by his attendance at the memorial service for the victims of the civil rights movement during his time at the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A. in 1965. His theology takes its place within a traditional sort of pacifism directed against military authority in the world. He stands firmly alongside the oppressed. In this chapter, I examine his pacifistic theology by comparing it to traditional pacifism and exploring how it was influenced by his own experiences, as well as by the social and historical contexts in which he lived. In order to achieve this analysis, I first need to clarify the social and historical context of Okinawa during the period from the end of World War II until the U.S. returned Okinawa to Japan in 1972.

3.1. Social and Political Context

After the end of World War II in 1945, following the U.S. military defeat of Japanese forces in Okinawa, the U.S. ruled the island by holding three powers: a legislative political power, an administrative power, and a judiciary power.⁽¹⁸⁾ The military authority's most immediate objective was to establish military facilities to confront communist regimes in Asia through the issuance of two operational directives:

The first one specified how to deal with the people of Okinawa and

how to select the people’s leaders. Another specified the establishment of limited governmental function by the people, using the existing local government as long as it did not hinder the objectives of the U.S. military authority. Though these decrees aimed to increase the U.S. military authority’s rule of Okinawa to the greatest extent possible, the military authority had to improve its governmental function gradually.⁽¹⁹⁾

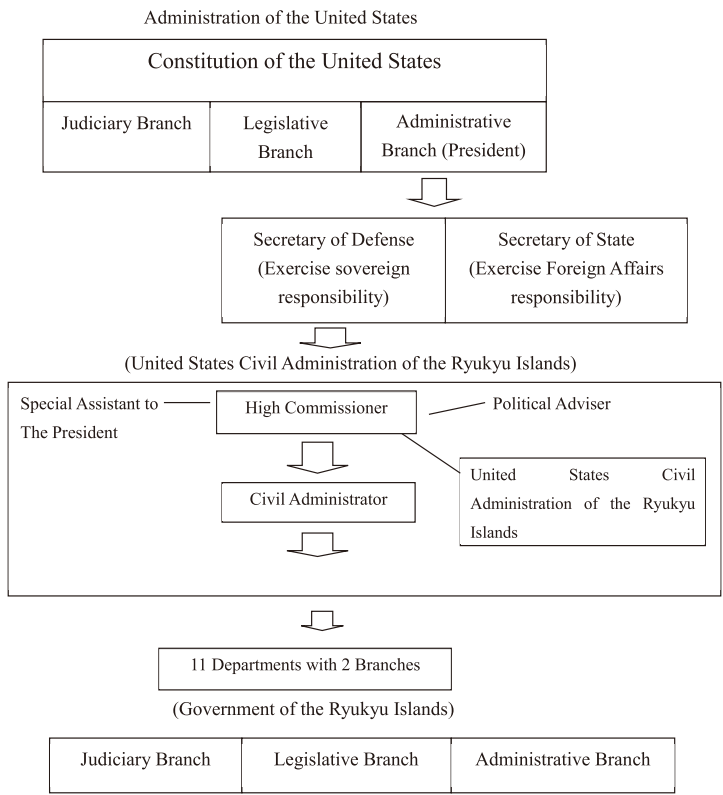


Table 1. Administration of the United States⁽²⁰⁾

The U.S. military authority looked toward retaining facilities in Okinawa on a permanent basis. This authority believed that keeping a permanent base could promote democracy for the people of Okinawa.⁽²¹⁾ Dr. Seigen Miyazato regarded this optimistic view as naive because it showed that the U.S. judged the people of Okinawa as a primitive people who had no leaning toward Marxism. They could not foresee the Okinawa people's strong objections to the U.S. military authority. I disagree with Dr. Seigen Miyazato's assessment of the U.S. military's political views of the people of Okinawa. Instead I maintain that the military authority regarded the people of Okinawa as being complacent about Okinawa's subordinate relationship to Japan, which was based on a long history, from the seventeenth century until the end of the war in 1945. The Ryukyu Kingdom had been invaded by Satsuma domain in 1609, and was forced to be subordinate to the Satsuma domain.⁽²²⁾ In 1878, the Meiji government sent four hundred soldiers and one hundred sixty police officers to the Ryukyu Kingdom in order to abolish the Ryukyu Kingdom and establish Okinawa as a prefecture of Japan.⁽²³⁾ The Okinawan people had been obliged to show their loyalty to the Japanese Emperor, even sacrificing their lives and their land until the end of World War II in 1945. Thus, the Americans were convinced that Okinawa's subordinate relationship to Japan would be transferred to subordination to the U.S. military authority with no resistance from the people of Okinawa. In past history, the Okinawan people seemed not to have been rebellious toward authority. This was not true. A spirit of independence was never quelled in Okinawa. The history of the movement for reversion of Okinawa to Japan proved this.⁽²⁴⁾

Why did the U.S. military authority fail so completely to see the true independent spirit of the people of Okinawa? Judging from a personal report by Reverend A.R. Stone, a Canadian missionary sent to Japan, to the Board of

Foreign Missions in New York in 1953, it seems to me that this failure of insight can be attributed to opportunistic views of authority and an arrogance of power. He reported:

I think that the Okinawa Church earnestly desires a closer relationship with the Japanese church. Private conversations with the ministers revealed that probably all of them would welcome their becoming one District (Kyoku) of the Church of Christ in Japan as soon as possible. The word "feasible" is used advisedly, as it may not be such for a while due to the American military "control" at present. Nevertheless, I think that the integration of the life and work of the Okinawa Church into that of Japan should be definitely in the planning stage, as of now. Such a step cannot be initiated from Japan but will have to be taken on the initiative of the Church of Christ in Okinawa and its North American support. The Okinawa people certainly regard themselves as belonging to Japan: even in their prayers at the meetings they thanked God for sending this deputation from their "mother country."⁽²⁵⁾

A.R. Stone observed that the Okinawan Christians desired to return to Japanese Church. His observation coincided with a public opinion survey on Okinawa's reunion with Japan. According to the survey, which was conducted by The Okinawa Guntō Government in 1952, seventy two percent of the population supported reunion.⁽²⁶⁾

As an educated, patriotic Canadian, Stone might have recognized that Okinawa was a strategically important island for the security of the free world, including Canada. When he sent the letter to the Okinawa Committee of the Mission Board in New York, it was the same month, July 1953 that the armistice

of the Korean War was signed. How could he take the risk of reporting such a delicate political matter to the Okinawa Committee? I claim that it was made through his affection for the Okinawan Christians who had been separated from the main body of their church.

In spite of A.R. Stone's report, the political reality was against the reunion with Japan of the Okinawan people during the 1950s. On 23 January 1955, Prime Minister Ichirō Hatoyama, in responding to questions in the Diet, claimed that "though it was unusual that a defeated nation declared the end of a state of war, there was no reason a defeated nation couldn't do it."⁽²⁷⁾ Without the Japanese government solving the Okinawan issue, the end of a state of war was declared. On 17 January of the same year, President Eisenhower stated in his Budget Message that "the U.S. occupied its military facilities in Okinawa for an indefinite period."⁽²⁸⁾ In 1955, however, the newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* delivered a compassionate report⁽²⁹⁾ on the land confiscation issues in relation to human rights problems and the movement for a reunion with Japan, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, a conservative publication, reported on the same issue, but was against a reunion. It reported on the statement of the U.S. General Headquarters, Far East Command which denied the violation of human rights of the people of Okinawa.⁽³⁰⁾ *Asahi Shimbun* also reported that leading American newspapers such as *New York Times*, *Herald Tribune*, had ignored the issue.⁽³¹⁾

In the light of these social and political contexts, it remains to examine the details of theology put forward by Taira. Two theological perspectives are useful. First is Taira's outlook on military power, which evolved in the light of his Christian pacifistic perspective. Secondly, there is the ecclesiastical matter of the relationship between the United Church of Okinawa and the United Church of Christ in Japan which separated the United Church of Okinawa from themselves after the war until 1969, three years before Okinawa's reversion to

Japanese authority.

Writing in 1983, Taira claimed that it was the responsibility of Japan to secure peace in the world to atone for Japan's fifteen years of military aggression and invasion of Asian countries from 1931 until the end of WWII in 1945.⁽³²⁾ In his view, it was the people of Japan who bore responsibility for these wars. He viewed the Japanese defeat in the WWII as a blessing in disguise.⁽³³⁾ Defeat had forced Japan to undergo reconstruction as the new state with a new constitution. He recalled:

Japan engaged in wars of aggression for fifteen years from 1931 until 1945. We woke up and started to construct a new state after the defeat in WWII. Therefore, as long as we, Okinawan people are Japanese, we are responsible for the war, and we should make every effort to secure peace as one million out of 120 million people.⁽³⁴⁾

His conviction of securing peace was rooted in the Peace Constitution of Japan in which Article Nine states:

Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.⁽³⁵⁾

What meaning did the Constitution of Japan, which was drawn up after WWII, hold for the people of Okinawa, whose citizens were victims of the war? As I mentioned, Taira did not excuse the Okinawan people from the responsibility of bringing peace to the war-affected Asian people, no matter how

great the Okinawan people's suffering were during WWII. Thus, the people of Okinawa could not opt out of peace reparations by asserting that they were Okinawan people. Furthermore, Taira asserted that both "killing and being killed in WWII were evil because a church in Okinawa could not speak out to prevent a war."⁽³⁶⁾ On the contrary, they espoused Japanese military authority. Reverend Seishō Kinjō, a pastor in Okinawa, held the same opinion. In 1971, for example, he asserted:

It is obvious that the war dead are the victims. However, they were the people who followed blindly the state power, and, they had a part in killing without valuing human lives. Thus, it is no doubts that they were the victims and the criminals as well.⁽³⁷⁾

Thus, it is obvious that Article Nine of the Constitution of Japan gives responsibility for preventing war to the Japanese, including the people of Okinawa. Based on this understanding, Taira also claimed that the reunion between the United Church of Christ in Japan (UCCJ) and the United Church of Christ of Okinawa (UCCO) required the Christians of the UCCO to accept the UCCJ's "Confession of Responsibility during World War II" as their own confession.⁽³⁸⁾

Based on the public opinion survey on the reversion of Okinawa to Japan in 1952, and A.R. Stone's writings in 1953, we can see a chain of thought in which Okinawan people, including Christians, desired to return to Japan in spite of the Okinawan subordinate relationship with Japan in the past. Then, in addition to the understanding of the meaning of Article Nine of the Constitution to the Okinawan people, what was the theological perspective which motivated the Okinawan Christians' desire to return to Japan?

Taira testified that it was the peaceful Constitution of Japan which inspired the people of Okinawa to reunite with other Japanese, as the constitution affirmed that sovereignty rested on the people, advocated peace, guaranteed stipulated human rights and forswore war as a means of settling international disputes.⁽³⁹⁾ The post-war constitution became the law of the Japan in 1947. No new constitutional rights or privileges were granted to the people of Okinawa at this time. Thus, Okinawans hoped to be reunited with Japan and to take part in the new constitution, which aimed to establish these universal ideals for Japan.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Japan had reconstructed itself as a new state at the time that the new constitution was enacted in May 1947 because it transformed Japan from a totalitarian state to a democratic one by affirming the sovereignty of the people, commitment to respect of fundamental human rights and renouncing war as a means of settling international disputes. By becoming a part of this new state, the Okinawan people desired to be freed from the U.S. military governance. Past experiences of discrimination against Okinawa by Japan would be swept away as Japan promised a new ideal, a democratic state.

That an anticipated democratic state was one of the conclusive reasons for the Okinawa reunion with Japan was reported to the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs by Dr. Robert Scalapino of the University of California in 1958. He reported that "it was predicted that sentiment for reversion to Japanese administration was likely to grow stronger. (2) Particularly the education provided for Okinawans and increased identification with Japan."⁽⁴¹⁾

For Taira, the reunion of Okinawa with the country of Japan had a spiritual, Christian dimension because of the peaceful spirit of the Japanese constitution of 1947. He mentioned that, "I want to say Amen whenever I read the preamble to the Japanese Constitution⁽⁴²⁾ and Article Nine."⁽⁴³⁾ He focuses his sights upon the spirit of Christianity in these documents.

3.2. Human Nature and Human Dignity

Along with the social and political context, Taira's pacifistic theology must be interpreted through the aspects of human nature and human dignity. Why is his theology built on an optimistic perspective? He believes that achieving peace without using force is a mandatory objective for Christians. Is it a feasible goal to pursue for Christians whose nature is sinful? There is no doubt that Taira understands the sinful inclinations of human nature. Taira denies the inherent value of each human person because of a universal tendency toward sinfulness. His statement that the Okinawan people are war victims and war criminals as well because they followed state power proves his discernment of sinful human nature. Taira confesses that "we, human beings are sinful because we, on the margin of survival, give the opponent a smack."⁽⁴⁴⁾ His confession demonstrates that his advocacy of denouncing war is not rooted in a humanistic perspective but a theological perspective of universal principles throughout the ages. Then, how does Taira overcome this theological contradiction between the sinful nature of human beings and the Christian capacity to achieve a peace without using force? In the 1980s, he claims:

We human beings have a God-given human dignity. Even a demonical person such as Adolf Hitler is an object of God's affection because of the gift of human dignity; thus, every person is valuable not because he or she is worthy to be valuable.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Taira defends his interpretation of a God-given human dignity based on Christological perspective, through relating human dignity to both a human-to-God basis and a human-to-human basis. Taira claims, through the perspective of a human-to-God relation that the Lord Jesus Christ, who was rich, died on the

cross so that we humans can become rich. He asserts:

Our richness is to become poor for others. There is no such human richness because Jesus Christ became poor...the reality of Okinawa cannot be seen without seeing it from a perspective of the poor of Jesus Christ...the history of Okinawa in the modern period of a hundred years has been forced to be the poor because of the richness of the state power of Japan...We selected Japan by expecting it became a democratic state because of the peace constitution.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Taira continued to claim that the Lord Jesus Christ completed his sacrifice and became poor, but we have not yet completed the process of becoming rich through his sacrifice.⁽⁴⁷⁾ I recognize that the Okinawan people's selection of Japan for pursuing the richness to serve the poor in the world could not be completed because of the sinful nature of human beings. Thus, our richness is the goal for which we should strive. We have weakness because we are always tempted to pursue our own richness by sacrificing others.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Thus, human dignity and value, both of which are given by God's grace, are grounded in the richness of human person. I recognize that Taira and Martin Luther King, Jr. have theological commonality in discerning the sin and the sinner. W.T. Randall claims that:

King was also similar to Gandhi in that his nonviolent protests were directed against the forces of evil at work in the system of racial injustice, not against the people who were engaged in administering those systems. He asked the protestors to hate sins but love the sinners. He regarded the Montgomery struggle, "not as a racial tension, but as a

conflict between justice and injustice.” He insisted that the only true victory was the triumph of justice over un-justice.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Just as King loved the sinners, Taira discerns God’s given human dignity in all humans, including a demonic person such as Hitler. Both theological interpretations lead us to review the connection of their understandings of human dignity with sanctification⁽⁵⁰⁾ because both believe in human dignity’s possibility to live in the grace of God. This means that human dignity has the possibility to bring solidarity among human beings when a Christian sees the dignity of any, including even a demonic person because he or she is also given a chance to be called and be regenerated.⁽⁵¹⁾ Though King and Taira interpreted the human dignity and solidarity of people from different social contexts, both of them succeeded in presenting the theological meaning of human dignity from different social contexts of oppression existing during 1960s.

How does Taira define human dignity on a human-to-human basis? Taira claims that no human person should deprive another person of his or her human dignity by sacrificing him or her. Because a human person’s dignity is given unconditionally from God through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, no one is permitted to violate the human dignity of another. Sacrificing others is equivalent to crucifying Jesus again on the cross. Though Taira’s claim of a redemptive understanding is based on a human-to-human relationship, his redemptive concept can be interpreted from a regenerative perspective as follows:

God, who is rich and mighty in heaven, became poor on the cross so that we became rich...the Lord’s suffering, is our salvation, his humiliation is our strength, and his hopelessness is our hope.⁽⁵²⁾

Taira's dialectic theological understanding makes his pacifism optimistic. He also emphasizes the eschatological dimension of the Last Day which is related to human dignity by criticizing the traditional Christians. He questions why you cannot trust such a valuable person even when he is a demonic person? We have not been having a relationship with such a person. He asserts that the Christian's rejection of having a relationship with such a person is rooted in each human person's sinfulness. He continues to claim that Jesus Christ, at the Last, as written in Matthew, ⁽⁵³⁾ will judge every human person depending on what he or she has done for neighbors. ⁽⁵⁴⁾ This is his theological interpretation, which refutes the contradiction of the sinful nature of human beings and a Christian's capability to achieve peace. It is because Taira believes that a Christian is a person who can trust all human persons, including even a demonic person, because of being objects of God's affection. Taira's lecture at the retreat of Hokkaido Kyoku of the United Church of Christ in Japan in 1970 represents clearly the meaning of his understanding. He claims:

We cannot trust valuable persons as valuable, nor regard them as valuable, nor have been having a relationship with them. These human natures of sinfulness are problematic. These problematic human natures of sinfulness of the Japanese have oppressed Okinawa. This sinfulness of human natures underlies all the Okinawan issues. ⁽⁵⁵⁾

Some question remains as to whether Taira was a mere pacifist dreamer who insisted on peace and on the reversion of Okinawa to Japan without recognizing the social and political situation of Japan. Therefore I will analyze the socio-political circumstances of Japan during this time in order to determine how Taira's theology related to them.

4. Political and Social Situation of Japan in the 1940s-50s

On 3 May 1947, four years before the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Japan, the Constitution of Japan was enacted. As the People's Republic of China was established in 1949 and the Korean War broke out in 1950, political conflict between the Free World and the Communist World emerged. It was during this period that the Japanese government explored ways to pursue independence which would accomplish a full restoration of state sovereignty. The Japanese government recognized that the Allies' ultimate aim was to make Japan into a peaceful and non-military nation, based on the report of *Heiwa jōyaku mondai kenkyū shiryō* [the Report of the Peace Treaty Research] in January 1946.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The United States, which had occupied Japan, had its policy toward Japan changed by the U.S. President Truman, who signed NSC 13/3 (National Security Council's document) in 1949. The U.S. now wanted Japan to contribute to the Free World, encouraging Japan to remilitarize so that she could confront the communist regimes in Asia.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Particularly, the U.S. regarded China as a wartime invader because China had sent the Chinese People's Volunteer Army to Korea during the Korean War (June 1950-July 1953).⁽⁵⁸⁾ It was during this period of high political tension in the Far East that the Treaty of Peace with Japan was signed between Japan and the Allied Nations, on 8 September 1951, in San Francisco. Simultaneously with the signing of the Treaty of Peace with Japan, the Security Treaty between Japan and the U.S., and its Allies, was signed. Article I of the Treaty specifies that:

Japan grants, and the United States of America accepts, the right, upon the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace and of this Treaty, to dispose United States land, air and sea forces in and about Japan. Such forces may be utilized to contribute to the maintenance of international

peace and security in the Far East and to the security of Japan against armed attack from without, including assistance given at the express request of the Japanese Government to put down large scale internal riots and disturbances in Japan, caused through instigation or intervention by an outside power or powers.⁽⁵⁹⁾

The Security Treaty signified that the political situation had changed from the stage of World War II to that of the Cold War era. The U.S. Government's official letter to the Indian Government, which was sent on 25 August 1951, identified this political transition. The letter stated that the Treaty was established for the purpose of protecting Japan against armed attack; without the Security Treaty, Japan would have been left in a seriously undefended condition. Thus, the Security Treaty was based on the requirements of the Japanese Government, the Diet, political leaders, and the people's concern that Japan might become an undefended state through concluding the original Peace Treaty.⁽⁶⁰⁾ P.N. Narrasimha Murthy, an Indian scholar of Government Relations, claimed that the Treaty of Peace with Japan would not bring peace to an unstable area of the world by regarding it as a part of the Cold War structure. Thus, based on this judgment, the Indian Government did not recognize it.⁽⁶¹⁾

There is a serious territorial dispute in the Peace Treaty with between the U.S. and Japan because of the political tensions of the Cold War. Both the Japanese and the U.S. governments agreed to separate the territory of the southern part of Japan so that the U.S. military force could use it freely without interference from foreign countries. Article III of the Treaty states:

Japan will concur in any proposal of the United States to the United Nations to place under its trusteeship system, with the United States as

the sole administering authority, Nansei Shoto south of 29 degrees north latitude (including the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands),...⁽⁶²⁾

It is no doubt that state sovereignty requires both legal and constitutional structure. Thus, it seems that the Japanese, through concluding the Treaty of Peace and the Security Treaty with the U.S. on the same day, on 8 September 1951, ensured Japanese independence and sovereignty. Nevertheless, there was a legal contradiction from the beginning because Japan's constitution contained the renunciation of all war. Even with this the legal conflict between the Peaceful Constitution and the Security Treaty with the United States, both were overwhelmingly accepted by the population.

While we have acknowledged the whole political situation, we still affirm that Taira was not a dreamer as we see him relating his thinking to the political reality of Okinawa based on his theological perspective. Taira proved himself not to be a dreamer by squarely facing the reality of Okinawan social issues. When he was asked why he became involved in the peace movement, he replied, "I committed myself in the peace movement because I was a pastor."⁽⁶³⁾ He claims that "there exist no works inside and outside church; it is a dualistic thought...God brings a church to the forefront of a domain of Jesus Christ which is an entire world."⁽⁶⁴⁾

Based on his theological conviction, Taira emphasizes an eschatological understanding by relating to social justice issues. Thus, he claims that "the Lord Jesus Christ would ask what we did for the least."⁽⁶⁵⁾ His eschatological understanding does not emphasize a heaven where we could at last have peace, but warns us to face a Last Judgment in which God will ask what we did for our neighbors on Earth. Taira focuses attention on our repentance and response to

the cross of Jesus Christ as a basis for seeking peace and justice in the world. If he had hope in a heaven without coping with the reality of Okinawan social issues, he would have been despised as a dreamer. At this point, we need to examine how he committed himself to work on social justice issues after he returned from the U.S. in 1965.

5. The U.S. Military's Ruling Period and Taira's Response

In this section I will examine how Taira challenged the U.S. military authority in Okinawa during the period of U.S. administration in the 1960s. I examine Taira's theology by highlighting Taira's prayer at the investiture for the new High Commissioner, Ferdinand Thomas Unger, in 1966, because his prayer represented Taira's pacifistic theology and its concern for the conflicting social and political context between the Okinawan people and the U.S. military authority. For Taira, it was his first public challenge response as a specifically Christian pacifist protest. His response recalled and reflected his transformation into a pacifist, when he was deeply, spiritually touched while attending a memorial meeting for the African-American civil rights struggle in Nashville, Tennessee, before returning to Okinawa in 1965.⁽⁶⁶⁾

5.1. The Social Context in Okinawa during the U.S. military Administration

Under the rule of the U.S. military, from 1945 until Okinawa's reunion with Japan in 1972, the Okinawan people were forced to live apart from their mother country, Japan. In a 1942 study, the U.S. State Department concluded that Okinawa was within the territory of Japan; this study was used in 1945 to help negotiate Japanese postwar issues.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The U.S. Department of Defense, which had priority in the matter, disagreed with the conclusion of the U.S. State Department. In 1945, the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) made the strategic decisions

to separate Okinawa from Japan.⁽⁶⁸⁾

On 6 May 1949, the U.S. President Truman approved NSC 13/3 (the National Security Council's document) which changed the U.S. policy regarding post-war Japan. From a position of promoting democratization and demilitarization, the policy changed to encourage remilitarization and economic development by integrating Japan into the Allied nations.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Based on this political situation, the U.S., through Article 3 of the Treaty of Peace, separated Okinawa from Japan legally with the agreement of the Japanese Government.

What was the motivation which made the Okinawan people so eager to rejoin Japan, notwithstanding the lack any political support from Japan during this period of 1950s? Ōta Masahide, the governor of Okinawa prefecture in the 1990s, claims that the Okinawan people at first regarded the U.S. military as a liberating force, emancipating the people from the Japanese military oppression. However, the confiscation of land by the U.S. military during 1953-55 brought a precipitous change of public opinion in the people of Okinawa, causing them to resent the U.S. governing forces. This appropriation of land caused the Okinawans to see the U.S. occupation as oppressive.⁽⁷⁰⁾ The issue of the land confiscation came to the attention of Roger N. Baldwin of the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union). In 1954, he requested the Japan Civil Liberties Union (JCLU) to investigate the issue.⁽⁷¹⁾ The report of the JCLU, which was released by *Asahi Shimbun* on 13 January 1955, drew an enthusiastic response from the general public in Japan.⁽⁷²⁾ Based on the report of JCLU, Roger N. Baldwin brought the matter to the attention of William F. Marquat, an executive in the Civil Affairs Bureau of the U.S. Army. Marquat sent representatives of the Ryukyu Government; the Legislature of the Government of the Ryukyu; the Municipality Governor's Association; and the Okinawa Military Land Owners' Association to Japan for the settlement of the land issues.

How did the Okinawa Christians participate in these political issues during this period in 1953-1955? Reverend Ryuichi Naka, the pastor of the Koza church of the United Church of Christ of Okinawa recalled that few Christians were involved in land issues during the island-wide protest against the U.S. military.⁽⁷³⁾ Taira regrettably acknowledges that two groups of churches existed at that time: one group of churches shared responsibility for social concerns; the other group of churches did not involve themselves in social issues.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Taira's assessment is confirmed by Reverend Edward E. Bollinger, an American Baptist missionary to Okinawa. He testified:

The churches of Okinawa took no official action at the time on the land question...there were a general recognition that there were at least a few Americans who were willing to speak out for Okinawan interests and rights. There were also individual Christians in the churches who spoke out on the issues, opposing the acquisition by military forces of 40,000 acres of new land for use without proper contracts or negotiations...⁽⁷⁵⁾

Bollinger's observation is more precise than that of Taira because the commitment to social issues by Christians is complicated, and cannot be classified solely by church. He greatly favors Christians' sharing of social concerns, based on his belief that churches should pray for and take pains to share social righteousness. Taira lectured at the Mission Conference of the Hokkaido District in 1985 with the title of "My Life I had led." He said:

Jesus Christ died on the cross after fervent prayer at Gethsemane...
Reverend Dietrich Bonhoeffer said that being a Christian consisted

of praying and doing justice...for the love of God, a church would commit in doing justice...Jesus' prayers were always relevant to his actions.⁽⁷⁶⁾

Taira aggressively participated in social justice issues and in peace movements in Okinawa after finishing his education at George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A. in 1965. When he returned to Okinawa he committed himself to the cause of the reunion of Okinawa with Japan and in opposition to American imperialism. He jointed protests against military appropriation of Okinawan farmland (the so-called "One Tsubo Movement") and joined in demonstrations against the Vietnam War. He was involved in issuing the statement concerning the Yasukuni Shrine issue by the United Christ of Okinawa in 1968.⁽⁷⁷⁾ He was also involved in submitting a letter to the High Commissioner, James B. Lampert, in 1969. The letter, which was submitted in the name of Reverend Matsuda Sadao, the Moderator of United Church of Christ of Japan Okinawa District, argued on behalf of the reversion of Okinawa to Japan, and the recovery of human rights by the Okinawan people.⁽⁷⁸⁾

5.2. Reverend Taira's Prayer: 2 November 1966

Perhaps the strongest example of Reverend Taira's response through his theological perspective was the prayer at the investiture of the New High Commissioner, Ferdinand Thomas Unger, in 1966. I will now examine Taira's theology through comparing his pacifistic views with that of the non-pacifism of Reinhold Niebuhr.

In 1966, the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR) asked Taira to pray at the investiture of the new High Commissioner, Ferdinand T. Unger. Though it is not certain, the USCAR may have asked Taira

pray at the investiture because he had just returned from the U.S. after finishing his studies at the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, sponsored by a scholarship from the U.S. military.

Taira received the prayer request as a personal matter, and was in dread of causing embarrassment to the Okinawa Christian Junior College, where he was serving as president of the college at that time. He claimed all responsibility when a problem was created by his public prayer, and he let it be known that his Christian friends were concerned about him and that they had established a group to pray for and supported him.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Taira's prayer at the investiture of the New High Commissioner, Ferdinand Thomas Unger, on 2 November 1966, stated his belief in the importance of Christian involvement in social concerns. Taira was criticized by the American military officials on Okinawa as his prayer clearly communicated a pacifistic message, demanding the recovery of the human rights of the Okinawan people, and stating their desire to reunite with Japan, establish democracy in Okinawa, and establish a spirit of Christian ethics to serve the oppressed people. In his prayer, he challenged the U.S. military power, whose chief interest was to stand against all communist regimes and to protect the Free World. Conversely, he received positive appreciation from the Okinawan and Japanese media because his prayer brought the attention of both the governments of Japan and the U.S. to review the Okinawan situation. He prayed:

Our dear God, we thank thee for this opportunity to come together before Thee at 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.⁽⁸⁰⁾

Taira began with a challenging prayer, "Our dear God, we thank thee for this opportunity to come together before Thee at the investiture of our new High Commissioner." He declared the occasion not to be political but where attendants consecrated the worship service to God so that it would be

understood that the High Commissioner's authority was given by God because a worship service is a place where God invites all humans, regardless of race, nationality, rank, or gender. He declared that God had given authority to the High Commissioner, that is, the authority not to rule the people but to serve.

Taira prayed to God that the new High Commissioner would be the last High Commissioner, since the Okinawans considered the rule of the High Commissioner to be unjust. The prayer declared to those in attendance, including the new High Commissioner, that Taira, as a pastor, didn't have the authority to terminate the unfair and ill-considered military occupation, but God did have that authority. Taira prayed to God to make all those in attendance see reality without ignoring the political situation of Okinawa, and prayed that they would be capable of striving for peace in the world, together with the new High Commissioner. What Taira prayed for was not merely to be given peace in Heaven, but included in his prayer a petition for peace on earth. His prayer for peace on earth had its basis in his commitment to social issues, such as the reunion of Okinawa with Japan, the Land Owners' Anti-war movement, etc. It was not a ritualistic, meaningless prayer. There were criticisms of his prayers. An editorial in the *Morning Star* newspaper commented that prayer was a best friend to political instigators.⁽⁸¹⁾ The *Ashahi Shimbun* newspapers stated that Taira's prayer made both the Governments of Japan and of the United States review the Okinawan situation.⁽⁸²⁾

In the prayer, Taira quoted Reinhold Niebuhr's famous Serenity Prayer⁽⁸³⁾: "Give us strength to accept with serenity the things that cannot be changed. Give us courage to change the things that can and should be changed." Taira, though he was a pacifist, saw the reality of the situation in Okinawa and he believed in the possibility that the injustice of the U.S. Military's occupation could be changed. Reinhold Niebuhr might have criticized the theology of Taira,

as Niebuhr was not a pacifist. Thus, Niebuhr might have regarded Taira as a Christian who didn't take social responsibility, based on his recognition that "by making an absolute of non-violence, the pacifist led to a position of social irresponsibility."⁽⁸⁴⁾ However, Niebuhr's criticism of a pacifism does not apply to Taira's theology, because of Taira's commitment to both social and political issues.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Both Niebuhr and Taira demanded social justice. Is there a theological difference between them? Taira understood that the U.S. military occupation could be "the things that can be changed." The occupation was used to rule the Okinawan people by depriving them of their fundamental human rights,⁽⁸⁶⁾ while Niebuhr regarded the military force as one of the "things that cannot be changed" as it was in place for the protection of the Free World.

Taira ended his prayer with this plea, "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." It seems to me that Taira's prayer appealed to the new High Commissioner as an individual and also to the political leaders of the governments of both the United States and Japan. The U.S. newspapers' negative comments⁽⁸⁷⁾ and the positive comments of the *Asahi Simbun*⁽⁸⁸⁾ prove my analysis, as the U.S. media neglected Taira's requests while the *Asahi Shimbun* commented that his prayer inspired both the U.S. and Japanese government to rethink the current political situation of Okinawa.

6. Criticism of Taira's Theology

After the prayer of Taira at the investiture of the new High Commissioner in 1966, Taira received criticisms, both military and private, through the U.S. media. The Okinawan and Japanese media wrote in support of his prayer.⁽⁸⁹⁾

Even the *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, with the headline of “Prayer Tinged Politics,” commented that:

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 the U.S. officials on the American-occupied island, but he would probably be the average Okinawan’s nomination for man of the year.⁽⁹⁰⁾

I have noticed that newspaper articles didn’t express any comment on the meaning of the prayer, but rejected any religion-based intervention in military issues and politics with the ironic praise, “a mighty good prayer.” As the paper was the U.S. military-supported media, the article made sense to American readers. The editor of *the Morning Stars*, an American newspaper in Okinawa, responded with sharp criticism of Taira with headline, “Prayer Book Becomes Demagogue’s Best Friend.”⁽⁹¹⁾ This article said that:

He (Rev. Taira) enjoyed the privilege of sanctimony that his competitors have been unable to match...Okinawa recently subjected to a bit of demagoguism which is not likely to be equaled in a hurry. Adam Clayton Powell could hardly have done better. ((*Rev. Taira*) is added by author.)

As Adam Clayton Powell was the first African American politician who had been a Baptist pastor, it was an irony that Taira received criticisms from the Americans who brought democracy to Japan. It was in the United States where Taira, deeply touched by African American spirituality, changed his theology from pro-American perspectives to particular concerns for universal social

issues. Thereafter, he would always stand up for the oppressed. Taira's spiritual experience was fostered while he was studying at the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, his tuition paid for by a scholarship from the U.S. military, however, regardless of the U.S. media's criticisms, I believe that Taira had moved American Christians' spirits through his prayer-message. Dr. Joseph M. Smith of the United Christian Missionary Society reflected understanding of Taira's prayer by reporting that:

American Christians are challenged to manifest their maturity. This is a 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 interests of ruling powers, including the United States.⁽⁹²⁾

Contrary to earlier articles carried by other papers, *Leaven*, through Smith's report, accepted Taira's prayer as referring to politics concerns through taking steps toward Christian involvement in social issues. Why, then, did other American journalists not accept Taira's prayer as being first Christian and then political? Did they expect him to give a formal prayer without including a Christian spirit? For Taira, it was not acceptable to give a meaningless formal prayer. When it was noticed that it was the U.S. military authority who invited Taira for the investiture, it might have been seen in the light that American historical traditions allowed religious rite involvement at the investiture. However, the American newspapers' articles had contradictions within their criticisms. Taira's prayer gave a theological message for all those in attendance based on the American tradition of beginning a public investiture with a

proclamation of God's message.

6.1. Non-Pacifist's Criticism of Pacifist

The mainstream of Christianity in the U.S. before World War II matched pacifistic theology with the firm belief that violence should not be used to yield a political solution. Non-pacifists criticized these pacifistic theologies as inadequate with regard to both social and political concerns. Christian realists claimed that, "non-pacifist Christians reject the position of absolute pacifism because it distorts the Christian concept of love and tries to apply an individual ethic to a collective situation."⁽⁹³⁾ In this argument, how was the concept of love defined? A non-pacifist defined Love Command as follows:

The central principle of the Christian ethic provides both the dynamic for transforming personal relations and the mainspring for social responsibility. Love has what might be called two dimensions: the vertical dimension of perfection, of sacrificial love; and the horizontal dimension of concern for all people, of concern for social justice and the balances by which it is maintained.⁽⁹⁴⁾

Non-pacifists criticize pacifists by claiming that:

The pacifist comprehension of love seizes upon one of these two aspects. It makes an absolute of sacrificial love at the expense of social responsibility. The pacifist tends to regard the love command less as an over-arching principle which confronts the Christian in all his relations than as a neat formula to use in situations of violence... This partial view leads the pacifist to exalt peace over the claims of justice, when a

choice between the two must be made.⁽⁹⁵⁾

What is social justice and what are the balances which maintain it? For non-pacifists, social justice was directed toward protecting the democracy of the Free World, standing against all Communist regimes. For Reverend Taira, however, social justice was defined as the recovery of the Okinawan people's fundamental human rights through the establishment of democracy.⁽⁹⁶⁾ For non-pacifists, it is clear that a balance was to be constructed by the lasting détente with the military strength of the Free World. For Taira, a balance was to be created through non-violent demonstration,⁽⁹⁷⁾ which demanded the reunion of Okinawa with Japan⁽⁹⁸⁾ and establishment of democracy so that the voice of Okinawan people could be heard by the people of Japan and by the people of the U.S. In 1984, Taira, by contributing to a sub-committee of the Based and Self Defense Force Issue of the United Church of Christ in Japan, claimed that "God gave a peace constitution, which represented His affections, to a non-Christian state, Japan."⁽⁹⁹⁾ He continued to claim that "God uses not only Christians but also non-Christians of the world for making a peace."⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Thus, Taira's balance held the détente effective against the power of the U.S. military, which could not silence international public opinion.

What is the mainspring of social responsibility? For Taira, it was the restoration of democracy and human rights to the Okinawan people as he prayed in the investiture of the new High Commissioner in 1966. What other social responsibility would be taken by Taira? For him, it was clear that, through sharing his commitment to nonviolent social movements with Okinawan Christians and people, social justice could be achieved. The people's solidarity through non-violent organizations could be more effective than the political and war powers of the U.S. military.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Though the American military might was

effective against Communist regimes, and it was justified by non-pacifistic theology, it was not effective because it had infringed the human rights of the Okinawan people. This means that the theological weakness of non-pacifists was exposed because the power balance for pursuing peace brought the infringement of human rights.

As we have seen, there exists a theological confliction between the pacifist and non-pacifist concerning how to respond to an armed attack under the conditions of an all-encompassing war. However, when we give thought to God's message to all people who face impending combat situation without focusing the use of force, we recognize that God's message to us is a salvation which requires our repentance and response to the redemption of the cross. Thus I conclude that directing theological attention toward God's will transcends the theological differences between the pacifist and non-pacifist. Niebuhr's statement at the World Councils of Churches in 1948 supports my conclusion as he claims:

First: we can rightly think and speak of this disorder only in the way of Christian repentance...Repentance distinguishes itself from such an attitude in two ways. On one hand it is an active turning away from sin rather than a morbid feeling. On the other hand it is hopeful, looking toward the healing of disease, while remorse and shame, in so far as they remain worldly, are helpless.⁽¹⁰²⁾

6.2. What is the Prayer's Meaning for the World in the 1960s?

Though an examination of Taira's prayer, however, it seems that Taira's pacifist theology both opposes and transcends Christian realism. The debate between the two schools, pacifism and realism, had been conducted based on

issues of social conflict before and after World War II. The first world-wide theological debate was conducted at the Oxford Conference in 1937. After World War II, in 1948, the second global discussion, sponsored by the World Council of Churches (W.C.C.), brought together a world-wide group of scholars and ministers. It was held at the Amsterdam Assembly, established by the W.C.C., and was based on ecumenical faith. The first assembly of the W.C.C. issued an invitation addressed to Christians and to the people of the world to hear God's message.⁽¹⁰³⁾ This invitation reads as follows:

The World Council of Churches, meeting at Amsterdam sends this message to all who are in Christ, and all who are willing to hear ... We have to make of the Church in every place a voice for those who have no voice, and a home where every man will be at home ... We have to ask God to teach us together to say No and to say Yes in truth. No to all that flouts the love of Christ, to every system, every program and every person that treats any man as though he were an irresponsible thing or a means of profit, to the defenders of injustice in the name of order, to those who sow the seeds of war or urge war as inevitable; Yes, to all that conforms to the love of Christ' to all who seek for justice, to the peacemakers, to all who hope, fight and suffer for the cause of man, to all who — even without knowing it — look for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwellth righteousness...

As the first W.C.C. to be held after World War II, this invitation called for world peace. It proclaimed to the world the rejection of justified war. This absolute proclamation was opposed by Reinhold Niebuhr, who warned of the threat of the emergence of communist regimes. He claimed the necessity of a

force balance between the Free world and the communist regimes in order to insure world stability, stating that:

The possibility of avoiding another international conflict depends to a large degree upon the measure of health which can be achieved in that part of the world which is not under the dominion of the totalitarianism...the peril of international anarchy is broader than the danger thus far discussed.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

As Niebuhr had envisioned world political circumstances, the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established on 1 October 1949. The Korean War started on 25 June 1950, just half a year after the founding of the People's Republic of China. The Second General Assembly of the W.C.C. was held in Evansville, Illinois, U.S.A., from 15-31 August 1954, with 600 delegates representing 161 Communions and 48 countries. It was held about one year after the Korean War, as an armistice agreement ending that war had been signed on 27 July 1953.

How had the W.C.C. responded to the Korean War? The W.C.C. Central Committee, at its Toronto meeting in July, 1950, "was outspoken in its condemnation of aggression, and supported the action taken by the United Nations."⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ The W.C.C.'s International Affairs (CCIA) Executive, in 1951, stated:

As Christians it is our duty to seek both peace and justice. We no less than others detest war, and we shall do everything in our power to prevent present tensions and limited conflicts from leading to a third World War. Yes we must neither purchase peace at the price of tyranny

nor in the name of justice look on war as a way to justice, or as a ground of hope... We condemn equally the proposal of preventive war, or the use for aggressive purposes of atomic weapons.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

The statement of 1951 followed the peace and justice-oriented theology which was proclaimed at Amsterdam during the first W.C.C. Assembly in 1946. The W.C.C. maintained a neutral position in political issues and expected the war to end through negotiation and reconciliation. Was there a significant difference of thought between the W.C.C. and Reinhold Niebuhr in how they regarded the United Nations? There is no doubt that the W.C.C. supported the United Nations, judging from the W.C.C.'s Central Committee's statement that the United Nations was of "outstanding importance..."⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ In contrast, Reinhold Niebuhr did not value the U.N.'s role in international political issues. He claimed that:

The notion that world government is a fairly simple possibility is the final and most absurd form of the "social contract" conception of government which has confused modern political thought... It must certainly be obvious by this time that the conception of a state of nature in which all men were at war with all, and of a subsequent social contract through which men establish a power over themselves to avoid mutual annihilation, is a pure fiction.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

As long as the military power of the U.S. was effective as a counterbalance to the communist regimes, Niebuhr's claim was justified in that he claimed the power balance created and maintained peace.

My description of the detailed worldwide theological debates between the

W.C.C.'s peace and justice-oriented stance and Reinhold Niebuhr's preference for a U.S. military guarantee of world peace is helpful in a review of Taira's pacifistic theology through the worldwide ecumenical perspective. As Taira was still studying at Tokyo Union Theological Seminary at the time when the W.C.C. Evanston Assembly was held in 1954, there is a question as to why Taira's theological desires, the recovery of human rights of the Okinawan people and the reunion of Okinawa with Japan, could not have been studied at the world wide W.C.C. assemblies. On 6 July 1953, when A.R. Stone sent his personal report to the Foreign Mission in New York, he reported that "the Okinawa Church earnestly desires a closer relationship with the Japanese Church,"⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ while, at the same time, the U.S. military strategy while occupying Okinawa was to discourage any close relationship between the people of Okinawa and Japan. Stone's letter was sent after he accompanied Reverend Dr. Kozaki Michio, who was the first Japanese Church representative after World War II, to the Amsterdam Conference in 1948. This was because Stone was a member of the fraternal delegation appointed by the Church of Christ in Japan to visit the Church of Christ in Okinawa. At the Amsterdam Conference, Kozaki Michio was elected to be a member of the Central Committee (he served for 13 years). On 6 January 1954, Rev. Otis W. Bell, who was a missionary to Okinawa, contributed a thesis with the title, "Play Fair with Okinawans!" to the *The Christian Century* magazine, in which he revealed the extent of the U.S. military's oversight of Okinawan land issues.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

Japan sent representatives to the W.C.C. Evanston Assembly, and some of them were elected as members of different committees. Mr. Sōichi Saitō was a member of the International Affairs — Christians in the Struggle committee. Professor Mikio Sumiya was a member of the Social Questions — the Responsible Society in World Perspective committee. Rev. Bishop M.H. Washirō

was a member of the Intergroup Relations — the Church Amid Racial and Ethnic Tensions committee. There had been many chances on worldwide ecumenical levels to discuss the recovery of human rights of the Okinawan people and the reunion of Okinawa with Japan. Why was it that these committees neglected to present or debate Okinawan issues?

It is regrettable that Japanese representatives at the W.C.C. did not call attention to the issue of Okinawan human rights. Could it be that Okinawan human right issues were considered a bilateral political matter between the U.S. and Japan? Given that there were almost one million Okinawans whose human rights were being infringed by the U.S. military authority, the import of this issue merited being addressed by an assembly of international governments rather than within the unequal relationship between the U.S. military occupation and the post-war Japanese government.

Perhaps the Japanese representative neglected to bring the issue of Okinawan human rights before the W.C.C. due to a lack of knowledge of the U.S. military governance of Okinawa. The greater attention of Japanese Christian leaders during this time was directed toward ecclesiastical theological understanding. There was also the theological influence of those Christians who were not pacifists, who would place the international balance of power ensured by the U.S. military forces over the human rights of the Okinawans.

7. Conclusion

Taira Osamu became a nationally-known pastor as a result of the prayer he delivered on the occasion of the investiture of the High Commissioner, Ferdinand Thomas Unger, in 1966. His prayer was controversial because he challenged American military authority by asking for the recovery of Okinawan people's human rights, a democratic government, and the reversion of Okinawa

to Japan. He was criticized by some, especially representatives of the American military in Okinawa, but received strong support from both the Okinawan and Japanese media. He prayed for peace at a time when world political tension remained high because Okinawa was situated in a militarily strategic location.

How do we evaluate the importance what Taira did for social justice issues in 1960s, and 1970s? Before the reversion of Okinawa to Japan, Taira, a pacifist pastor, desired that Okinawa would return to Japan. He expected Okinawa to be freed from being governed by the U.S. military forces. The reality of the Okinawan political situation after the reversion in 1972 remained the same, notwithstanding the recovery of democracy and local autonomy under the legal protection of the new constitution of Japan. The American military forces in Okinawa remained, and the government of Japan has not been successful in reducing the burden of American military bases in Okinawa.

There is no doubt that Taira failed to accomplish the aim of Okinawan reunion with Japan in the absence of the U.S. military facilities. Then what is his contribution to the anti-war social justice movement? His commitment to social justice has not been completed. It is still in the process as he claims that “our richness is the goal for which we should strive.”⁽¹¹¹⁾ However, I acknowledge that Taira has made significant contributions to social justice issues in the world. The first contribution is that he has disclosed the theological weakness of the non-pacifists, particularly because they failed to protect human rights. Their primarily theological concern was the doctrine of power balance for protecting the Free World as Dr. Joseph M. Smith claimed in the editorial of *Leaven* in May 1967, with the title of “Okinawa Pastor’s Prayer Stirs Controversy Over the U.S. Occupation,” where he cautioned that “American Christians are challenged to manifest their maturity... This is needed even when such participation may seem to ally Christians with forces that are directed against the interest of

Western powers including the United States.”⁽¹¹²⁾

The second contribution is that Taira has brought his pacifistic message to inspire the Japanese people outside as well as inside the churches. Not only the Okinawan media but also Japanese national newspapers and magazines have featured his articles. The Okinawan newspapers such as *Okinawa Times*⁽¹¹³⁾ and *Ryukyu Shimpo*⁽¹¹⁴⁾ have reported on his articles, even in 2005 and 2006. In 1966, the year when Taira prayed for the new High Commissioner, Ferdinand Thomas Unger, the national newspapers and magazines such as *Asahi Shimbun*⁽¹¹⁵⁾ and *Mainichi Shimbun*⁽¹¹⁶⁾ reported on his activities and theology. In 2006, *Tokyo Simbun* reported on Taira’s activities with the title of “Anti-military facilities, the Fighting Pastor.”⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Taira has been invited to lecture by churches of both social-justice oriented denominations and evangelical denominations in Japan.

Though Taira is not well known outside of Japan, he deserves to be acknowledged in theological world discourses so that his pacific views can be examined by both pacifists and non-pacifists. In a subsequent paper, I will explore Taira’s commitment to social and political issues after Okinawa’s reversion to Japan. In his judgment, when Okinawa was returned to Japan in 1972, Okinawa was incorporated back into Japan without easing the burden of U.S. military facilities. The reality of Okinawa was that the U.S. bases remained without any changes, just the same as before the reversion. Taira, without losing hope, has devoted himself to anti-U.S.-base movements, such as Henoko base protests.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ When the Showa Emperor was scheduled to visit Okinawa in 1987, Taira, a pastor of Sashiki church of the United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District, opposed the Emperor’s visit because he was against the rule of Japan by emperor. I will investigate, from a theological perspective, why Taira claimed that the Showa Emperor was responsible for all of the war victims of the

Greater East Asia War, from 1931 until the end of WWII in 1945, over and above specifically Okinawan victims. Others of Reverend Taira's concerns, such as the Self Defense Forces and the State, and the Hinomaru, the national flag of Japan, will also be discussed in this next paper.

Notes

- (1) William Walter Hunt III wrote a short four-page essay on Taira's life based on an interview with him. The essay, "Taira Osamu: The Minister Who Grasped the Steering Wheel," is included in William Walter Hunt III, *Christian Buddhism, and Confucian Protests Against Military Bases in Okinawa— A Study of Seven Religious Leaders*, Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales UK: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2008. Aside from this short essay, there is no work that introduces the life and thought of Taira Osamu.
- (2) *Okinawa Times*, "Reigen na inori [The Serenity Prayer]," 3 November 1968. Hereafter, English titles translated by the author are put in square brackets, following their original Japanese titles.
- (3) *Asahi Shimbun* "Okinawa seiji eno jūmin no negai [Okinawan People's Wish for Politics]," 6 November 1966.
- (4) *Okinawa Times*, "Reigen na inori"; *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, "Prayer Tinged Politics," 6 November 1966; *Morning Star*, "Prayer Book Becomes Demagogue's Best Friend," 6 November 1966; *Asahi Shimbun*, "Okinawa seiji eno jūmin no negai." Henceforth, the quotations from the literature in Japanese are translated by the author.
- (5) Ōta Masahide, *Okinawa no chōsen* [The Challenge of Okinawa], Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1990.
- (6) Miyazato Seigen ed., *Sengo Okinawa no seiji to hō 1945-1972 nen*, [Politics and Laws in Postwar Okinawa (1945-1972)], Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1975; Miyazato Seigen, *Amerika no Okinawa tōchi* [Administration of Okinawa by America], Tokyo: Iwanami Bunko, 1969.
- (7) Taira Osamu, *Chīsana shima kara no ōkina toi* [Big Question from a Small Island], Tokyo: Shinkyō Publishing, 1998; Taira Osamu, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete* [Having been Obsessed with Okinawa], Tokyo: Shinkyō Publishing, 1993.
- (8) The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District ed., *27 do sen no Minami kara— Okinawa kirisutoshu 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.
- (9) Miyazato Seigen, *Amerika wa naze Okinawa wo Nihon kara kirihanashita ka* [Why the United States Separated Okinawa from Japan?], Okinawa: Okinawa City, 1999; Miyazato Seigen and Watanabe Akio eds., *Sanfuranshisuko kōwa* [San Francisco Peace Treaty], Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1986.
 - (10) Taira, *Chīsana shima kara no ōkina toi*, 106.
 - (11) Taira, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete*, 11-12.
 - (12) Taira, *Chīsana shima kara no ōkina toi*, 107.
 - (13) Taira, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete*, 15.
 - (14) *Ibid.*, 17.
 - (15) *Ibid.*
 - (16) In an interview with Taira Osamu, on 17 June 2011.
 - (17) Taira, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete*, 18.
 - (18) Miyazato ed., *Sengo Okinawa no seiji to hō 1945-1972 nen*, 353.
 - (19) *Ibid.*, 11.
 - (20) *Ibid.*, 353.
 - (21) *Ibid.*, 24.
 - (22) Tokyo National Museum ed., *Kaijō no michi– Okinawa no rekishi to bunka*, [Marine Road– History and Culture of Okinawa Islands], Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbunsha, 1992, 152.
 - (23) Ōta, *Okinawa no chōsen*, 137-8.
 - (24) The Okinawan people's desire of reunion with Japan before the year of 1972 is proved by the following evidence. On the headline: "Fuminijiru minshushugi– Nihon fukki undō nimo appaku [Trample on Democracy– Oppress Reversion Movement to Japan]" of *Asahi Simbun* on 13 January 1955, Nakayoshi Yoshimitsu, a former-mayor of Shuri City, Okinawa said, "school teachers had been exhorting reversion of Okinawa to Japan at school. The U.S. military authority admitted the Okinawan people desires of reversion unsurprisingly."
 - (25) A.R. Stone, "Letter to Division of Foreign Mission," NCC, New York, NY: Okinawa Committee, 6 July 1953.
 - (26) The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District ed, *27 do sen no minami kara*, 390.
 - (27) *Asahi Shimbin*, "Sensō shūketsu sengen [The Declaration of the End of the War]," 23 January 1955.
 - (28) *Asahi Shimbin*, "Ryukyu wa mukigen ni senryō [Ryukyu will be Occupied Permanently]," 18 January 1955.

- (29) *Asahi Shimbun*, “Fuminijiru minshushugi,” 13 January 1955.
- (30) *Yomiuri Shimbun*, “Bei e kōgi yurusarenu [Protest against the U.S. not Allowed],” 22 January 1955.
- (31) *Asahi Shimbun*, “Beishi hotondo mokusatsu [The U.S. Newspapers Ignored],” 15 January 1955.
- (32) Taira, *Chīsana shima kara no ōkina toi*, 14-15.
- (33) *Ibid.*, 44.
- (34) *Ibid.*
- (35) Kikuchi Akio, *Nihonkoku Kempō* [The Constitution of Japan– with English Version], Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2011, 24.
- (36) Taira, *Chīsana shima kara no ōkina toi*, 70.
- (37) The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District ed., *27 do sen no minami kara*, 228.
- (38) The United Church of Christ in Japan, “Confession of Responsibility during World War II,” <http://www.uccj.or.jp/english/war.html> (accessed on 20 July 2011).
- (39) The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District ed., *27 do sen no minami kara*, 326.
- (40) *Ibid.*
- (41) Edward E. Bollinger, *The Cross and the Floating Dragon*, Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1983, 261.
- (42) Kikuchi, *Nihonkoku Kempō*, 14-18.
- (43) Taira, *Chīsana shima karano okina toi*, 35.
- (44) *Ibid.*, 101.
- (45) Taira, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete*, 80.
- (46) *Ibid.*, 158-159.
- (47) *Ibid.*
- (48) *Ibid.*, 156-157. See 2 Corinthian 8:9, “For you know the generous act of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, so that by his poverty you might become rich.” (New Revised Standard Version).
- (49) William T. Randall, *Social Justice through Nonviolence in the Twentieth Century: A Peace Studies Reader on Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, Naha, Okinawa: Kinjō Press, 2001, 114-115.
- (50) Church of Scotland, *The Confession of Faith, Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster*, Edinburg: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1969, 21. See the Chap. XIII. Of Sanctification. I.
- (51) Taira, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete*, 156-157.

- (52) Ibid., 156.
- (53) Matthew 25:31-46. (NRSV).
- (54) Taira, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete*, 81.
- (55) Ibid.
- (56) Miyazato and Watanabe eds., *Sanfuranshisuko kōwa*, 26.
- (57) Ibid., 46.
- (58) Ibid., 238.
- (59) Yale University Lillian Law Library, "Security Treaty between the United States and Japan: September 8 1951," http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/japan001.asp (accessed on 1 April 2011).
- (60) Miyazato and Watanabe eds., *Sanfuranshisuko kōwa*, 237.
- (61) Ibid., 225.
- (62) Miyazato, *Amerika wa naze Okinawa wo Nihon kara kirihanashita ka*, 57.
- (63) Taira, *Chīsana shima kara no ōkina toi*, 9.
- (64) Ibid.
- (65) Ibid., 15.
- (66) In the interview with Taira.
- (67) Miyazato, *Amerika wa naze Okinawa wo Nihon kara kirihanashita ka*, 4.
- (68) Ibid., 5.
- (69) Ibid., 7.
- (70) Ōta, *Okinawa no chōsen*, 269.
- (71) Miyazato ed., *Sengo Okinawa no seiji to hō*, 40.
- (72) *Asahi Shimbun*, "Fuminijiru minshushugi– Nihon fukki undō nimo appaku.
- (73) The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District ed., *27 do sen no minami kara*, 175.
- (74) Taira, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete*, 36.
- (75) Bollinger, *The Cross and the Floating Dragon*, 188.
- (76) Taira, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete*, 36.
- (77) The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District ed., *27 do sen no minami kara*, 374.
- (78) Ibid., 378.
- (79) In the interview with Taira.
- (80) The United Church of Christ in Japan ed., *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan shi shiryō shu dai 3 kan* [The History of the United Church of Christ in Japan Vol.3], Tokyo: The United Church of Christ in Japan, 1998, 426. English translation supplied by Reverend Taira.

- (81) *Morning Star*, "Prayer Book Becomes Demagogue's Best Friend."
- (82) *Asahi Shimbun*, "Okinawa seiji eno jūmin no negai."
- (83) Seigakuin University, *Reinhold Niebuhr no inori no kotoba* [Reinhold Neibuhr's Prayer], <http://www.seig.ac.jp/edu/inori.htm>. (accessed on 1 April 2011).
- (84) Angus Dun and Reinhold Niebuhr, "God Wills both Justice and Peace," *Christianity and Crisis*, Vol.XV, No.10, New York, NY: Christianity and Crisis, 13 June 1955, 75.
- (85) Taira, *Chīsana shima kara no okina toi*, 9.
- (86) Taira, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete*, 65.
- (87) *Morning Star*, "Prayer Book Becomes Demagogue's Best Friend"; *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, "Prayer Tinged Politics."
- (88) *Asahi Shimbun*, "Okinawa seiji eno jūmin no negai."
- (89) *Ibid.*; *Okinawa Times*, "Kōtō benmukan ni nozomu [Requirements to the High Commissioner Unger]," 2 November 1966; *Okinawa Times*, "Shin kōtō benmukan ni saishite [To the Occasion to the Investiture of the High Commissioner]," 3 November 1966.
- (90) *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, "Prayer Tinged Politics."
- (91) *Morning Star*, "Prayer Book Becomes Demagogue's Best Friend."
- (92) Joseph M. Smith, "Okinawa Pastor's Prayer Stirs Controversy over U.S. Occupation," *Leaven, Bulletin of The United Christian Missionary Society of Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*, Vol.XIX, No.6, May 1967.
- (93) Dun and Niebuhr, "God Wills both Justice and Peace," 75.
- (94) *Ibid.*
- (95) *Ibid.*
- (96) Taira, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete*, 65.
- (97) Taira, *Chīsana shima kara no okina toi*, 14.
- (98) *Ibid.*, 23.
- (99) *Ibid.*, 34-35.
- (100) *Ibid.*, 35.
- (101) *Ibid.*, 34.
- (102) The World Council of Churches, *Man's Disorder and God's Design*, New York, NY: Harper & Brothers Publisher, 1948, 78.
- (103) *Ibid.*, the last three pages (unpaged).
- (104) *Ibid.*, 23.
- (105) The World Council of Churches, *The Christian Hope and the Task of the Church, International Affairs—Christians in the Struggle for World Community*, New York, NY: Harper & Brothers Publisher, 1954, 15.

- (106) Ibid., 13.
- (107) Ibid., 14.
- (108) Reinhold Niebuhr, *Christian Realism and Political Problem*, New Fairfield, New Jersey: Augustus M. Kelley Publisher, 1953 (1977 reprinted), 18.
- (109) Stone, "Letter to Division of Foreign Mission."
- (110) The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District ed., *27 do sen no minami kara*, 367-373.
- (111) Taira, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete*, 158.
- (112) Smith, "Okinawa Pastor's Prayer Stirs Controversy over U.S. Occupation."
- (113) *Okinawa Times*, "Kioku no koe mirai eno hi (23) Okinawa eno kodawari I [Voice of Memory, Day for the Future (23) Taira Osamu Obsessed with Okinawa I]," 10 January 2005; *Okinawa Times*, "Kioku no koe mirai eno hi (24) Okinawa eno kodawari II [Voice of Memory, Day for the Future (24) Taira Osamu Obsessed with Okinawa II]," 10 January 2005.
- (114) *Ryukyu Shimpō*, "Towareru min'i [The Will of the People is Questioned]," 1 May 2006.
- (115) *Asahi Shimbun*, "Kami yo, sokoku fukki wo [God, Let' Return to Japan]," 5 November 1966.
- (116) *Mainichi Shimbun*, "Kamiyo Okinawa no sokoku fukki wo [God, Let Okinawa Return to Japan]," 5 November 1966.
- (117) *Tokyo Shimbun*, "Kagai no shima ni shitakunai Kioku-Sengo 61 nen Han-kichi Tatakau bokushi [Do not Want to Make the Island of Assailant Memory of 61 Years after the War Anti-military Base The Protesting Pastor]," 23 June 2006.
- (118) Ibid.

Bibliography

- Asahi Shimbun*, "Fuminijiru minshushugi- Nihon fukki undō nimo appaku [Trample on Democracy- Pressure on Reversion Movement to Japan]," 13 January 1955.
- Asahi Shimbun*, "Beishi hotondo mokusatsu [The U.S. Newspapers Ignored]," 15 January 1955.
- Asahi Shimbun*, "Ryukyu wa mukigen ni senryō [Ryukyu will be Occupied Permanently]," 18 January 1955.
- Asahi Shimbun*, "Sensō syūketsu sengen [The Declaration of the End of the War]," 23 January 1955.
- Asahi Shimbun*, "Kamiyo, sokoku fukki wo [God, Let' Return to Japan]," 5 November 1966.
- Asahi Shimbun*, "Okinawa seiji eno jūmin no negai [Okinawan People's Wish for Politics],"

6 November 1966.

Bollinger, Edward E., *The Cross and the Floating Dragon*, Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1983.

Church of Scotland, *The Confession of Faith, Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster*, Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1969.

Dun, Angus and Niebuhr, Reinhold, "God Wills both Justice and Peace," *Christianity and Crisis*, Vol.XV, No.10, New York, NY: Christianity and Crisis, 13 June 1955.

Hunt III, William Walter, *Christian Buddhism, and Confucian Protests Against Military Bases in Okinawa— Study of Seven Religious Leaders*, Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales, UK: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2008.

Kikuchi, Akio, *Nihonkoku Kempō* [The Constitution of Japan— with English Version], Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2011.

Miyazato, Seigen, *Amerika no Okinawa tōchi* [Administration of Okinawa by America], Tokyo: Iwanami Bunko, 1969.

Miyazato, Seigen, *Amerika wa naze Okinawa wo Nihon kara kirihanashita ka* [Why the United States Separated Okinawa from Japan?], Okinawa: Okinawa City, 1999.

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

Miyazato, Seigen and Watanabe, Akio eds., *Sanfuranshisuko kōwa* [San Francisco Peace Treaty], Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1986.

Mainichi Shimbun, "Kamiyo Okinawa no sokoku fukki wo [God, Let Okinawa Return to Japan]", 5 November 1966.

Morning Star, "Prayer Book Becomes Demagogue's Best Friend," 6 November 1966.

Niebuhr, Reinhold, *Christian Realism and Political Problem*, New Fairfield, New Jersey: Augustus M. Kelley Publisher, 1953 (1977 reprinted).

Okinawa Times, "Kōtō benmukan ni nozomu [Requirements to the High Commissioner Unger]," 2 November 1966

Okinawa Times, "Reigen na inori [The Serenity Prayer]," 3 November 1966.

Okinawa Times, "Shin kōtō benmukan ni saishite [To the Occasion to the Investiture of the High Commissioner]," 3 November 1966.

Okinawa Times, "Kioku no koe mirai eno hi (23) Okinawa eno kodawari I [Voice of Memory, Day for the Future (23) Taira Osamu Obsessed with Okinawa I]," 10 January 2005.

Okinawa Times, "Kioku no koe mirai eno hi (24) Okinawa eno kodawari II [Voice of Memory, Day for the Future (24) Taira Osamu Obsessed with Okinawa II]," 10 January 2005.

- Ôta, Masahide, *Okinawa no chōsen* [The Challenge of Okinawa], Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1990.
- Pacific Stars and Stripes*, "Prayer Tinged Politics," 6 November 1966.
- Randall, William T., *Social Justice through Nonviolence in the Twentieth Century: A Peace Studies Reader on Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, Naha, Okinawa: Kinjō Press, 2001.
- Ryukyu Shimpo*, "Towareru min'i [The Will of the People is Questioned]," 1 May 2006.
- Saito, Makoto, *Amerika seiji gaikō shi– Eibun Shiryō-sen* [American Politics of Foreign Affairs– Materials], Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1995.
- Seigakuin University, *Reinhold Niebuhr no inori no kotoba* [Reinhold Niebuhr's Prayer], <http://www.seig.ac.jp/edu/inori.htm>. (accessed on 1 April 2011).
- Smith, Joseph M., "Okinawa Pastor's Prayer Stirs Controversy over U.S. Occupation," *Leaven, Bulletin of The United Christian Missionary Society of Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*, Vol.XIX, No.6, May 1967.
- Stone, A.R., "Letter to Division of Foreign Mission," NCC, New York, NY: Okinawa Committee, 6 July 1953.
- Taira, Osamu, *Chīsana shima kara no ōkina toi* [Big Question from a Small Island], Tokyo: Shinkyō Publishing, 1998.
- Taira, Osamu, *Okinawa ni kodawari tsuzukete* [Having been Obsessed with Okinawa], Tokyo: Shinkyō Publishing, 1993.
- The United Church of Christ in Japan Okinawa District ed., *27 do sen no minami kara– Okinawa kirisutoshia 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.
- The United Church of Christ in Japan, "Confession of Responsibility during World War II," <http://www.uccj.or.jp/english/war.html> (accessed on 20 July 2011).
- The United Church of Christ in Japan, *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan shi shiryō shu dai 3 kan* [The History of the United Church of Christ in Japan Vol.3], Tokyo: The United Church of Christ in Japan, 1998.
- The World Council of Churches, *Man's Disorder and God's Design*, New York, NY: Harper & Brothers Publisher, 1948.
- The World Council of Churches, *The Christian Hope and the Task of the Church, International Affairs– Christians in the Struggle for World Community*, New York, NY: Harper & Brothers Publisher, 1954.
- Tokyo National Museum ed., *Kaijō no michi– Okinawa no rekishi to bunka* [Marine Road– History and Culture of Okinawa Islands], Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbunsha, 1992.
- Tokyo Shimbun*, "Kagai no shima ni shitakunai Kioku– Sengo 61 nen Han-kichi

Tatakau bokushi [Do not Want to Make the Island of Assailant Memory of 61 Years after the War Anti-military Base The Protesting Pastor],” 23 June 2006.
Yale University Lillian Law Library, “Security Treaty between the United States and Japan: September 8 1951,” http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/japan001.asp (accessed on 1 April 2011).
Yomiuri Shimbun, “Bei e kōgi yurusarenu [Protest against the U.S. not Allowed],” 22 January 1955.

参考文献

<日本語文献・書籍>

大田昌秀『沖縄の挑戦』（東京：恒文社、1990）
菊池明朗『英文対訳 日本国憲法』（東京：筑摩書房、2011）
東京国立博物館編『海上の道——沖縄の歴史と文化』（東京：読売新聞社、1992）
斎藤眞編『アメリカ政治外交史教材——英文資料選——』（東京：東京大学出版会、1972）
平良修『沖縄にこだわりつづけて』（東京：新教出版社、1993）
平良修『小さな島からの大きな問い』（東京：新教出版社、1998）
日本基督教団沖縄教区編『27度線の南から 沖縄キリスト者の証言』（東京：日本基督教団出版局、1971）
日本基督教団宣教研究所教団史料編纂室編『日本基督教団史料資料集 第3巻』（東京：日本基督教団出版局、1998）
宮里政玄『アメリカの沖縄統治』（東京：岩波書店、1969）
宮里政玄『アメリカは何故、沖縄を日本から切り離したか』（沖縄：沖縄市企画部文化振興課、1999）
宮里政玄編『戦後沖縄の政治と法——1945-72年——』（東京：東京大学出版会、1975）
渡辺昭夫・宮里政玄編『サンフランシスコ講和』（東京：東京大学出版会、1986）

<日本語文献・新聞>

朝日新聞「踏みにじる民主主義 日本復帰運動にも圧迫」（1955年1月13日）
朝日新聞「米紙ほとんど黙殺」（1955年1月15日）
朝日新聞「琉球は無期限に占領」（1955年1月18日）
朝日新聞「戦争終結宣言」（1955年1月23日）
朝日新聞「米弁務官就任式で祖国復帰の祈り 沖縄の牧師反響を起す」（1966年11月5日）
朝日新聞「神よ、祖国復帰を——アンガー高等弁務官の就任式 沖縄の牧師 勇気ある祈り」（1966年11月5日）
朝日新聞「社説 沖縄政治への住民の願い」（1966年11月6日）

沖縄タイムス「社説 高等弁務官に望む」(1966年11月2日)

沖縄タイムス「社説 新高等弁務官に際して」(1966年11月3日)

沖縄タイムス「冷厳な祈り」(1966年11月3日)

沖縄タイムス「記憶の声 未来への日(23) 平良修 沖縄へのこだわり(上)」(2005年5月10日)

沖縄タイムス「記憶の声 未来への日(24) 平良修 沖縄へのこだわり(下)」(2005年5月11日)

東京新聞「加害の島にしたいくない 記憶 戦後61年 反基地 戦う牧師」(2006年6月23日)

毎日新聞「神よ沖縄の祖国復帰を 平良牧師が勇気ある祈り」(1966年11月5日)

読売新聞「米へ抗議許されぬ 沖縄人権問題で林長官答弁」(1955年1月22日)

琉球新報「問われる民意」(2006年5月1日)

平良修牧師の神学と人生

——米国統治下に於ける沖縄キリスト者の応答（1945-72年）

宮城 幹夫

沖縄は、第二次世界大戦後から祖国復帰まで米国に政治的に支配されていた。その期間に於ける米国による基本的人権の蹂躪、軍用地の土地没収問題などの政治・社会的諸問題に関して、平良修牧師の神学と人生に焦点を当て、沖縄のキリスト者が、どのように関わってきたかを論じる。

平良は1931年沖縄県宮古島で誕生した。旧制中学時代の1944年に台湾に疎開し琉球人として差別を受ける。戦後宮古島に帰り学校で教師が、軍国主義的教育から民主主義教育に変貌していることで人間不信に陥る。しかし、キリスト教に希望をみだし受洗した。琉球大学に進学するが、大学3年の時、東京神学大学に入学した。卒業後、沖縄コザ市の土地教会に牧師として赴任した。1965年米国のGeorge Peabody College for Teachersに留学期間中、黒人の公民権運動の犠牲者追悼記念礼拝に参加し、黒人霊歌に心をうたれ社会的弱者に仕える決意をする。帰国後、沖縄キリスト教短期大学の総長に就任した。

平良の神学は、台湾での差別経験、高校時代に人間不信からキリスト教に光をみだし受洗したこと、牧師への召命、米国留学時代の黒人公民権運動の犠牲者追悼集会で受けた信仰姿勢の転換などが寄与し平和主義的神学を形成している。平良は、人権問題、祖国復帰運動など社会正義に生命をかける。

第1回世界教会協議会（WCC）は1948年に発足し戦争を反省し平和宣言を行った。1954年、冷戦状況の中、第2回WCCが米国で開催され現実主義的神学の影響を受ける。現実主義的神学は、平和主義者は社会責任を犠牲にして、贖罪愛を絶対視すると非難し、武力の均衡による平和を求める。沖縄の米国軍事基地は、

共産主義陣営から自由主義陣営を守る為の、武力による抑止力として位置づけ、抑止力は国際平和に貢献していると主張する。彼らにとって抑止力をもって国際社会の平和を求めることが神の正義なのである。平良は、武力の完全否定を主張し、日本国憲法の戦争放棄にキリストの平和を見る。また、百万沖縄県民の基本的人権が蹂躪されていることは神の正義に反するものであると主張する。

1972年沖縄は祖国に復帰したが、平良が意義を唱えた沖縄の基地問題は解決されていない。日本国憲法の理念に希望をもっていたが、復帰の現実、安保体制を変更するものではなかった。平良の平和主義理念は挫折したのか。平良の神学を踏まえると、平良のはたらきは、現在も継続して、平和を求めることの意味に内実を与えていると判断する。