

Millenarian Retrospects and Prospects: The Post-Mun Unification Movement in Austria

Lukas Pokorny

1. Introduction

The very essence of Unification thought is the pursuit of transformation; humankind's transition from asebeia to eusebeia, or the change towards a better world entrenched in godliness and familial piety in keeping with the Unificationist ideal of 'one family under God' (*hananim arae han kajok*). Unleashed and perpetuated by the life and ministry of Mun Sŏn-myŏng (1920–2012), over time this alleged gradual shift has been ritually concretised, and appropriately solemnised, by (purportedly) providentially unique salvational watersheds. The latest of these—namely Foundation Day (*ki-wŏnjŏl*) on February 22, 2013—is deemed the culmination of Mun's divinely assigned mission on earth. This 'greatest celebration of the greatest day in human history' (Yang and Kim 2013), representing the beginning of (the unfurling of) a worldly paradise, has indeed ushered in a change, if only largely limited to theology (setting aside emic interpretations, see Section 4.2).¹ However, in hindsight Foundation Day's etic significance has been overshadowed by another event; sudden, unproclaimed and of greater consequence, spawning crucial personnel, organisational and theological alterations (for a brief overview, see Pokorny 2013b): Mun's passing on September 3, 2012.

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Notes on Romanisation and Style: Korean terms and names are romanised using the McCune-Reischauer system. The romanisation of Japanese follows the Modified Hepburn System. East Asian names are written according to the East Asian custom: family name precedes personal name. To romanise Korean given names, hyphens are included between syllables.

¹ The main theological novelty, apart from the premise that Satan's pernicious influence has now been irretrievably broken is the doctrinal elevation of Mun's wife, Han Hak-cha (b. 1943), who, following Foundation Day, surpasses even her husband's salvific status whilst alive, vesting her with supreme authority.

Formally in power for almost six decades, Mun Sŏn-myŏng has been the lynchpin of the South Korean Unification Movement (UM) since its founding in May 1954,² a role unconditionally assumed today by Han Hak-cha. A multi-layered organisation with a solid economic backbone and a self-reported membership of three million adherents, spanning five continents, the UM cherishes a political vision of a unified global peace nation, embracing both the physical (*chisanggye*) and the spiritual realms (*yŏnggye*). In preparation for the establishment of this sacred territory of what Unificationists call ‘Cheon Il Guk’ (*ch’ŏnilguk*), or the Kingdom of Heaven, Han promulgated the ‘Cheon Il Guk Constitution’ (*ch’ŏnilguk hŏnbŏp*) on February 12, 2014 (Segye p’yŏnghwa t’ongil kajŏng yŏnhap segye ponbu 2014) (see Appendix, Figure 1). The Constitution outlines, in a nutshell, the foundational tenets of Unification thought, also accommodating recent theological modifications, most notably³ Han’s complete equalisation with Mun resulting from ‘their’ blessing at the completion stage (*wansŏngjŏk sŏng-honsik*) on Foundation Day.⁴ The preamble clarifies:

God [...] sent the parents Mun Sŏn-myŏng and Han Hak-cha on this earth as Saviour of humanity, Messiah, Lord of the Second Advent and True Parents. The True Parents of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind [...], Mun Sŏn-myŏng and Han Hak-cha, discovered the Word of God humanity has lost, proclaiming it to the whole world. They fulfilled the ideal of all religions and bequeathed God’s true love, true life and true lineage, having them settled

2 For a succinct discussion of the historical development of the UM, see Pokorny and Steinbeiss’ paper (2013) in this volume. The label ‘Unification Movement’ encompasses all organisations, campaigns, businesses, and initiatives affiliated to or faring in the millenarian trajectory of the religious core organisation, the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification (*Segye p’yŏnghwa t’ongil kajŏng yŏnhap*; FFWPU).

3 Another striking aspect is given in CIGHB §14, which lists the basic religious canon—the *Ch’ŏnsŏnggyŏng* (literally: *Heavenly Holy Scripture*; *Cheon Seong Gyeong*), the *Ch’ambumogyŏng* (literally: *True Parents Scripture*; *Cham Bumo Gyeong*), and the *P’yŏnghwagŏng* (literally: *Peace Scripture*; *Pyeong Hwa Gyeong*)—omitting the hitherto central text of Unification thought, the *Wŏlli kangnon* (*Exposition of the Principle*), a decision heavily criticised by many members at the grassroots level, especially in North America and Europe.

4 The most well-known feature of Unificationism, the blessing ceremony (*ch’ukpoksik*), often staged in the form of mass weddings, serves as a means to reconnect the participants to their original lineage (*ponyŏn’ui hyŏlt’ong*) as children of God. The devotees emulate the ritual first conducted by Mun and Han in 1960. Later, the original blessing was seen as the first (or formation) stage in a tripartite scheme, whose second (or growth) stage was reached through another blessing in 2003. On Foundation Day, the final stage was eventually completed with Mun ‘attending’ as a spiritual being.

eternally at a cosmic level. [...] The True Parents through the providence of restoration have attained final unity [...]’⁵ (CIGHB Preamble).⁶

God (*hananim*), it is held, commissioned Mun and Han to remind humankind of His ideal of creation (*ch’angjo isang*), that is, the building of perfected families, to restore the divine bond sin has sundered in the Garden of Eden, and to establish ‘a world that actualises the ideal of freedom, peace, unification, and happiness centring on God and True Parents’ (CIGHB §8/1).⁷ The millenarian notion to bring to pass Cheon Il Guk has been the golden thread permeating all of the UM’s mundane activities.⁸ It encapsulates the shared aim of every follower and provides the *raison d’être* of their mission as well as Unification soteriology in general. 2012 and 2013, especially, witnessed most decisive developments originating in two veritable

5 This and all other translations into English in this paper are by the author.

6 ‘하나님은 연장된 오랜 복귀섭리역사(復歸攝理歷史)를 거쳐 문선명(文鮮明)·한학자(韓鶴子)양위분을 인류의 구세주·메시아·재림주·참부모로 이 땅에 보내셨다. 천지인참부모님(이하 ‘참부모님’이라 한다)이신 문선명·한학자 양위분은 인류가 잃어버린 하나님의 말씀을 찾아 전 세계에 선포하시고, 모든 종교의 이상을 이루시어 하나님의 참사랑·참생명·참혈통을 영원히 천주적(天宙的)으로 정착시켜 상속해주셨다. [...] 참부모님은 복귀섭리를 통하여 최종일체(最終一體)를 이루시고 [...]’. In contrast, the preface to the latest edition of the *WK* praises Mun’s achievements whilst completely ignoring Han’s involvement, stating: ‘God has already sent one person on this earth to solve the fundamental problems of human life and the universe—this person is the very Mun Sŏn-myŏng. Whilst for several decades wandering the spiritual world, which is so boundless as to be beyond one’s imagining, he walked a bloody path of suffering in his quest for truth only Heaven remembers. [...] Being all alone, he battled and prevailed over myriads of devils of the spiritual realm and the physical realm. Then, in an intimate spiritual communion with God, freely coming into contact with Jesus and numerous saints of the paradise, he illuminated all the secrets of heaven’ (*WK* Preface: 18); [...] 하나님은 이미 이 땅 위에 인생과 우주의 근본문제를 해결하게 하시기 위하여 한 분을 보내셨으니, 그 분이 바로 문선명 선생(文鮮明先生)이시다. 이분은 수십 성상(星霜)을 두고 역사 이래 어느 누구도 상상조차 할 수 없었던 창망(蒼茫)한 그 무형세계(無形世界)를 헤매시면서 하늘만이 기억하시는 진리 탐구의 피어린 고난의 길을 걸으셨다. [...] 선생은 혈혈단신(子子單身)으로 영계(靈界)와 육계(肉桂)의 억만 사탄과 싸워 승리하신 것이다. 그리하여 예수님을 비롯한 낙원(樂園)의 수많은 성현(聖賢)들과 자유로이 접촉하시며, 은밀히 하나님과 영교(靈交)하는 가운데서 모든 천륜(天倫)의 비밀을 밝혀내신 것이다’. In this respect, it is likely that the preface of a future edition of the *WK* will be revised accordingly in order to mirror the latest doctrinal developments.

7 ‘천일국은 하나님과 참부모님을 중심한 자유·평화·통일·행복의 이상이 실현된 세계이다’.

8 This paper applies the definition of ‘millenarianism’ as introduced in Pokorny 2013a.

caesuras within the movement's millenarian venture; on the one hand, the demise of its initiator, main salvific subject and mastermind, and on the other hand, the alleged conclusion of the UM's salvational project for humankind, that is, the advent of substantial Cheon Il Guk on Foundation Day (see Appendix, Figure 2). All this, however, did not spell the end to 'kingdom-building'. Rather, in order to keep the millenarian pace in motion in the aftermath of Mun's death, Foundation Day was increasingly rendered a mere prelude to a largely undisclosed series of future steps necessary to ultimately reach the full substantial extension of the envisaged paradise. This paradise is for now only considered to exist in an embryonic state, yet it has been slowly but gradually unfolding since Foundation Day. As such, Vision 2020 (*pijŏn 2020*) was introduced to articulate the initial stage in this process of substantiation. A development plan targeting another turning point, namely Mun's centenary on January 30, 2020, Vision 2020 is Han Hak-cha's first independent contribution to the task of retrieving and orienting the UM's motivational resources once more towards the realisation of God's grand design for humanity, or in other words, to pinpoint again an imminent watershed in the UM's millenarian enterprise. Moreover, Han's now exclusive rule along with the forced retreat of Mun Hyŏng-jin (b. 1979),⁹ her youngest son and former International President of FFWPU by the grace of the late Mun Sŏn-myŏng—owing to 'unfilial digressions'—his recent replacement by the relatively unknown Mun Sŏn-jin (b. 1976), the fifth daughter, who returned to the 'family business' after a long pause only lately, as well as ongoing, albeit noticeably silenced, internal struggles,¹⁰ prompts the question of succession and, concomitantly, the millenarian course taken by the post-Han UM.

This amalgam of personnel vicissitudes and doctrinal innovation, occasionally accompanied by some degree of explanatory vagueness, opens up ample scope for interpretation by members, creating a continuum of localised and personalised orthodoxies. To put it otherwise, much of what occurred subsequent to Mun's passing has not yet been sufficiently theolo-

9 In this respect, the CIGHB (§6/1) codifies that 'True Parents have the final power of decision in the administration of Cheon Il Guk'; '참부모님은 천일국의 운영에 관한 최종 결정권을 가진다'. After her husband's death, or 'ascension'—as Unificationists often refer to it—Han is left solely responsible for the physical realm, whilst Mun is believed to continue his work in the spiritual realm. However, Mun is deemed effectively able to float between both worlds, having reportedly already started to work miracles (personal correspondence with Japanese and Korean UM members), which until now seem to be limited to Korea and Japan.

10 This refers for the most part to the conflict with the renegade son and former designated 'heir apparent' Mun Hyŏn-jin (b. 1969), the third and eldest living son, whose opposition to previous UM policies resulted in a minor schism.

gised or consistently communicated, in particular to the Unificationist community outside of East Asia, leading to saliently varying communal (as confirmed through personal correspondence with various Western church theologians) and individual readings.¹¹

This paper attempts to look at these individual members' readings, drawing on a large-scale empirical investigation of the Austrian UM. How do Unificationists in Austria view crucial concepts—(substantial) Cheon Il Guk, Foundation Day, Vision 2020—which underpin the theologically fostered millenarian belief of an 'ideal world' (*isang segye*) yet to be established? How has the death of Mun affected members and how is it understood to impact the movement and the mission at large? Finally, what are the prospects of the UM at a worldwide and the domestic level in the post-Han era? Based on these issues, this paper will reveal the wide array of opinions amongst ordinary adherents, that is, members at the grassroots level, stressing general tendencies elaborated against the backdrop of an officially sanctioned understanding as seen through the instructions delivered by Han Hak-cha and other leading Korean church officials (see Section 3). This research offers insights into the lived religion of UM members¹² in Austria with a focus on their creative adaptation of theological strands conveyed by a dogmatic authority. It will stress members' anticipations and hopes, as well as doctrinal commonalities and divergences between the ecclesiastically advocated current of thought and the more pluralistic reasoning at the base.

The following section expounds on the empirical research conducted for this paper, also giving condensed background information on the Austrian UM. Section 3 delineates the UM's basic millenarian nomenclature and, accordingly, furnishes the referential context for the spectrum of opinions portrayed in Sections 4 and 5. The former collects responses to Mun's passing and sheds light on the varying views and (ex post facto) anticipations concerning Foundation Day. The latter contours the images of Cheon Il Guk and Vision 2020. It also casts a glance at members' varied expectations of the UM's future development globally and in Austria. Section 6, finally, concludes with some general observations.

11 As a matter of fact, even with Mun still alive, Unification theology has always maintained a larger interpretative leeway. However, the quick succession of crucial events in recent years obviously facilitated discursive variety.

12 In this paper 'UM member' is used synonymously with 'FFWPU member'.

2. Methodology and Context

The Unificationist mission to Austria was pioneered by the German Paul Werner (1927–2008) in May 1965. A year later, in May 1966, he incorporated the *Gesellschaft zur Vereinigung des Weltchristentums* (Society for the Unification of World Christianity),¹³ paving the way for continuous expansion, which reached its heyday during the 1970s under the leadership of another German, the former leader of the German mission Peter Koch (1927–1984), who succeeded Werner in 1969.¹⁴ Conversion rates slowly dropped in the 1980s, being balanced by the first cohort of second generation members born into ‘blessed families’, and largely came to a halt in the mid-1990s. Since then membership figures are rising only very cautiously, and are limited to the growth of the second and—starting in recent years—the third generation. The 2001 census lists 297 members, 256 of which are Austrian citizens (Statistik Austria 2007). By April 2014, the Austrian UM (see Appendix, Figure 3) reports 700 members of which 450 are considered to be ‘core members’ (*Kernmitglieder*) including children, the majority of which, that is, 70 families live in Vienna. 20 of these families belong to the second generation (Personal Interview with Elisabeth Cook¹⁵ on April 6, 2014).¹⁶ The approximate ratio between first and adult second generation members is 5:2,¹⁷ which is also reflected by the survey data (69.64% against 30.36%). Chapters are maintained in six of Austria’s nine federal provinces: Vienna (with its centre serving as national headquarters, located in Seidengasse 28 in the seventh district), Upper Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Salzburg, and Tyrol. Members in Lower Austria, Burgenland and Vorarlberg have not established provincial chapters, but rather participate in the Sunday service or special events in the nearby centres in Vienna and Innsbruck, respec-

13 For a detailed discussion of the background and the first year of the Austrian mission, see Pokorny and Steinbeiss 2012.

14 Notably, Koch was deputised and was later succeeded as national leader by a female member, Hermengild Kollaritsch (later Fenoli, b. 1951; national leader: 1984–1985). Her successors, in turn, were all male—Johann Hinterleitner (b. 1949; national leader: 1985–1990 and 1993–1996), Peter Haider (b. 1954; national leader: 1990–1993), Andreas Bauer (b. 1969; national leader: 1996–1998), and Wolfgang Czerny (b. 1957; national leader: 1998–2000).

15 Elisabeth Cook (b. 1955) heads the UM’s Vienna chapter.

16 In several personal conversations over the past ten years, it was pointed out to the author by high-ranking followers of the Austrian group that a larger number of followers did not correctly specify their religious affiliation in the 2001 census. Hence, it was asserted that the actual membership at the time was effectively bigger.

17 If second and third generation members under 18 years are included, the ratio shrinks to roughly 2:1.

tively.¹⁸ Current long-time national leader (*Nationalleiter*) since April 2000 is Austrian Peter Zöhrer (b. 1952), who previously acted as the national leader of Hungary (1993–1996) and Slovenia (1999).¹⁹ He is the architect of the UM's current pursuit of state recognition of the FFWPU as a registered confessional community (*eingetragene Bekenntnisgemeinschaft*),²⁰ a step that does not receive unanimous support from the members (see note 22). The relevant application to the Office for Religious Affairs (*Kultusamt*) at the Federal Chancellery (*Bundeskanzleramt*) is being prepared for submission in the second half of 2014 (Personal Interview with Peter Zöhrer: February 25, 2014).

The Austrian UM proved amenable and co-operative in response to the overall idea of this research, providing valuable assistance during the empirical enquiry phase. The data was collected via an online survey with 56 respondents validly filling out the survey questionnaire, and an additional 24 more focussed semi-structured interviews, of which 18 interviewees or 75% did not take part in the survey. The survey was activated on January 17, 2014, being available for three months until April 17, 2014. The national leader circulated by e-mail his invitation along with the author's self-introduction and explanatory notes amongst members of the Austrian group, encouraging their collaboration. A reminder was sent out several weeks later. In addition, several individuals sympathetic to the project spread the word within the community. Responses were given between January 20 and

18 An exception in the case of Lower Austria is the centre in Seebenstein, around 60 kilometres south of Vienna, which is frequently used for seminars and workshops. Another major seminar centre, albeit rarely used today, is located in Gaflenz, Upper Austria, around 80 kilometres south-east of Linz at the border to Lower Austria.

19 Alongside his internal obligations, Zöhrer acts as the general secretary of *Forum Religionsfreiheit Europa* (Forum for Religious Freedom Europe), in short *FOREF Europa*, an internationally active NGO which he co-founded in November 2005, with the declared goal to promote and preserve religious freedom (see <http://foref.info/>; accessed: May 10, 2014). Another exponent of the Austrian UM enthusiastically involved in a locally launched initiative with a supraregional socio-political outreach is Peter Haider, who heads the national branch of the Universal Peace Federation (*Föderation für Weltfrieden* established in September 2005; UPF), the UM's flagship organisation at the diplomatic level (see <http://www.weltfriede.at/>; accessed: May 10, 2014).

20 The Bundesgesetz über die Rechtspersönlichkeit von religiösen Bekenntnisgemeinschaften (Federal Law concerning the Legal Entity of Religious Confessional Communities) of 1998 (BGBl I 19/1998), in short *Bekenntnisgemeinschaftengesetz*, introduced a three-tier model of formal acknowledgment, ranging from (1) association (*Verein*; that is, the UM's current legal status) over (2) registered confessional community to (3) legally recognised religious society (*gesetzlich anerkannte Religionsgesellschaft*). For a brief exposition of the *Bekenntnisgemeinschaftengesetz*, see Steinbeiss' paper (2013) in this volume.

March 24, 2014. For creating and maintaining the anonymous and confidential survey a fee-based professional version of the online survey tool SurveyMonkey (<https://www.surveymonkey.com>) was employed. The questionnaire contained ten background/demographic questions, asking for (1) sex, (2) age category, (3) area of residence, (4) educational qualification, (5) current employment, (6) citizenship at birth, (7) current citizenship, (8) year of conversion, (9) whether the blessing has been received and if so when, and (10) to which generation of members the respondent belongs. The main part of the questionnaire listed seven questions, enquiring about the personal understanding of and the expectations for (11) Foundation Day and (13) Vision 2020, the personal understanding of (12) Cheon Il Guk, the (15) notions of salvation and redemption, and the (14) concept of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth as given in the *WK* as well as an estimation of its complete substantial manifestation, the (16) impact of Mun Sŏn-myŏng's death on the respondent, and (17) hopes for and expectations of the state of the UM (worldwide and domestically) in 30 years from today as well as its future global leadership.

The number of questions was kept low so as not to scare away potential respondents, and to allow for more detailed responses. The final number of respondents totals 56 people, and its composition in terms of age, sex and area of residence supplies an appropriate sample—at least of members between the age of 18 and 69—when set against the self-reported membership of 700 people,²¹ of which—according to the author's observations—roughly 15% might be 16 years of age or younger. Also, a not insignificant number of 'members' calculated into the above figure—which roughly amounts to 250 people according to the UM—have relatively loose bonds or possess a status of (waning) FFWPU sympathiser or fellow traveller rather than actively engaged devotee. This is evidenced by personal observation and the fact that apparently it has not proven easy for the leadership to get the required number of 300 individual signatures to be attached to the application for official recognition as a registered confessional community (personal correspondence with UM members).²² This group of people is possibly not

21 Only one respondent under 18 (a female second generation member aged 16/17) took the survey, and none have been interviewed. Equally, there is no survey respondent from the age category 70 above, and only one person (female, aged 70) from this age category has been interviewed. However, in respect of the latter age category, the author's rich personal conversations with elder first generation followers of the Austrian group over the years show a clear resemblance with the general tendencies in the response behaviour of first generation members in the age categories 50-59 and 60-69.

22 Moreover, there seems to be a number of followers who do not endorse the application for recognition. This includes 'members' who, for instance, have an affiliation with an already officially acknowledged religious group, which—according to the *Bek-*

very inclined to partake in such a survey, which is affirmed by looking at the general quality of responses that display a high level of self-identification and devotion to the salvational cause. The validity of the sample in terms of overall trends is also confirmed by evaluation of the interviews of those who have not participated in the online survey as well as the author's many informal discussions with mostly first generation UM members. Both the survey and interviews generated a sample of 80 responses by 74 (and 73 adult, that is, aged 18+) unique respondents, which makes up a significant part, possibly somewhere between one fourth to one fifth, of the total number of active members in the corresponding age cohort. Accordingly, the survey data itself based on 56 unique responses represents about one fifth to one sixth of the estimated corresponding age cohort.

The distribution of female (51.79% or 29)²³ and male (48.21% or 27) respondents in the survey sample is indicative of the overall relatively even gender composition, matching the gender distribution of the Austrian population (51.23% female versus 48.77% male as of 2012; see Statistik Austria 2012a and 2012b). 69.6% or 39 respondents belong to the first generation of members, whilst 30.4% or 17 respondents are, what Unificationists call 'second gens'.²⁴ Table 1 shows the distribution of first and second generation members according to age categories. It is interesting to note that not a single respondent younger than 40 years belongs to the category of first generation members, which confirms that successful proselytising has long ceased, considering that the average age of those who joined the UM in Austria, for example, between the 1960s and 1980s was in the early to mid-20s.²⁵

emntnisgemeinschaftengesetz—would require them to formally terminate one membership. Others simply do not consider the FFWPU a mere religious movement in the 'casual sense' and are, therefore, critical of such forced institutionalisation (personal correspondence with UM members).

23 The second figure indicates the number of respondents.

24 The English terms 'first gen' and 'second gen' are also used by German-speaking members of the Austrian group. A South Korean movement, headquartered in the United States for several decades, the UM's religious parlance used in Austria (but also to some extent internationally) has a rich word pool of English and Korean key technical terms.

25 Barker (1984: 198-199) states, for instance, that in the case of the United Kingdom, the average age of converts was 23 years. A similarly young average age (i.e. early 20s) of those who join the UM is indicated in a study on Unificationists in Belgium (Wilson and Dobbelaere 1987: 187) and Finland (Ylimys 1981: 378).

Table 1: Age distribution of survey respondents

Age category	1st gen	2nd gen
Below 18		1 (1.8%)
18-20		3 (5.4%)
21-29		11 (19.6%)
30-39		2 (3.6%)
40-49	1 (1.8%)	
50-59	22 (39.3%)	
60-69	16 (28.6%)	
Total	39 (69.6%)	17 (30.4%)

*Percentages are rounded up

The stressed relevance of marriage and raising a family (centring on God), beyond doubt the most fundamental precept in Unification thought, is evinced by the high rate of 85.7% or 48 out of 56 respondents having been blessed; this figure remarkably includes 100% or all the 39 first generation respondents. The sample also indicates a very high educational level of members with 76.8% or 43 respondents having obtained at least a higher school certificate (46.4% or 26) or a university degree (30.4% or 17).²⁶ 44 respondents have Austrian citizenship (five of which are naturalised);²⁷ others include German (5), French (3), British (2) citizens, as well as one Australian, one Brazilian and one Japanese citizen. Interestingly, not a single ethnic Korean member participated in the survey; yet, one first generation ethnic Korean adherent was successfully approached for an interview. Respondents from eight of Austria's nine states completed the survey, the majority of whom are located in Vienna (37.5% or 21), Upper Austria (25% or 14), and Tyrol (16.1% or 9).²⁸

²⁶ One respondent currently works towards her school leaving examination (*Matura*) and several others are enrolled in degree programmes at the university. Only 10.7% or six out of 56 respondents possess a primary school (1) or lower secondary education (5). 67.9% (38) are currently employed (22), self-employed (12) or housewives/househusbands (4), 19.6% (11) are in education, 8.9% (5) are retired, and 3.6% (2) are unemployed.

²⁷ This group contains members originally coming from Belgium, China, former Yugoslavia, Germany, and Japan.

²⁸ 8.9% (5) of the respondents live in Lower Austria, 10.7% (2 each) in Carinthia, Salzburg and Styria, and 1.8% (1) in Burgenland. No member from Vorarlberg took the

Based on this breakdown, the survey sample represents a cross section of largely Austrian (and a few scattered European) first and second generation UM members in Austria between the ages of 18 and 69, mainly residing in three of the four states with the largest regional membership of Unificationists.²⁹ In addition to the survey, 24 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 16 (8 male and 8 female) first generation members aged 46 to 70 years, and eight second generation (5 male and 3 female) followers aged 20 to 30.³⁰ The guide utilised was grounded on the survey questionnaire; however, the general format of the interviews allowed for follow-up questions and thus provided scope for exploring specific topics, creating a more refined picture of the members' views. The interviews were held between February 16 and April 30, 2014, in the premises of the centre in Seidengasse and a second gen shared flat in Rennweg, in Vienna's third district. As mentioned above, 18 of the 24 interviewees did not fill in the online survey questionnaire.

3. Millenarian Musings

This section discusses the millenarian cornerstones of the post-Mun UM as expressed by its current leadership, guided by the provisions of the Cheon Il Guk Constitution. 'God is the Creator of the cosmos'³¹ (CIGHB §1/1), wishing His creation, and, above all, humankind, to become 'good objects' (*sŏn'ui taesang*) so that He can rejoice in them (WK I.1.3: 44-45). For this purpose God desired that 'humanity completes the three great blessings of perfecting individual character, perfecting the family, and perfecting dominion'³² (CIGHB §2/2). Yet, the first ancestors, Adam (*adam*) and Eve (*haewa*) yielded to Satan's influence and 'lost their original value of crea-

survey—there are reportedly only three families of followers living in Austria's most Western state (Personal Interview with Elisabeth Cook on April 6, 2014).

29 The third-largest community of Unificationists is to be found in Styria.

30 First generation members interviewed were Alexander (46), Walter (53), Edith (56), Maria (56), Birgit (58), Christoph (58), Irene (58), Johanna (58), Min-yŏng (59), Anton (60), Mario (60), Alfred (61), Hermine (61), Markus (62), Wilhelm (63), and Elfriede (70). The second gen cohort of interviewees includes Susanne (20), Jakob (21), Peter (23), Wolfgang (23), Anna (24), Franziska (24), Theodor (25), and Rudolf (30). All names were changed to ensure anonymity.

31 '하나님은 천주의 창조주이다'.

32 '하나님은 인간이 개성완성(個性完成)·가정완성(家庭完成)·주관성완성(主管性完成)의 3대 축복(三大祝福)을 완성하기를 소망한다'. This is a reference to Gen 1.28; cf. WK I.1.3: 44.

tion³³ (CIGHB §2/4), undermining God’s will. That is to say, they failed to establish a ‘Four Position Foundation’ (*sawi kidae*) (WK I.1.4: 50) in which husband, wife and children unite in God ‘through absolute faith, absolute love and absolute obedience’³⁴ (KM §8), ‘thereby becoming God’s substantial object’³⁵ (CIGHB §2/3). Instead, they came under the spell of Satan and built a family, which centred on the archangel, defiling themselves, tainting their offspring and throwing the world into turmoil. However, unstoppably ‘carrying out His providence’ (CIGHB §1/3), God worked through several biblical individuals, eventually sending Jesus to amend the wrong and fulfil His cosmic master plan. With the crucifixion preventing Jesus from fully accomplishing his divine task, God resolved to have His providence concluded by another Messiah when the time proved ripe. After almost two millennia, the Lord of the Second Advent (*chaerimju*) was then to descend on the Korean peninsula amongst God’s chosen people, the Koreans (WK II.6.3: 550-563). By marrying and siring unblemished children—therefore, realising the Four Position Foundation—and following decades of trials and tribulations, this ‘saviour’—Mun Sōn-myōng and Han Hak-cha—became the True Parents of Heaven, Earth and Humankind (*ch’ōnjiin ch’am bu-monim*). The True Parents

(1) [...] are the progenitor of humanity³⁶ as the perfected substantial embodiment of God, having attained unity in heart, unity in flesh, unity in thought, unity in their core, and unity in harmony.

(2) True Parents have a cosmic value and position that is absolute, unique, unchanging and eternal.

(3) True Parents by true love carry out, throughout the cosmos [i.e. in the spiritual and the physical realm], the construction work for the rebirth, resurrection and eternal life of humankind (CIGHB §4).³⁷

33 ‘창조본연의 가치를 상실한 인간을 구원하기 위하여 복귀섭리를 한다.’

34 ‘천일국 주인 우리 가정은 참사랑을 중시하고 천일국시대를 맞이하여 대신양·절대사랑·절대복종으로 신인애일체이상을 이루어 지상천국과 천상천국의 해방권과 석방권을 완성할 것을 맹세하나이다’. The family pledge (*kajōng maengse*) includes eight verses to be partly or wholly recited on ritual occasions. It shall bind the adherents by a covenant to the UM’s millenarian vision and its axiological principles.

35 ‘하나님은 인간이 하나님의 참사랑·참생명·참혈통을 상속받아 신인애일체(神人愛一體)를 이루어 하나님의 실체대상(實體對象)이 되기를 소망한다.’

36 Through their trine blessing and procreation, Mun and Han share the original nature of Adam and Eve prior to the Fall and, therefore, represent the true ancestors of all people.

Furthermore, Mun and Han ‘are the eternal King and Queen of Peace of Cheon Il Guk, having perfected, completed and concluded their entire mission’³⁸ (CIGHB §5). This divinely ordained ‘mission’ (*samyōng*) entailed establishing the Kingdom (or Nation) of Cosmic Peace and Unity (*ch’ōnju p’yōnghwa t’ongilguk*), in short Cheon Il Guk. The designation coined by Mun in a speech on November 15, 2001, was to largely replace but also to broaden the semantics of the term *chisang ch’ōnguk* (Kingdom of Heaven on earth), which was the label mainly used in the *WK* and the pre-2001 discourse relating to a utopian ideal world. More importantly, Cheon Il Guk, being a newly invented term,³⁹ should lend this millenarian vision a specific identity distinctively linked to Unification thought.

Resorting to the general millenarian blueprint of East Asian new religiousness, which, at its core, echoes Confucian patterns, Mun conceived his millennium, that is, overall Cheon Il Guk, as a finalised sequence of incremental salvational perfections, that is, Cheon Il Guk within the individual, the family, the ‘tribe’, the nation, and, ultimately, the world/cosmos.⁴⁰ Cheon Il Guk at the personal level, which is inextricably entwined with Cheon Il Guk at the family level,⁴¹ basically translates to self-transcendence. The devotee amidst his or her family has internalised Mun and Han’s teachings in thought and action, living pursuant to the soteriological default set by God and conveyed by True Parents (cf. CIGHB §13⁴²). In other words, the practitioner has achieved utmost cultivation in accordance with Unification thought (cf. CIGHB §27/2⁴³). This harmony and supreme love per-

37 (1) 참부모님은 하나님과 일심(一心)·일체(一體)·일념(一念)·일핵(一核)·일화(一和)를 이룬 완성실체로서의 인간시조이다. (2) 참부모님은 절대·유일·불변·영원의 천주적 가치와 위상을 가진다. (3) 참부모님은 참사랑으로 인류의 중생(重生)과 부활(復活)과 영생(永生)의 역사(役事)를 천주적으로 행한다’.

38 ‘참부모님은 모든 사명을 완성·완결·완료한 천일국의 영원한 평화의 왕이다’.

39 In contrast, *chisang ch’ōnguk* is a term widely used in the religious domain.

40 Substantial Cheon Il Guk realised at a worldwide level (or the physical realm) naturally affects the spiritual realm, raising Cheon Il Guk on a cosmic level.

41 For only the building of the Four Position Foundation can bring to fruition the purpose of creation (*ch’angjo mokchōk*) (CIGHB §26/1-2), complementing each other and perfecting inner harmony and love towards God and others. To put it otherwise, there cannot be spiritual perfection of an individual without having entered a blessed marriage or having a child/children, irrespective, of course, of whether the husband, the wife or child/children reside in the physical or the spiritual realm.

42 ‘God’s true love and True Parents’ words build the basis for the laws of Cheon Il Guk’; ‘천일국의 법은 하나님의 참사랑과 참부모님의 말씀에 기초한다’.

43 ‘Blessed families must have exemplary dignity and must lead a life of absolute faith, absolute love and absolute obedience in accordance with True Parents’ teachings’;

fectured by raising a true family epitomises the nucleus of a wider Cheon Il Guk (cf. CIGHB §8/3⁴⁴), whose territory—tribe, nation and world/cosmos—will naturally be reclaimed as ‘God’s homeland’ (*hananim ’üi choguk*) owing to a ‘rippling effect’ actuated by the True Parents. Cheon Il Guk does not only refer to the divinely ordained ideal state of (multi-layered) millenarian perfection, but represents the main motivational incentive for and the believer’s moral guideline to proper self-cultivation being mindful of ‘kingdom-building’. In its finality and global manifestation, Cheon Il Guk is characterised by all-encompassing ‘freedom, peace, unification, and happiness centring on God and True Parents’ (CIGHB §8/1), based on the foundational ‘principles of mutualism, mutual prosperity and shared morality’⁴⁵ (CIGHB §9). Cheon Il Guk, whose official language is Korean (CIGHB §16;⁴⁶ cf. WK II.6.5: 566-568), is governed from the UM’s major religious site and spiritual headquarters, the Cheon Jeong Gung (‘Palace of Heavenly Righteousness’; *Ch’önjǒnggung*) near Seoul (CIGHB §18⁴⁷).⁴⁸ Until her transferring or being incapable of further exercising authority, Han wields absolutist power within the physical domain of Cheon Il Guk (CIGHB §36⁴⁹). To settle the succession, she established the Cheon Il Guk Supreme Council (*ch’önilguk ch’oego wiwǒnhoe*), consisting of 13 members (CIGHB §29/1⁵⁰) led by a member of the True Parents’ Family (CIGHB §30/1⁵¹), who is initially being selected by her. The chairperson

‘축복가정은 모범적인 품격을 갖추어야 하며, 참부모님의 말씀에 따른 절대신앙·절대사랑·절대복종의 삶을 살아야 한다’.

44 ‘Cheon Il Guk is realised on the ground work of the perfection of the ideal of blessed families’; ‘천일국은 축복가정의 이상 완성을 토대로 실현된다’.

45 ‘천일국은 공생(共生)·공영(共榮)·공의(共義)주의를 기본이념으로 한다’.

46 ‘천일국의 공식언어는 하나님의 조국어인 한국어로 한다’. In this respect, §5 of the supplementary provisions (*puch’ik*) of the Constitution stresses congruously that only the Korean original shall be consulted for resolving possible interpretational issues: ‘본 헌법의 원본(原本)은 한국어본으로 하며, 해석상 상위(相違)가 있는 경우에는 원본에 따른다’.

47 ‘천일국의 세계본부는 하나님의 조국이며 본향인 대한민국의 천정궁(天正宮)에 둔다’.

48 The *Ch’önjǒnggung*, or ‘Peace Palace’ is a huge complex in *Ch’öngp’yǒng*, 50 kilometres east of Seoul. Mun’s sepulchre is located on the premises.

49 ‘참부모님의 권한 이양(移讓) 또는 유고시(有故時)에는 위원장을 중심한 천일국최고위원회가 헌법과 법률이 정하는 바에 따라 참부모님의 권한을 대행한다’.

50 ‘천일국최고위원회는 13 명으로 구성한다’.

51 ‘위원장은 참부모님가정 중에서 참부모님이 임명하며, 천정원(天政苑)의 세계회장직을 겸한다’.

(*wiwŏnjang*), whose position remained vacant for the first few months,⁵² can be anyone of ‘True Parents’ direct descendants and their spouses,⁵³ (CIGHB §24/1), for their ‘value’ (*kach’i*) derives from their ‘relationship of supreme faith, supreme love, and supreme obedience with True Parents’⁵⁴ (CIGHB §24/2).⁵⁵ It was widely assumed that this position would be filled by a contrite Mun Hyŏng-jin upon his return from isolation that has been imposed by his mother. Surprisingly, however, at the first assembly of the Cheon Il Guk Supreme Council convened in May 2014, Mun Sŏn-jin was appointed by Han as the chairperson (Ŏm 2014) and thus World President of the Cheon Jeong Won. The other twelve members who had already been installed in February are (4)⁵⁶ Kim Hyo-nam (b. 1952), the UM’s chief medium, (5) Yu Kyŏng-sŏk (b. 1964), the FFWPU Korea President (*hanguk hoejang*), (6) Kim Yŏng-hwi (b. 1928) and (7) Yi Chae-sŏk, the Chairman and the Vice Chairman, respectively, of the Cheon Il Guk Scriptures Compilation Committee (*ch’ŏnilguk kyŏngjŏn p’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe*), (8) Kim Chin-ch’un, the President of the Ch’ŏngsim Graduate School of Theology (*ch’ŏngsim sinhak taehagwŏn taehakkyo*),⁵⁷ (9) Song Yong-ch’ŏn (b. 1957), the President of FFWPU Japan, (10) Oyamada Hideo, the President of UPF Japan, (11) Kim Ki-hun, the FFWPU North America Continental President (*taeryuk hoejang*), (12), W. Farley Jones, the Pacific Rim Education Foun-

52 The chairperson holds the additional office of ‘world president’ (*segye hoejang*) of the Cheon Il Guk Government, called Cheon Jeong Won (‘Garden of the Heavenly Government’; *ch’ŏnjŏngwŏn*).

53 ‘참부모님가정은 참부모님의 직계후손과 그의 배우자이다’.

54 ‘참부모님가정은 참부모님에 대한 절대신앙(絶對信仰)·절대사랑[*sic*]·절대복종(絶對服從)의 관계성에 의하여 가치를 가진다’.

55 The implementation of dynastic succession centred on the True Parents’ family raises the ontological question of what distinguished the True Parents’ posterity and, particularly, their spouses from other blessed families, who pursue a life consistent with the True Parents’ teachings, since they confirmedly ‘inherited the lineage of True Parents’ (CIGHB §27/1: ‘축복가정은 참부모님의 전통을 상속받고 이를 계승하기 위한 모심의 생활을 하여야 한다’). Whilst this particular issue has no direct relevance for most Unificationists (see also the relevant discussion of Austrian members’ views in Section 5.3), the Cheon Il Guk Constitution at large has stirred wide-spread controversy amongst, especially, Western members. Their sharp criticism targets, for example, the perceived lack of freedom of expression (of faith) and the plenary power of the Supreme Council, or the chairperson.

56 The numbers within the brackets corresponds to the order in which they were called by Han.

57 Located in Songsan near the Cheon Jeong Gung, opening in 2004, the Ch’ŏngsim Graduate School of Theology is a university offering mainly postgraduate education in Unification theology.

dation (PREF) President,⁵⁸ and (13) Thomas G. Walsh, the UPF World President. Additionally, two members representing the families of Mun and Han's two deceased eldest sons are part of the supreme council. For the time being these are (2) Ch'oe Yŏn-a, the second wife of the first-born son Mun Hyo-jin (1962–2008), and (3) Mun Hun-suk (b. 1963), the 'spouse'⁵⁹ of the second son Mun Hŭng-jin (1966–1984) (Segye p'yŏnghwa t'ongil kajŏng yŏnhap segye ponbu 2014) (see Appendix, Figure 5).⁶⁰

The Cheon Il Guk Supreme Council, Han Hak-cha aside, is supposed to be the 'supreme legislative organ' of substantial Cheon Il Guk (CIGHB §28⁶¹), governing this germinal peace kingdom, whose inception was sparked by the solemnisation of Foundation Day on February 22, 2013. Foundation Day marked the fulfilment of this main portion of the True Parents' millenarian crusade, that is, it consummated the messianic quest Mun was 'made aware' of by Jesus in an epiphany in 1935. Singling out special days of providential gravity had always been a sort of trademark of Mun's ministry. However, the magnitude he attributed to Foundation Day,⁶² coupled with a high degree of reticence and indistinctness initially lent this event a particular aura of obscurity. Evidently contributing to this was the lack of an explicitly defined post-Foundation Day theology, something that gently materialised only shortly before February 22. That is to say, Mun himself did not address Foundation Day as the mere kick-off to a Cheon Il Guk that would require (indefinite) time to yet again stretch out (substantially), which now has become the widely announced *ex post* understanding of this event. Members' expectations of Foundation Day and the onset of substantial Cheon Il Guk thus varied considerably, ranging from none at all or utter indifference to sudden global change eliciting immediate world peace. The current state of the gradually solidifying Cheon Il Guk is envisioned as a divinely ruled paradise in the making that cannot but steadily grow into absolute perfection, an unpreventable process ignited through the

58 PREF is a Hawai'i-based educational funding body established in 2001 under the auspices of Mun.

59 Mun Hun-suk (née Pak Hun-suk) is the daughter of the church elder Pak Po-hŭi (b. 1930), who has been a close confidant of Mun. She was engaged to Hŭng-jin, who died after a car accident at age 17. Following this tragic event, Hun-suk was blessed with Hŭng-jin's spirit, which is why she appears as Mun's daughter-in-law. Hŭng-jin is believed by Unificationists to play a crucial salvific role in the spiritual realm.

60 The Supreme Council comprises only members from the three major providential nations, namely (South) Korea, Japan and the United States. These countries also share a distinguished status within the Vision 2020 scheme.

61 '천일국은 최고의결기관으로 천일국최고위원회를 둔다'.

62 The idea to date the glorious realisation of God's providence slowly developed from 2005 and became a central theme in Mun's speeches by 2010.

True Parents on Foundation Day. Harmony and world peace will extend to all corners of the world, yet, the pace of the complete substantiation depends on humanity's level of commitment to the Unificationist cause. When this process may conclude is not unequivocally clarified. Prior to his public ruminations about Foundation Day, Mun hinted at various time periods, such as (less than) one, three, four or seven generations. It should be noted, however, that in line with the evolution of Mun's theology, his millenarian reckoning also underwent modification over time, which is why we do not have coherent views concerning this matter.

The key ascriptions of this substantially perfected Cheon Il Guk—for example, harmony, world peace, one family under God, ideal world, Kingdom of Heaven—are by now well known to members, though their actual meaning remains subject to individual interpretation. Unification thought indeed tacitly offers guidance on what to expect in more practical terms, a vision longed for by many staunch followers.⁶³ When the Vision 2020 'project manager' Sam Nagasaka asks in an article in *Today's World*, the major UM English-language monthly, '[w]hat does [the substantiation of Cheon Il Guk] mean? Making our faith a national or state religion? Crowning True Parents the head of state? Or would it entail all citizens going through the Blessing Ceremony, or the president or the prime minister taking an oath on our "black book" [i.e., the *WK*]?', coming to the conclusion that '[n]o broad agreement has been reached on what solidifying Cheon Il Guk means' (Nagasaka 2013: 23), he already implicitly delivers the right answer whilst thereafter stressing that things are spelled out only scarcely from an official point of view; hence his caution at this point. The Kingdom of Heaven as already made clear in the *WK* (cf. II.5.3: 499-500) merges the political with the religious sphere, a fact markedly pronounced by the implementation of the Cheon Il Guk Constitution. Substantial Cheon Il Guk involves a holistic application of Unification thought. More precisely, the entirety of human interaction and its institutionalised context will rely on religiously defined rules, which will come naturally to the 'citizens of Cheon Il Guk' (*ch'önilguk kungmin*), that is, those 'who attend upon God and True Parents and follow True Parents' teachings'⁶⁴ (CIGHB §19/1).

63 Numerous interviews as well as personal conversations with Unificationists, on the one hand in Europe and the United States and, on the other hand, in South Korea and Japan, demarcate a conspicuous difference in members' expectations along geographical lines, with adherents from the latter two countries leaning much more towards a literal and impassioned reading of the Unificationist millenarian doctrine. The same holds true when likening, for instance, members' blogs and UM-related websites in those regions.

64 '천일국 국민은 하나님과 참부모님을 모시며 참부모님의 가르침을 따르는 자로한다'.

Whilst there is no definite time span suggested by the current UM leadership, Mun's one hundredth birthday (according to the lunar calendar) on January 30, 2020, is taken to point to the next landmark event in the realisation of substantial Cheon Il Guk. Initially, with the UM's strategic framework determining concerted action until 2020, Vision 2020, still in its conceptual infancy, this date was adumbrated as the last act of the (resumed) providence eventually concluding the substantiation of Cheon Il Guk. More recently, however, 2020 is voiced as the goal of a mid-term development towards millenarian completion (Nagasaka 2014: 19). The development scheme that was conceived accordingly comprises several inter-connected and overlapping objectives. These include from bottom to top, most prominently, (1) facilitating 'Hoon Dok Hae' (*hundokhoe*; literally: gathering for instruction and studying) or home church activities, (2) promoting the function and increasing the number of 'new tribal messiahs'⁶⁵ (*sinjongjok messia*), (3) reviving past vibrant missionary activities at the grassroots level, (4) achieving significant domestic growth and establishing national presence, (5) entering the denominational mainstream and creating social and political credibility, (6) contributing to and applying Unificationist principles in the social and political domestic sphere, (7) educating and filling leadership positions with members of the second generation, (8) supporting Korean re-unification, and (9) bringing into substance Cheon Il Guk in at least 23 selected so-called 'strategic nations'⁶⁶ (*chölyak kukka*). Other than Foundation Day, Mun's centenary in 2020 has now been rather hesitantly enunciated as a caesura with an essentially open denouement. Great changes

65 New tribal messiahs are pious and charismatic individuals perfectly-trained in and fervently committed to Unification thought, who disseminate Unificationist teachings particularly amongst their kin.

66 The Vision 2020 project under Han allocated three different roles to countries worldwide describing their status and potential for the millenarian pursuit. The 23 strategic nations, led by Korea, Japan, and the United States, have the greatest likelihood to substantiate Cheon Il Guk entirely by 2020. The top three, especially, possess a role model function owing to their providential weight, and will engender a global knock-on effect once completely 'restored'. Albania and Moldova, the latter not classified as within the 'European' but the 'Northeast' administrative region by the UM, are the only strategic nations in Europe. The strategic nations shall receive support from another 20 'providential nations' (*sömmi kukka*), seven of which are located in Europe: Italy, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Switzerland, Russia, and the Ukraine. These countries carry a little less potential but nonetheless bear important providential responsibilities. The third unnamed category of countries, containing Austria, are equally called upon to implement Vision 2020 measures and objectives but also to wholeheartedly assist in particular the 43 nations of special status in their mission. Generally, of course, in reference to §9 of the Cheon Il Guk Constitution, all countries and members have to mutually aid each other in kingdom-building.

shall happen, bolstered through sustained kingdom-building, but it is not certain that they will effectively happen. The Vision 2020 plan accentuates a bottom-up strategy to develop strong foundations upon which the political engagement shall achieve greater resonance.

4. Millenarian Retrospects

Nearly all first and second generation members in Austria have already witnessed and celebrated a number of purported salvational pivotal events throughout their religious career that have been conjured by Mun in the most recent course of God's providence. The last of these, deemed most momentous as it ceremoniously ended Mun's (or—in tune with today's revised dogmatics—the True Parents') mission on earth, was also eagerly advertised within the Austrian community (see Appendix, Figure 4). Parallel to the situation abroad, however, a great deal of uncertainty and a wide margin of expectations persisted, all the more because of the founder's death several months before. Mun's passing to the 'spiritual world' (*geistige Welt*) was surprising for Unificationists across the globe. Whereas previous caesuras including Foundation Day were usually known and prepared for well in advance, his demise—his venerable age notwithstanding—was sudden and unexpected for most. Foundation Day and also the death of Mun were milestones of extraordinary millenarian significance, the former anticipated, the latter unanticipated. This section focuses on the retrospective views regarding these two thematically connected yet qualitatively different crucial events as articulated by members of the Austrian UM. How did adherents respond to 'Father's' (*Vater*) death and what meaning do they feel it has for the future of his millenarian vision? What expectations did they have of Foundation Day and could the actual event and what was happening in its aftermath live up to these expectations?⁶⁷

4.1. The Death of Mun

The large majority of members, comprising both first and second generation devotees, received the message of Mun's passing with utter surprise and

⁶⁷ As a matter of fact, expectations prior to Foundation Day have, in hindsight, often been adjusted and lessened in their gravity following Foundation Day. This is, for example, confirmed when comparing statements made by members in personal conversations and interviews before and some time after the event.

great sorrow. Some were virtually paralysed ('[...] his passing hit me deeply. I cried an entire day and couldn't believe it'⁶⁸), often because of the abrupt loss of their spiritual father figure who had been an irreplaceable moral guide for the most part of (first generation) or their entire (second generation) religious life.⁶⁹ Repeatedly, members indicate that not only his physical death but the lack of acknowledgment of his messianity and his achievements by the wider public was particularly painful. This grief echoes up to the present. As one member puts it: 'It is then painful when I attend a Catholic service and the priest prays: "...until He comes in glory..." and, for me, the Messiah has already gone from this world'.⁷⁰ Generally it is held that Mun's death left a void inasmuch as his tutelage in the physical world will be much missed ('the loss of a legend'⁷¹). It does represent a challenge, the 'beginning of a new period',⁷² and 'a clear step into independence'⁷³ to cultivate and perfect his legacy. Surprisingly, it is almost unanimously maintained by the members that his death has not fomented any organisational or religious disharmony, instead the UM under Han is seen to be continuing on the right providential track.⁷⁴ Only a single voice opposes this

68 '[...] daher traf mich sein Hinübergehen ziemlich tief. Ich weinte einen ganzen Tag lang und konnte es nicht fassen'; respondent #1.

69 A second generation member, Anna (24) explains in a personal interview: '[...] he was old, yes, and he was ill but since my childhood he was always there. One could not imagine how it was without him'; ('[...] er war alt, ja, und er war krank aber seit meiner Kindheit war er wirklich immer da. Man hat sich das nicht vorstellen können wie das ohne [ihm] war').

70 'Schmerzhaft ist es dann, wenn ich eine katholische Messe besuche, und der Priester betet: "...bis er kommt in Herrlichkeit..." und für mich der Messias schon wieder von dieser Welt gegangen ist'; respondent #44.

71 'Für mich war der Tod Rev. Moons, der Verlust einer Legende [...]'; respondent #47.

72 'Mit dem Tod von Rev. Moon hat eine neue Phase begonnen'; respondent #27.

73 'Dies bedeutet jedoch auch einen klaren Schritt in die Selbstständigkeit, die Visionen und Prinzipien selbst besser zu verstehen und zu leben'; respondent #53.

74 Members seem to be very confident that Mun's heritage will be successfully carried forward by Han: '[H]e surely continues to work through his wife' ('[E]r arbeitet sicher weiter durch seine Frau'); Personal Interview with Hermine (61). One member, for example, emphasises the True Parents' inspiring dual leadership by virtue of their tight spiritual communion: '[...]he] now [lives] in unity with True Mother through the spiritual world; [t]here is a strong connection and they work together, and we absolutely feel this leadership, which is why we can also feel that there is a new enlightenment' ('[...] durch die geistige Welt [lebt er] jetzt mit der Wahren Mutter in Einheit [...]'; [es] ist eine starke Verbindung da und sie arbeiten gemeinsam zusammen und wir spüren total diese Führung und dadurch können wir auch spüren, dass [...] wirklich eine neue Erleuchtung da ist'); Personal Interview with Franziska (24).

confident general perception, diagnosing a ‘complete disorientation’⁷⁵ following Mun’s passing. Even if his physical disappearance is mourned by most, there is a broad consensus that he is now (equally or even more) actively working towards the substantiation of Cheon Il Guk from the spiritual realm. Death has released Mun from his physical limitations and his bodily suffering and allows him to accomplish more than if he were still alive.⁷⁶ Some members go so far as to state that the spiritual realm has indeed grown more influential thanks to Mun’s ‘ascension’ or that the spiritual or emotional relationship with him has since intensified.⁷⁷ Interestingly, a few members particularly stress the theological necessity of Mun’s death because only by this could the True Parents, through their third blessing on Foundation Day, establish a substantial unity between the physical and the spiritual realm. Generally members very much agree that the demise of Mun represents a certain break, personally, organisationally or providentially; only a handful of members note the opposite, saying that nothing has and will change because of his death.

In the same vein, the majority of members feel that Mun passed away prematurely. In this respect, many were surprised and even startled when they learned of his death, especially since Mun had often claimed that he would grow much older. Assumed lifespans mentioned by members range from 100 to 150 years with the most frequently indicated putative age lying between 114 and 120 years. Also, members were baffled because it was widely anticipated, based on his comments, that he would physically par-

⁷⁵ ‘Leider hat es zur totalen Orientierungslosigkeit geführt’; respondent #18.

⁷⁶ A second generation member elucidates: ‘I think that Sun Myung Moon will/can do much more in the spiritual world than in the physical world thus far. What is more, he was freed from many limitations through death’; (‘Ich denke, dass Sun Myung Moon noch viel mehr in der Geistigen Welt vollbringen wird/kann, als [...] bisher in der physischen Welt. Außerdem wurde er durch den Tod auch von vielen Grenzen befreit’); respondent #17. Similarly, another member reveals: ‘Shortly before he died, he physically suffered very much and was not able in his condition to help God as he wished. Now, since he is in the spiritual world, he is free—so to speak. He is young and agile again and can mobilise the good spiritual world, and clear up in hell and on earth through the help of the good spirits’; ‘Kurz bevor er gestorben ist, hat er physisch sehr gelitten und konnte in seinem Zustand auch nicht Gott so helfen wie er wollte. Nun da er in der Geistigen Welt ist, ist er sozusagen frei. Er ist wieder jung und agil und kann die gute Geistige Welt mobilisieren und in der Hölle aber auch auf Erden mit Hilfe der guten Geister aufräumen’; respondent #32.

⁷⁷ A first generation member, for instance, remarks: ‘His death has perhaps even helped me to more fully understand and appreciate him’; (‘Mir hat sein Tod vielleicht sogar geholfen ihn tiefer zu verstehen und zu würdigen’); respondent #9.

take in the Foundation Day ceremony, solemnising the dawn of substantial Cheon Il Guk in person.⁷⁸ A first generation member explains:

Initially, it was a surprise for me, because, considering the entire development and how he had talked about this Foundation Day, I actually well expected that he would live to see it. [...] Previously, of course, he [also] gave statements that he wants at least one day to live in the Kingdom of God on Earth and then go to the spiritual world. This, in my opinion, he could not realise.⁷⁹

However, even though Mun did not corporally attend Foundation Day, accompanying the proclamation of substantial Cheon Il Guk and witnessing in the flesh the formation of his messianic domain, almost all members agree that his lifelong personal mission was undoubtedly successful.⁸⁰ In contrast, whereas his personal achievements are sacrosanct, not everyone is convinced that these have yet materialised to their fullest extent owing to a lack of support Mun received by adherents and humanity in general. This lack, it is perceived by some, also led Mun to enter the spiritual realm earlier—preventing him from participating in Foundation Day—so that he could unrestrainedly continue to champion the millenarian task. Various members bespoke a sense of guilt:

78 This majority view is repugnant to the opinion of a minority of adherents as noted above, who, in line with current Unification theological reasoning, regard Mun's attendance as a spiritual being a requirement for the completion blessing, heralding substantial Cheon Il Guk.

79 'Für mich war's eine Überraschung zuerst, weil ich eigentlich von dieser ganzen Entwicklung her und wie er über diesen Foundation Day gesprochen hat, eigentlich schon erwartet habe, dass er das erleben wird. [...] Er hat natürlich Aussagen gemacht vorher, dass er zumindest einen Tag im Reich Gottes auf Erden leben möchte und so in die geistige Welt geht. Das hat er meiner Meinung nach nicht erfüllen können'; Personal Interview with Markus (62).

80 Often members hint at the final passage in Mun's last prayer from August 13, 2012, in which he affirms that 'he has accomplished everything'. The complete prayer reads: 'Today, having returned the completion of final perfection to Father, I know that I have offered my entire life up until now to Father. According to His will, at this moment I prepare this time bringing my whole life to a close, bringing it to a close giving Jeongseong [*chǒngsǒng*; one's supreme loving devotion in both thought and action]. Tribal messiahs have constituted a name that can represent the nation. I have accomplished all these tasks. I have accomplished everything. Aju!'; '오늘 최종적인 완성의 완결을 아버지 앞에 돌려드렸사오니. 지금까지 한 생을 아버지 앞에 바친 줄 알고 있사오니. 그 뜻대로 이제는 모든 생을 종료하는 시간을 정성 드려 종료하는 시간을 갖추어가지고 종족적 메시아가 국가를 대표할 수 있는 이름을 이루어 가지고 그 일을 다 이루었다. 다 이루었다. 아주!' (Mun 2012).

Many of us have expected that he would surely live at least until Foundation Day; however, as it looks like, this [day] was already our responsibility. I mourned because I somehow had the feeling that it was our fault, that we, as his spiritual children, did not sufficiently support him, that we were too selfish.⁸¹

Several members observed that they found the demeanour of Mun's close-knit family and his wife in particular but also the people in attendance at the public Seonghwa (*sŏnghwa*; literally: sacred harmony) on September 15, 2012, bewildering.⁸² For Unificationists, the Seonghwa is meant to mark a joyous event when the attendees, traditionally dressed in white, cheerfully commemorate and express their love for the deceased, who has returned to the spiritual realm. However, Mun's Seonghwa did not reflect this. Instead, the participants including grief-stricken Han and then-FFWPU International President Mun Hyōng-jin shed tears, both visibly struggling to maintain their composure.⁸³

4.2. Foundation Day

All but a handful of members ascribe utmost millenarian importance to Foundation Day, labelling it as a 'new beginning',⁸⁴ a 'turning point',⁸⁵ the 'heralding of a new age',⁸⁶ or, as a Korean faithful—borrowing from Unification theology—puts it,⁸⁷ the start of *huch'ŏn sidae* (literally: age after [the coming of] Heaven), that is, a God-dominated world, which superseded *sŏnch'ŏn sidae* (literally: age before [the coming of] Heaven) or a Satan-

81 'Viele von uns hatten erwartet, dass er zumindest bis zum Foundationday [*sic*] mit Sicherheit noch leben wird, doch wie es aussieht, lag dieser schon in unserer Verantwortung. Ich habe getrauert, da ich irgendwie das Gefühl hatte, dass es unsere Schuld war, dass wir als seine geistigen Kinder ihn nicht genug unterstützt haben, dass wir zu selbststüchtig waren'; #respondent 52.

82 Seonghwa here refers to the Unificationist memorial service, the second part of the overall funeral rite carrying the same name.

83 This public expression of deep sorrow by Han concerning her husband's death has continued ever since, which prompts theological questions after the nature of their substantial unity which was consummated on Foundation Day.

84 'Für mich hat es die Bedeutung, dass es ein Neubeginn ist'; Personal Interview with Birgit (58).

85 '[Foundation Day ist ein] Wendepunkt in der menschlichen Geschichte für Gott und Mensch'; #respondent 40.

86 'Mit Foundation Day verstehe ich das Einklingen [*sic*] eines Neuen Zeitalters [...], ein Zeitalter ausgerichtet auf Gott'; #respondent 47.

87 Personal Interview with Min-yōng (59).

centred world.⁸⁸ A closer look at the responses however reveals a difference in the surmised quality of this historic change. Whilst some underline Foundation Day as an intersection point,⁸⁹ which triggered the expanding substantiation of an ideal paradisiac world, others see it as a largely spiritual scaffold to be built upon in the future: ‘This Foundation Day has laid in particular a spiritual base, like a truce building a base for peace and future friendship’.⁹⁰ The former point of view expressively accentuates that Cheon Il Guk has *begun* substantially, highlighting the enormity of what has been gloriously achieved in the physical realm, namely the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven. The latter approaches Foundation Day from a slightly different perspective, emphasising not what has been but what can be built with all salvational potential now having been unlocked.

A most appreciable aspect induced by Foundation Day, as held by most members, is the growing impact of and the intensified contact with the spiritual realm. Some report a heightened personal level of spiritual sensibility and awareness since Foundation Day; the revelation of and entering into new ‘spiritual dimensions’.⁹¹ Others feel that the energy and support received by the spiritual world increased noticeably.⁹² Foundation Day—for many also expedited through Mun’s death—allowed the physical and the spiritual realm begin to converge:

[...] Following Foundation Day and after True Father ascended to the spiritual world, the connection between the spiritual and the physical world has strengthened; the boundaries decrease more and more. It seems to me that years ago it was more difficult to obtain spiritual support from one’s ancestors—only through much more prayer and conditions. Now this support seems to be frequently granted unexpectedly and undeservedly.⁹³

88 A first generation member explains: ‘We can no longer be claimed by Satan as his property’ (‘Wir können [...] nicht mehr von Satan als sein Eigentum beansprucht werden’); respondent #7.

89 ‘Am Foundation Day überschneiden sich die zugrunde gehende “alte Welt” und die aufkeimende “neue Welt”’; respondent #49.

90 ‘Dieser Foundation Day hat vor allem eine spirituelle Grundlage gelegt, so in der Art wie einen Waffenstillstand eine Grundlage für Frieden und später für Freundschaft bildet’; respondent #17.

91 ‘Die geistigen Dimensionen (Stufen) die uns von den Wahren Eltern zu diesem Anlass eröffnet wurden sind historisch’; respondent #28.

92 ‘Ich merke jedoch seit dem eine innerliche Veränderung – ich spüre mehr innerliche Kraft, Energie und Unterstützung von der Geistigen Welt’; respondent #35.

93 ‘[...] ich denke aber, dass] sich nach dem Foundationday [*sic*] und auch nachdem der Wahre Vater in die Geistige Welt gegangen ist, die Verbindung zwischen geistiger und physischer Welt gestärkt hat, die Grenzen fallen langsam immer mehr ab. Vor Jahren

This ‘spiritual turn’⁹⁴ (*geistiger Umschwung*), it is argued by a few members, is not limited to the adherents but can even be discerned on a worldwide scale: ‘The people are more open and are more inclined towards good and evermore pine for true love’.⁹⁵ The change in mind and heart accompanying the foundation of substantial Cheon Il Guk, be it involving the faithful only or indeed everyone, is deemed the fruition or the ‘organic unfolding’⁹⁶ of Mun’s ministry.⁹⁷ Aware of the main theological explanation communicated prior to Foundation Day, for instance in pertinent workshops, a number of members in this respect also theologise about the third, that is, the blessing of the completion stage of True Parents, also dubbed ‘God’s wedding’, which took place as the essential part⁹⁸ of the Foundation Day ceremony.⁹⁹ Since then God, appearing as ‘Heavenly Parents’ (*Himmlische Eltern*), forms a unity with Mun and Han, this having concluded the purpose of creation, which also entails the amalgamation of the spiritual and the physical realm, on the micro level: ‘Heaven (True Father) and earth (True Mother) have [...] created a unity [...] because Heavenly

war es viel schwieriger geistige Unterstützung von den Ahnen zu bekommen scheint mir, nur mit viel mehr Gebet und Bedingungen. Jetzt scheint diese Unterstützung schon oft unerwartet und vor allem unverdienterweise zu kommen’; respondent #52.

94 Personal Interview with Johanna (58).

95 ‘Die Leute sind offener und tendieren mehr zum Guten und sehnen sich immer mehr nach wahrer Liebe’; Personal Interview with Peter (23).

96 ‘[Foundation Day ist die] organische Entfaltung des Wirkens von Rev. Dr. Mun hier auf Erden’; respondent #1.

97 Though the novel role of Han Hak-cha is unanimously recognised and repeatedly mentioned on many occasions in the questionnaire and the interviews, many members, being still accustomed to ‘mono-messianism’ (i.e. Mun as the messiah), have not yet completely embraced the idea of dual messiahship (i.e. Mun and Han as the messiah). A first generation member, for example, makes clear: ‘[There can only] be a single person in the position of Messiah and this is True Father’ (‘[Es kann nur] eine einzige Person sein, die die Position des Messias inne hat [und diese ist] der Wahre Vater’); respondent #19.

98 ‘The only thing that really counts concerning Foundation Day is that God marries His wife’ (‘Das einzige was wirklich zählt beim Foundation Day ist, dass Gott Seine Frau heiratet’); Personal Interview with Christoph (58).

99 As one first generation member lucidly puts it: ‘Under Foundation Day I [first] understand the “wedding of God”, the complete unity of the perfect and completed Adam as incarnation of God with Eve, the female expression of God and His wife’ (‘Unter dem Foundation Day verstehe ich [erstens] die “Hochzeit Gottes”, die vollständige Einheit des vollkommenen und vollendeten Adam als Inkarnation Gottes mit Eva, dem weiblichen Ausdruck Gottes und Seiner Frau’); respondent #7.

Parents have completely unified with True Parents.¹⁰⁰ For many members, especially female, this unity and Foundation Day in general represents a most important declaratory event for and the religious codification of gender equality ('the era of women'¹⁰¹), a distinct feature of Unification thought keenly advocated by the late Mun.¹⁰²

Whereas the majority of members accredit Foundation Day discernible influence on the spiritual and the physical realm (or at least the former), a few give it a mere 'symbolic meaning'.¹⁰³ As such Foundation Day is also understood as a motivational event, many of which occurred in the past to align the adherents towards a shared vision and promote action.¹⁰⁴ Foundation Day thus served as a helpful tool to raise and further members' motivation in the course of kingdom-building. Irrespective of the function eventually attributed by members to this event, however, there is wide-spread agreement that Foundation Day was shrouded in miscommunication. The bits and pieces of (largely indeterminate) information obtained through various channels—seminars, sermons, the internet et cetera—prior to February 22 left members unaware of what to actually expect inviting a range of interpretation. For many, high expectations were fuelled by the epic significance Mun and other Unificationist dignitaries publicly attached to this day. Descriptions of Foundation Day and its effective implications for the world remained arcane throughout, yet were embellished by monumental language, which, though admittedly a rhetorical device much used, was of a more pregnant tenor than on similar occasions before. The expectations so generated were diverse and often geared towards great visible or sensible changes. A common hope thus shared by the adherents was for the convergence of the spiritual realm. This transformation or at least some perceiv-

100 'Himmel (Wahrer Vater) und Erde (Wahre Mutter) haben [...] eine Einheit geschaffen [...] indem die Himmlischen Eltern sich vollständig mit den Wahren Eltern vereinen'; respondent #10.

101 Personal Interview with Theodor (25).

102 Han is seen to have pioneered and in fact accomplished gender equality owing to her spiritual achievements. A second generation member explicates: 'True Mother through her lifestyle and many austere conditions managed to "become perfect", to stand on top of the completion stage together with True Father as True Woman. Thus, she paved the spiritual way for all women to stand in the same position as the True Mother' ('Die Wahre Mutter hat es durch ihren Lebensstil und vielen harten Bedingungen geschafft "vollkommen zu werden", an der Spitze der Vollendungsstufe gemeinsam mit dem Wahren Vater, als Wahre Frau zu stehen. Und hat dadurch geistig den Weg für alle Frauen geebnet in der gleichen Position wie die Wahre Mutter zu stehen'); respondent #32.

103 'Für mich persönlich hat der "Foundation Day" eine rein symbolische Bedeutung'; respondent #43.

104 See, for example, Personal Interview with Anton (60).

able part of it was largely anticipated to occur suddenly rather than gradually, the latter which was held by only a minority. Interestingly, many members showed and occasionally indicated a post hoc alteration and rationalisation respectively of the feelings they previously harboured for Foundation Day and the onset of substantial Cheon Il Guk. Alteration inasmuch as initial personal hopes were in hindsight scaled down, as members contrasted their own reserved and ‘reasonable’ expectations against the *others’* colourful and occasionally ‘irrational’ expectations, often involving ‘dramatic changes’ in the physical world. Accounts of what exactly members had imagined (if anything at all) regarding Foundation Day and its immediate repercussion were however largely not linked to particular clear-cut occurrences. Instead, many members simply awaited unspecified developments precipitated by the Foundation Day ceremony which would instantly (or at least in a timely manner) render the world significantly more disposed towards good. Wolfgang (23), a second generation member, representatively states in a personal interview: ‘I have thought that one would see the world turning to good. [...] I have perhaps imagined a more crucial crunch point. [Concerning concrete connotations] I have not had any ideas’.¹⁰⁵ For the most part, members like Werner were slightly disappointed by the ‘hardly recognisable’ immediate impact of Foundation Day.¹⁰⁶ Yet, a positive outlook persists and members have generally reconciled themselves in view of what has happened ‘behind the scenes’ and the ramifications which assuredly grow stronger every day:

For me Foundation Day is the beginning of a new era, whose significance for me as well will only become more perceptible in the future. With the birth of Christ a new time reckoning has begun, however, the early successors have not witnessed this as something extraordinary. It has certainly

¹⁰⁵ ‘Ich hab mir schon gedacht, dass man mitbekommt, dass sich die Welt zum Guten verändert. [...] Vielleicht hab ich mir doch einen größeren Knackpunkt vorgestellt. [...Bezüglich konkrete Vorstellungen] habe ich dann keine Ideen mehr gehabt’.

¹⁰⁶ Voicing a sense of disappointment, a first generation member says, for example: ‘[I have] hoped that the fruit of the foundation “Foundation Day” would show more instantaneously, which would mean more support of “what is good”. This I could not observe to date’ (‘Dennoch habe ich erhofft, dass sich die Frucht des Fundamentes “Foundation Day” doch unmittelbarer zeigen wird, was mehr Unterstützung für “das Gute” bedeuten würde. Dies konnte ich bis dato nicht feststellen’); respondent #14. Surprisingly, only one respondent pointed out her frustration that Mun did not attend Foundation Day in his physical shape so that he could conclude his life mission in person, which is why to her the event has been a largely disappointing and ‘squishy affair’; respondent #39. Generally, even though the majority of members expected Mun to partake and were taken aback by his ‘premature’ death (see Section 4.1), his absence seems not to have effectively spoiled the event for most.

taken centuries until the birth of Christ became a factor for a nation and that a new time reckoning was introduced. I am very confident that Foundation Day will receive a crucial meaning for human history, even if it is only significant for a small group today. My expectations were not entirely fulfilled concerning the visible and personally perceptible effects. However, this does not curtail the value of Foundation Day.¹⁰⁷

The smaller number of members who claimed to have borne no or hardly any expectations mainly justified this by referring to the relative frequency with which such supposedly epochal events—which have not promptly evoked substantial changes—have been declared by the True Parents. Early first generation members especially pointed to their rich personal history of eagerly awaiting and solemnising such millenarian breaks, which is why they anticipated Foundation Day less enthusiastically or hopefully. In the end, however, almost every member is convinced that this event carried weight in particular by ritually marking a shift from a Mun-led to a Han-centred UM.¹⁰⁸

5. Millenarian Prospects

Foundation Day has been an episode; an episode in a millenarian venture that stretches indeterminately into the future. It is the starting point of substantial Cheon Il Guk, or the Kingdom of Heaven, which at one point, propelled by the continual providential action of Unificationists, is believed to culminate in all-embracing perfection in heaven (*ch'önsang ch'önguk*) and on earth (*chisang ch'önguk*). Occupying centre stage in Unification thought,

107 'Foundation Day ist für mich der Beginn eines neuen Zeitalters, dessen Bedeutung auch für mich erst in Zukunft spürbar wird. Mit Christi Geburt hat eine neue Zeitrechnung begonnen, aber die frühen Nachfolger haben das nicht als etwas außergewöhnliches [sic] erlebt. Es hat sicher Jahrhunderte gedauert, bis Christi Geburt ein Faktor für eine Nation wurde und eine neue Zeitrechnung eingeführt wurde. Ich bin sehr sicher, daß Foundation Day eine zentrale Bedeutung in der menschlichen Geschichte bekommen wird, auch wenn es heute nur für eine kleine Gruppe von Bedeutung ist. Meine Erwartungen haben sich nicht ganz erfüllt, was die sichtbaren und persönlich spürbaren Auswirkungen betrifft. Aber das schmälert für mich nicht den Wert von F.D'; respondent #25.

108 A second generation member comments: 'In many respects, Foundation Day was indeed a formal ceremony, which consolidated the process of institutionalisation of the Family Federation following the founder's death' ('In vielen Hinsichten war FD tatsächlich eine formale Zeremonie, die den Institutionalisierungsprozess der Familienföderation nach dem Tod des Gründers festigte'); respondent #37.

the notion of the Kingdom of Heaven has always provided imminent messianic hope for devotees, supplying the pragmatic spirit of the UM.

On an individual basis, Cheon Il Guk serves as the formula sheathing Unificationist theory and practice with salvation-oriented coherency. An inner salvational protocol, a goal of self-cultivation and the state of its supreme expression, that is, the embodiment of Unificationist principles, Cheon Il Guk projects onto various layers—family, tribe, and nation—to eventually peak in its substantialised macrocosmic form as Kingdom of Heaven. With Foundation Day, the substantial seed of this God-centred world was planted, being nourished by conviction and faithful action of the adherents (that is, following and perfecting individual Cheon Il Guk). The next decisive step in the cultivation of this seed or the collective human spirit is set forth by Vision 2020, a development scheme designed to bundle resources and carry forward the UM's millenarian project in the post-Mun era.

Even though the Kingdom of Heaven already manifested substantially (given its incipient state) it is still felt to be remote by many, non-members and members alike. Vision 2020 shall bridge this distance, letting Cheon Il Guk evolve (or extend) by 2020 with the hope of gaining more credence worldwide. Such a millenarian roadmap, if put into operation successfully by and also beyond 2020, will create organisational continuity, something which is ever more pressing in the face of a gradually disappearing first generation.

This section discusses how Austrian Unificationists understand and integrate these key themes into their belief system, providing insights into members' millenarian prospects. What does Cheon Il Guk mean and how can it be described when reaching its fullest substantial extent? How long will this process of unfolding take? What is the function and what can be expected to have happened at the conclusion of project Vision 2020? Ultimately, where do members see the UM in 30 years from today, that is, in a post-Han age?

5.1. Cheon Il Guk

The many-layered semantics of Cheon Il Guk as previously discussed in the light of mainline theological deliberations become saliently apparent on examination of members' perceptions. The complexity of the notion is acknowledged by most, especially first generation followers, many of whom

consider the full meaning behind Cheon Il Guk to be elusive.¹⁰⁹ Older members often adopted the concept as a neologism, taken to largely cover the meaning of the Kingdom of Heaven as found in the *WK* and Mun's sermons prior to November 2001.¹¹⁰ Generally, the majority of both first and second generation members globally render Cheon Il Guk as the Kingdom of Heaven (*Himmelreich*). More specifically, members also use the designations Kingdom of Heaven on earth (*Himmelreich auf Erden*), or, less so yet theologically more accurate, Kingdom of Heaven on earth and in heaven (*Himmelreich auf Erden und im Himmel*) as well as synonymous expressions such as Kingdom of Heaven on earth and in the spiritual realm (*Himmelreich auf Erden und in der geistigen Welt*). The basic understanding of Cheon Il Guk essentially reflects the core of Mun's famous first definition of the term, given in a sermon on the occasion of the UM's 42nd True Children's Day (*ch'am chanyō'ūi nal*) on November 15, 2001.¹¹¹

109 A first generation member, Walter (53), for instance, states in a personal interview: 'For me too [the full meaning of Cheon Il Guk] is mysterious' ('Auch für mich ist es [=die volle Bedeutung von Cheon Il Guk] geheimnisvoll'). Another first generation member, for example, recognises a need for unambiguous clarification: 'Within our movement there is no clear explanation what [Cheon Il Guk] is exactly supposed to mean' ('Innerhalb unserer Bewegung herrscht noch keine eindeutige Erklärung, was es [=Cheon Il Guk] genau bedeuten soll'); respondent #15.

110 To some the new, especially Korean terminology is emotionally less appealing, as a first generation member reveals: 'The term Kingdom of God, which for me is equivalent to Cheon Il Guk, still has more emotional weight' ('Der Begriff Reich Gottes, der für mich gleichbedeutend mit Cheon Il Guk ist, hat emotional nach wie vor mehr Gewicht'); respondent #27. Talking about Cheon Il Guk, another first generation devotee hints at the practical side of using Korean terms, saying: 'Always using foreign words does not make it really easy to reach other people' ('Immer lauter Fremdwörter zu verwenden macht es wirklich nicht einfach die Leute zu erreichen'); respondent #29.

111 The *locus classicus* reads: 'What is the abbreviation of the Nation of Cosmic Peace and Unity [*ch'ōnju p'yōnghwa t'ongilguk*]?' In *ch'ōnju* [cosmos] *ch'ōn* [天] meaning "heaven" in Chinese characters is made of the characters for "two" [二], drawn as parallel lines, and "person" [人]. The Chinese character for *p'yōng* [平] contains the character for "ten" [十, i.e. two crossed lines]. This indicates that two people [through their unity] can completely unite heaven and earth. Accordingly, *ch'ōnju*, containing [the meaning for] "two people" already holds the notion of peace. That is why we must call the Nation of Cosmic Peace and Unity "Cheon Il Guk". This is what it means'; '천주평화통일국이라는 것을 약(略)하게 되면 뭐냐? 천주 가운데 '하늘 천(天)' 자는 두 사람이 평행이 되는 거예요. 평행, 패러렐리즘(parallelism; 평행)! '평(平)' 자 가운데 이것(十)은 십자가예요. 완전히 하늘땅을 연결시키는데, 이것은 두 사람을 말해요. 그러니까 '천주' 라는 두 사람 가운데는 이미 평화의 개념이 들어가 있다 이거예요. 그렇기 때문에 앞으로 천주평화통일국을 뭐라고 하느냐 하면, 천일국(天一國)! (박수) 그런 뜻입니다' (Mun 2001).

Cheon Il Guk is thus held to refer to a perfected state of unity, involving mind and body, two people—husband and wife—or the two dimensions of the cosmos—heaven and earth—becoming one, that is, uniting in a God-intended natural relationship. Members in particular connect Cheon Il Guk etymologically to a place where husband and wife form a divinely blessed unity.¹¹² Accordingly, in extension Cheon Il Guk is tantamount to the realisation of the Four Position Foundation: ‘The Kingdom of Heaven is when a man and a woman have realised a family, centring on God—the Four Position Foundation’.¹¹³

In line with Unification thought, members unanimously agree that Cheon Il Guk is the conclusion of the original ideal of creation,¹¹⁴ that is, the fulfilment of the three great blessings. ‘The family is the school of love’¹¹⁵ and the cradle of a ‘world of true love’. Such an ideal world equally describes Cheon Il Guk for most members. Accordingly, the most common meaning of Cheon Il Guk is twofold: On the one hand, it depicts a ‘true family’ and especially the bond of ‘true love’ of the blessed couple. On the other hand, it limns a cosmic paradise with a usual emphasis on its earthly outgrowth. When asked about the quality of Cheon Il Guk once it has been fully substantiated on a worldwide level, almost all members refer to one or more of the following more general characterisations: world peace, a global family or nation under God,¹¹⁶ an ideal world of utmost harmony and love. A handful of members, however, do not believe in the perfection of this utopian vision but concede that humans might always struggle, even when

112 Or like a first generation member puts it: ‘The place and state where God becomes visible in a mature man and a mature woman, who become true parents’ (‘Der Ort und Zustand, wo Gott in einem reifen Mann und einer reifen Frau, die wahre Eltern werden, sichtbar wird’); respondent #16. Some members put a particular focus on the pious ‘love between husband and wife’ (‘[Cheon Il Guk] is besonders die Liebe zwischen Mann und Frau’; respondent #24), excluding the salvational necessity of a child or children. See note 41.

113 ‘Das Himmelreich ist das wenn ein Mann und eine Frau eine Familie [realisiert] haben, die auf Gott ausgerichtet ist—das Vier-Positionen-Fundament’; Personal Interview with Anton (60).

114 ‘Cheon Il Guk is the fulfilment of the original ideal of creation. The reason why God has created us; to experience happiness and love with God and His creation (‘Cheon Il Guk ist die Erfüllung des ursprünglichen Schöpfungsideals. Der Grund warum uns Gott geschaffen hat; Glück und Liebe mit Gott und seiner Schöpfung zu erfahren/erleben’); respondent #17.

115 ‘Die Familie ist die Schule der Liebe’; respondent #41.

116 ‘Cheon Il Guk bedeutet für mich eine friedliche Welt, eine Weltfamilie unter Gott’; respondent #12

living in the Kingdom of Heaven, yet on a very small scale.¹¹⁷ Generally, members find it difficult to give specific details of how Cheon Il Guk might look in its factual complete substantial manifestation. Generic attributions falling into the above mentioned three categories predominate. Scattered properties credited to Cheon Il Guk refer, for example, to a world without laws (and thus law enforcement) where action will be based upon love, a world in which people will live in accordance with nature and where ecological awareness will be ubiquitous, a world devoid of disease and suffering, a world in which divorces and separations will be obsolete, a world of sexual purity, that is, without free sex, a world of tremendous technological achievements and progress, a world in which every individual will hone his or her God-likeness, living in spiritual unity with ‘Heavenly Parents’ and freely communicating with one’s ancestors. One (first generation) member in a nutshell likens earthly Cheon Il Guk to the picturesque heavenly realm figured in the 1998 Hollywood movie ‘What Dreams May Come’.¹¹⁸ Another (first generation) member’s account goes into more detail, giving a less scenic yet equally vivid, and to many followers mostly representative, picture of Cheon Il Guk:

At any rate, [the Kingdom of Heaven on earth] means harmonious and peaceful co-existence and togetherness. Selfish, bossy or possessive inclinations are ruled out. One faces a conscious, considerate and appreciative dealing with nature and creation... and no exploitation or destruction. One will read about wars, illnesses and suffering only in history books. Families live together in three generations, especially since the accommodation situation is adjusted accordingly. One consciously lives his or her physical existence

117 A second generation member, Susanne (20), says in a personal interview: ‘I do not imagine such a utopia. That everyone is always happy [...] but that people may always make mistakes. [Murder and manslaughter], I think, are possible. [...] Such things will happen on a small scale though. In general, there will be peace’ (‘Ich stell mir nicht so ein Utopia vor. Dass jetzt alle immer fröhlich sein werden [...], sondern, dass Menschen auch immer Fehler machen können. [Auch Mord und Totschlag] denke ich sind möglich. [...] Solche Sachen werden eher in kleinem Rahmen passieren. Es herrscht generell Frieden’). In contrast, a first generation member provides a more theological explanation: ‘Since the earthly realm represents the area of growth, that is, the time of learning and development, mistakes will occur, which is why it will not be a “perfect world”. For the latter there is the “spiritual world”, where the fruits of one’s success may be reaped’ (‘Da die irdische Welt aber den Bereich des Wachstums darstellt, d.h. Zeit des Lernens und der Entwicklung, wird es hier Fehler geben und daher keine “Vollkommene Welt” sein. Für letzteres ist die “Geistige Welt” vorgesehen, wo die Früchte des Erfolges geerntet werden können’); respondent #14.

118 ‘Haben Sie den Film “Hinter dem Horizont” gesehen? [Dieser] ist über Himmel und Hölle in der geistigen Welt. Ich stelle mir diesen Himmel [so] auch auf der Erde vor’; respondent #31.

as a preparation for the transition to the spiritual world, our eternal home, where an unhindered exchange with ancestors and descendants takes place. The economy will have a global character, also being co-ordinated, yet with a strong decentralised implementation. There will not be resource-wasting competition. Progress will not be achieved by one against another, but through co-operation. Major and mega cities (like we have them today as disease-causing societal cancer) will have largely disappeared. People are self-sufficiently organised in large communes within mid-sized cities. Technologies will be developed which, for example, will fundamentally solve the energy problem. Culture, arts, music, sports, games and so forth will thrive in a form people could to some extent only experience from great artists and composers of the past. That is to say, people will largely pursue their hobbies and creative activities. [The Kingdom of Heaven on earth comprises] much more than that. In fact, imagination has no limits here.¹¹⁹

Cheon Il Guk at a rudimentary stage substantially commenced on Foundation Day, and is meant to progressively expand to perfection, which is—considering the imminent expectations frequently voiced by Mun, Han and other UM leaders—likely to occur in the near future. When exactly the Unificationist millennium will take full substantial shape, however, is subject to discussion.¹²⁰ The range of the anticipated timeframe necessary to

119 In jedem Fall ist [das Himmelreich auf Erden] ein harmonisches, friedliches Neben- und Miteinander; egoistische, rechthaberische oder besitzergreifende Tendenzen sind ausgeschlossen. Es ist ein bewußter, rücksichtsvoller wertschätzender Umgang mit Natur und Schöpfung zu sehen ... und keine Ausbeutung oder Zerstörung. Von Kriegen, Krankheiten oder Elend wird nur noch in Geschichtsbüchern zu lesen sein. Familien leben in 3 Generationen zusammen, zumal auch die Unterbringungssituation diesem angepaßt ist. Man lebt bewußt im physischen Dasein als Vorbereitung zum Übergang in die geistige Welt, unserer ewigen Heimat, und wo gleichzeitig ein barrierefreier Austausch mit Vorfahren und Nachkommen gegeben ist. Die Wirtschaft wird zwar einen globalen Charakter haben und auch koordiniert werden, aber mit sehr starken, dezentralen Verwirklichungen. Einen ressourcenverschwendenden Wettbewerb wird es nicht mehr geben. Fortschritt wird nicht erzielt durch Gegeneinander, sondern durch Miteinander. Groß- und Megastädte (so wie wir sie heute als krankmachende gesellschaftliche Krebsgeschwüre sehen) werden weitestgehend verschwunden sein. Die Menschen sind in mittelstädtischen Großkommunen autark organisiert. Es werden noch Technologien erkannt werden, wo z.B. das Energieproblem grundlegend gelöst sein wird. Kultur, Kunst, Musik, Sport, Spiel, usw. werden eine Blüte erfahren, wie man sie ansatzweise nur bei großen Künstlern und Komponisten der Vergangenheit erfahren konnte. D.h., man wird weitestgehend Hobbys und schöpferischen Tätigkeiten nachgehen. [Das Himmelreich auf Erden umfasst] noch vieles mehr. Eigentlich wären hierzu der Phantasie keine Grenzen gesetzt'; respondent #4.

120 Personal conversations with Asian and Western members showed a divide in expectations with the former being commonly more hopeful or enthusiastic towards a more

bring the growth of substantial Cheon Il Guk to completion differs widely, with a large portion of members simply saying ‘that it depends on the people’¹²¹ and the advancement of kingdom-building, which is why it could be soon or take up to (a few) hundred years.¹²² However, the majority of those who provide numbers (or 25% of the total respondents) assume—in explicit reference to Mun’s alleged prediction—that Cheon Il Guk will reach its culmination in around seven or eight generations or about 200 years from now, perhaps even a little earlier.¹²³ Almost 20% believe that this will or may well be happening within their own or their children’s lifetime. Out of that 20%, three members argue that this millenarian process will end on January 30, 2020—Mun’s centenary and the deadline of Vision 2020—with three others indicating the possibility that it will happen by 2020 or soon thereafter. About 10% of members’ opinions are located on the other end of the spectrum, since they reckon that substantial Cheon Il Guk will come to fruition in up to a thousand years.¹²⁴ A single member even suggests 120 generations, which would translate to a few thousand years.

Enquiries into the expected duration of the extension of an unmitigated substantial Cheon Il Guk reveal an interesting paradox. A number of members stress the processual nature of substantial Cheon Il Guk, which is thought to interminably grow in qualitative terms. Not only is such view antithetical to Unification doctrine, for a perfected Kingdom of Heaven cannot be surpassed in perfection, but at the same time members *give* an estimate for when this process will eventually end.

The scope of how Cheon Il Guk will effectively appear once substantially unfolded and its exact social corollary is immense. The least common denominator concerning the expression of Cheon Il Guk, excepting only a few members’ qualifying statements, is perfection and harmony. Roughly a quarter of the members surveyed and interviewed view this perfection of cosmic or global Cheon Il Guk as the culmination point of a conditional series of variously localised ‘perfections’. In other words, harmony on earth or in the universe and harmony in a blessed marriage or a family are but two emanations of Cheon Il Guk. Wilhelm (63) explains in a personal interview:

imminent realisation of an absolute substantial Cheon Il Guk. As already mentioned, Unification thought endorses this assumption.

121 Personal Interview with Irene (58).

122 ‘Die vollständige substantiell manifestierte Königreich des Himmels auf Erden könnte ziemlich schnell kommen, es könnte auch noch hundert Jahre dauern’; respondent #29.

123 Only two members suggest four generations, whilst one points to three generations.

124 Two members state 400 years; another three remain unspecific saying that it might take a few hundred years and more than a hundred years, respectively.

‘Harmony starts between mind and body [...]. Being complete, the unity between husband and wife follows. This is the most crucial.¹²⁵ Thereafter follows [harmony within] the family and then it extends further.’¹²⁶ Consequently, the first level is personal harmony, that is, Cheon Il Guk at the individual level, upon which the other levels are being built, spanning family, tribe, nation and world/cosmos. Cheon Il Guk is therefore conceived of as a continuum of harmony, whose facets substantiate in consecutive dimensions increasing in scale.

Another more frequent understanding of Cheon Il Guk concerns especially its individual dimension. Members here do not associate it with individual harmony already attained by the devotee but instead consider it as a personal goal of self-cultivation, a way of life or a religious-moral mandate for action. A second generation member holds: ‘[Cheon Il Guk to me means] to every day feel and live a little more of this “heaven”/peace. To mould my environment so that people and I feel at ease. To create an environment in which God feels at ease’.¹²⁷ Cheon Il Guk here serves as a constant prompt for positive action, a continuous urge to internalise and carry out Unification thought, or an inner guide for kingdom-building.

5.2. Vision 2020

In spite of having been introduced relatively recently, the Vision 2020 scheme at least by name has already become common currency for most members. Only a minority of members state explicitly that proper communication is lacking, that they have no idea what to expect, and how to personally respond.¹²⁸ Even though general communication appears to be suffi-

125 It is the most crucial because the blessed marriage is the prerequisite for raising a true family and thus establishing the Four Position Foundation.

126 ‘Harmonie ist zunächst zwischen Geist und Körper [...]. Wenn dies geschieht, die Einheit zwischen Mann und Frau. Das ist das ganz zentrale. Und dann die [Harmonie in der] Familie und dann erweitert es sich’.

127 ‘Jeden Tag ein Stück weit mehr diesen “Himmel”/Frieden in mir zu spüren, und zu leben. Meine Umgebung so zu gestalten, dass sich Menschen und ich mich wohlfühle. Eine Umgebung zu schaffen, in der sich Gott wohl fühlt’; respondent #34.

128 Jakob (21) claims in a personal interview: ‘I have never really received a very clear definition of Vision 2020. [...] I know about Vision 2020 roughly the same as about Foundation Day. Well, I don’t know what it is exactly, what should happen by then’ (‘Ich habe nie wirklich eine sehr klare Definition von Vision 2020 erhalten. [...] Ich weiß über Vision 2020 etwa gleichviel wie über Foundation Day. Also, ich weiß nicht genau was es ist, was dann passieren soll’). In contrast, Alexander (46), for instance, counters: ‘[Vision

cient, however, there is only scattered knowledge of what the agenda of Vision 2020 exactly contains and how it will conclude. Yet, agreement is largely uniform concerning the significance of the project with only a fistful of members ascribing no (personal) meaning at all to Vision 2020. Three items are dominant in members' reflections. A first cohort highlights the personal dimension of Vision 2020. For those members Han's vision foremostly targets the 'inner mobilisation of one's heart'¹²⁹ and one's self-development. It functions as a motivational objective as well as a 'personal mandate'¹³⁰ (*persönlicher Arbeitsauftrag*) for self-cultivation and benevolent action. A second cohort views Vision 2020 as an overall master plan with the explicit aim to establish a 'Cheon Il Guk nation' (*Cheon Il Guk Nation*), which should ideally be Korea. Even if Korea or the Korean peninsula cannot be 'restored' by 2020, some members add, a number of strategic and providential nations may succeed in realising this goal. The key aspect and focus of Vision 2020, it is maintained, is the reunification of the Koreas. The third cohort implicitly relates to this ambitious plot but speaks more abstractly and vaguely of Vision 2020 as being the next required step in a development plan oriented towards the complete fulfilment of substantial Cheon Il Guk.¹³¹ Whilst some of those members consider Vision 2020 to be a catalyst for rapid change, the majority insinuate that it will be one stage of (many) more to come in the future. Details of the concrete agenda are not revealed by those members.

Other alleged aspects of Vision 2020 mentioned in order of frequency—which lies between eight to three individual responses—include the emphasis upon witnessing, the acceptance of the True Parents and their teachings by the global community and, accordingly, the conclusion of the process of substantiation of Cheon Il Guk, the entrenchment of Unification thought or

2020] of course is being communicated very strongly' ('[Vision 2020] wird sehr wohl sehr stark kommuniziert').

129 'Der Schwerpunkt der Vision 2020 ist in erster Linie, die innere Mobilisierung des Herzens, der Liebe für Gott und die Welt'; respondent #19.

130 Personal Interview with Elfriede (70).

131 Members usually do not explain the necessity of Vision 2020 in doctrinal terms. An interesting exception is the theological reasoning given by a second generation member who applies the Unificationist progression scheme: '2020 is the next step after Foundation Day to achieve Cheon Il Guk. I have learnt that there are three stages in the development of a person: Foundation [i.e. formation], growth and perfection [i.e. completion]. I am quite sure that seven years after Foundation Day, that is 2020, a Growth Day will take place. And in 2027 a Perfection Day' ('2020 ist nach dem Foundationday der nächste Schritt um Cheon Il Guk zu erreichen. Ich habe gelernt, dass es in der Entwicklung eines Menschen drei Stufen gibt: Foundation, Growth und Perfection. Ich bin mir ziemlich sicher, dass sieben Jahre nach Foundationday, also 2020, ein Growthday stattfinden wird und 2027 ein Perfectionday [*sic*]'); respondent #52.

the UM as a positive factor to be reckoned with in selected societies or human society at large, setting the course for the alternation of generations or the instalment of second generation leaders, and the full implementation of the Cheon Il Guk Constitution. Further statements shared by one or two individuals distinctly recognise Vision 2020, for example, as a call to intensify the study of the *WK*, to reconnect the spirit of the movement to the time of the pioneers of the 1960s and 1970s, to improve overall communication within the movement, to recruit more tribal messiahs, to launch more and increase the engagement in peace initiatives respectively, to strengthen public relations activities, and to more assiduously disseminate Mun's autobiography.

The main body of members give priority to Vision 2020's potential over its assumed actual consequences. Theodor (25) notes in a personal interview: 'There is no spiritual clockwork, which hovers over the world, and which would give a guarantee that something happens at any particular point'.¹³² He thus reasons that his expectations are somewhat reluctant, yet he articulates at least the hope that the Korean peninsula will eventually be reunified by 2020. Theodor can be taken as representative inasmuch as almost two thirds of the members do not openly have any expectations for the end of Vision 2020, but rather cling to the mere wish that things will evolve according to plan. Those who shared their expectations, however, primarily look forward to the restoration of the Korean peninsula through peaceful reunification,¹³³ which will form the basis for world peace. Largely in line with the abovementioned member's views of the Vision 2020 agenda, a few respondents each expect, amongst others, the worldwide or domestic recognition of the True Parents and, especially the UM, a global moral paradigm shift, the complete unfolding of substantial Cheon Il Guk, a greatly increasing impact of the spiritual on the physical world, the downfall of the North Korean regime even if reunification is not achieved, a significant growth in membership, and, apparently from a more technocratic angle, a bottom-up organisational renewal of the movement.

The main driving force behind the Vision 2020 project is identified by many members with the 'wise and affectionate' leadership of Han Hak-cha, who enjoys an increasingly exalted status.¹³⁴ Her authority, much-vaunted

132 'Es gibt kein riesiges spirituelles Uhrwerk, das über der Welt steht und dann es irgendeine Garantie gibt das irgendwas und zu irgendeinem Datum passiert'.

133 In this respect, Walter (53), for instance, singling out his most important expectation, states succinctly: 'I do certainly expect the unification of Korea' ('Ich erwarte mir schon die Vereinigung Koreas').

134 To most members Han acts as a true role model. A (male) first generation member makes this clear, saying: 'To me Mrs Moon is an absolute example, being irreprouch-

by most adherents, is a major reason for their active involvement in, or at least their generally positive attitude concerning the Vision 2020 project. For Austrian Unificationists, Han has succeeded in preserving her husband's spiritual legacy, and Vision 2020 is now often felt to be its logical continuation.

5.3. Prospects

Han Hak-cha has become the stabilising factor in the post-Mun era, a role she may actively continue for ten or perhaps 20 more years. Her move to take the lead upon Mun's death was unchallenged, as were her personnel decisions, most prominently involving her children who occupied major offices. Organisational stability in the UM it seems is guaranteed now until her passing.¹³⁵ Members frequently remarked that the UM has surprisingly quickly returned to business as usual after Mun's demise and that (virtually) nothing has changed in how the movement operates and how this affects the members' daily religious routine. Attempting to carry forward this stability into a post-Han age, the UM proclaimed a religious constitution in February 2014, introducing a governing body consisting of 13 UM dignitaries, namely the Cheon Il Guk Supreme Council. Even with this management instrument in place, however, stability will not be automatically guaranteed once the only person wielding unconditional power is gone.¹³⁶

At the time of the empirical research, only a very small number of members were basically familiar with the contents of the constitutional text. Hence, when asked about the future of the UM leadership in 30 years from today, only four members gave reference to the Cheon Il Guk Supreme Council. Three of those four members, not knowing the actual specifics, regard this board as giving equal rights to its members, which, it is implied, would make the position of FFWPU International President obsolete.¹³⁷ A

able and pure, and possessing an incredible heart and an immeasurable willingness to make sacrifices for the will of God' ('Frau Moon ist für mich ein absolutes Vorbild, untadelig und rein, mit einer unvorstellbaren Herzensqualität und unermeßlicher Opferbereitschaft für den Willen Gottes'); respondent #25.

¹³⁵ Even if Han were to completely retire or become physically or mentally incapable to execute her administrative obligations, during her remaining lifetime her charisma would furnish the succeeding leadership with authority willed by the True Parents.

¹³⁶ In fact, more than once in recent UM history individual conflicts—for example the various internal family struggles—were carried out on the level of board meetings.

¹³⁷ They also suggest that it could be possible that no one family member were to be selected into the council (which, incidentally, is held by two to comprise twelve members). In fact, the constitution demands council seats for family members of the True

similar presumption is indeed shared by a larger portion of members, who regard the movement's future leadership as being in collective hands, that is, based on a committee, which unlike the Cheon Il Guk Supreme Council, is thought to be made up (entirely or predominantly) of Mun's children. In marked contrast, an even larger number of members specifically anticipate a one-person leadership. In this regard lineage is considered to be most essential for succession, as for example Alexander (46) concludes in a personal interview: 'In terms of lineage it must be someone from the True Family',¹³⁸ a statement representative of the majority opinion.¹³⁹ Since Mun personally inaugurated his seventh son, Mun Hyōng-jin, in 2008 as his official successor, most expect him to still be in office as FFWPU International President in thirty years. In addition to Hyōng-jin, three other sons (but no daughters such as current FFWPU International President Mun Sōn-jin) are explicitly named (by two respondents each) as potential leaders. These are Mun Kuk-jin (b. 1970), the fourth son, Mun Kwōn-jin (b. 1975), the fifth son, and, surprisingly, the 'rebellious' son Mun Hyōn-jin. A few other members, disappointed by the past 'transgressions' of the True Parents' children, instead argue that Han's successor will most likely not come from the second but the third generation of the True Parents' family.¹⁴⁰

In summary, it can be said that the great majority of members believe that the post-Han UM will be controlled by one (Hyōng-jin being the top candidate) or several members (forming an egalitarian committee) of the True Parents' family, be it from the second or, less so, the third generation or from both.

Connecting the leadership issue to the anticipated overall positive state of the world in 30 years, a smaller number of members hope that the True Parents will by then be able to directly take the lead from the spiritual realm. Interestingly, only a single member believes that there will be no leadership at all since at the time an ideal world, that is substantial Cheon Il Guk, will have unfurled.

Parents. Also, it stipulates the role of a chairperson, enjoying a superior status over the other council members. All this is stressed by the remaining member, who goes on to opt for the youngest son, Mun Hyōng-jin, to become chairman and thus keep his post as FFWPU International President, a position he de facto—to everyone's surprise—had to pass on to his sister, Mun Sōn-jin.

138 'Von der Blutlinie her gesehen muss einer von der Wahren Familie sein'.

139 Only a handful of members indicate that the next leader might not be a member of the True Parents' family but might instead be chosen for his 'professional qualifications' only.

140 Only one respondent contemplates the possibility of a schism whilst no one indicates any schismatic tendencies, for instance, originating from Mun Hyōn-jin and his followers.

Chiefly, members possess a very positive mind-set concerning the future of the UM.¹⁴¹ A common sentiment shared by more than half of the members accredits a massive surge of social influence. Those already optimistic in view of Vision 2020 or the UM's short- and mid-term progression (see Section 5.1 and 5.2) largely reaffirm their expectation of imminent world peace and a thriving global family ingrained in the teachings of the True Parents. The latter aspect especially is underscored by many in a varying fashion.¹⁴² However, such sanguine images remain a minority position in general. Despite considerable progress made, substantial Cheon Il Guk, it is commonly held, will not yet be fully settled. For the majority of members the expected impact will thus largely entail the successful impartation of family-centred values or a value system rooted in the teachings of Mun.¹⁴³ As Alfred (61) explains in a personal interview, Unificationist principles will become more 'common property' (*Allgemeingut*). Discrimination against the movement will cease whilst the social and political reputation, and concomitantly the membership, will increase. Surprisingly, members do not speak of the role (a possibly unified) Korea will play in the post-Han era.¹⁴⁴ Instead, various members only rather vaguely mention that there might or will be one or several Cheon Il Guk nations including Korea.

141 In total only a single respondent believes in a decline of the movement, expecting a drastic reduction of membership and influence, with a few others largely expecting a standstill. Additionally, a few members think that humanity will pass through a period of catastrophe. This 'purification' however will quicken positive transformation, eventually strengthening the Unificationist cause.

142 A second generation member, for example, remarks confidently: 'I envision the Unification Movement in 30 years as being comparable to a "state religion" in all nations of the world' ('Ich stelle mir die Vereinigungsbewegung in 30 Jahren ungefähr so vor, dass sie mit einer "Staatsreligion" in allen Ländern der Welt vergleichbar ist'); respondent #54. Less expectantly, albeit still optimistically, a first generation member, for instance, states: '[I see our movement] as the leading religious movement, which is recognised by everyone to be capable of uniting religions (and the world)' ('[Ich sehe unsere Bewegung] als die führende religiöse Bewegung, die jeder anerkennt als diejenige, die die Religionen (und Welt) vereinen kann'); respondent #13.

143 Several members take it a step further, assuming that the UM will transcend the boundaries of religious institutionalisation, because 'Reverend Mun instituted families and not a church' ('Reverend Mun hat Familien gestiftet und keine Kirche'); Personal Interview with Walter (53). Those members suspect that whilst institutionalised religion or world views including the UM will have universally declined, 'concepts of life' (*Lebenskonzepte*) anchored in Mun's doctrine will have become mainstream.

144 This is surprising because the Korean peninsula stands at the heart of Mun's vision for a peaceful and godly future.

Generally what members expect to occur worldwide in 30 years' time is mainly also held to be happening in the local context,¹⁴⁵ albeit slightly slimmed down in scale. Austria, the broad tenor reads, seems to assume the role of a latecomer, lagging somewhat behind in its moral and spiritual progress, in particular when compared against Korea or Japan. In the end, however, most members signal confidence. Having cleared initial obstacles (to which the Austrian branch of the UPF in particular will saliently contribute according to a number of members), Unificationist values will gradually unfold ensuing membership growth. Public opinion will become much more positive, removing the group's decade-long stigma of being a 'dangerous cult'. Many also anticipate that the FFWPU will finally be officially recognised by the authorities as a religion,¹⁴⁶ a cause which will be furthered by the formal application for the status of a registered confessional community, which will be submitted by the leadership in the coming months. In addition, Vienna-based second generation members in particular express their hope to have a private school with public status established in Austria's capital.

6. Concluding Remarks

The analysis of the empirical data (Section 4 and 5) generally shows great individual diversity. Unification thought is a vast repository of ideas, all focussed at their foundation on the notion of an ideal or true family. Unification thought allows members to selectively pick concepts, arranging them around an unalterable core idea (i.e. raising a family in the spirit of the True Parents) to coherently fit personal religious propensity. Only rarely does this go against theological orthodoxy owing to the fact that Unification thought not only grants latitude in terms of interpretation (the broad denotation and connotation of the term Cheon Il Guk serves as a good example), but it is also per se evolving in character or emphasis.¹⁴⁷ Bringing the vari-

145 Only a handful of members believe that the situation (for the movement) in Austria will remain static.

146 Here members do not usually distinguish between registered confessional community and legally recognised religious society. For further information, see Section 2.

147 To give an example, to a number of members Mun and Han's 'marriage [feast] of the lamb' (*ōrinyang honin [chanch'i]*), that is, their momentous 1960 blessing which played *the* key role for early followers has to some extent taken a back seat in terms of significance compared to more recent millenarian developments such as Foundation Day; a trend that can also be observed in the official church narrative. A few members, for instance, project or completely transfer the soteriological semantics of the True Parents'

ous strands together, however, provides an extensive mosaic picture of the genuine complexity (or the many facets) of Unification thought. In other words, the plurality of adopted readings, terminologies and beliefs presented in this research, if collected, represent large sections of this repository.

In general the majority of members—more so from the second than the first generation—are only superficially concerned with (more intricate) theological issues. Most members give clear precedence to the ethical dimension of Unification thought and its pragmatic context, emphatically focussing upon the subject of proper (i.e. Unification thought-derived) family values. In the interviews as well as in numerous personal conversations, many first generation members indicated that over time family ethics, and by extension peace and human rights issues (see, for example, the areas of operation of UPF), have moved to the centre of their concern; a concern developing a momentum of its own, and seemingly detached from its religious underpinnings. Even so, the millenarian urge of members invariably persists, yet the majority of members mainly take a rather sceptical, prosaic and tentative stance towards more imminent glorious developments proclaimed by the Korean leadership, which for some might be a lesson learned from the relative disappointment concerning the visible implications following Foundation Day. This, however, by no means restricts members' allegiance to 'Mother' (*Mutter*), that is, Han Hak-cha. Rather, members appreciate her more than ever before now that her husband has passed. From an Austrian perspective Han, in fact, succeeded in keeping the millenarian project—which nonetheless has been waning in its receptivity and emotional/spiritual quality within Western communities ever since the 1980s—largely on track.

To indeed venture into a better future (or in the Unificationist vernacular: coming closer to the building of a Cheon Il Guk nation), as insinuated by most members, may prove difficult for the Austrian UM. On the one hand, general public opinion may truly become friendlier in course of time (perhaps facilitated through the first-stage acknowledgement of the Austrian FFWPU as a registered confessional community by the state),¹⁴⁸ which however would basically only be a continuation of an already existing tendency (when, for instance, compared to the 'dark' 1970s and 1980s during

first blessing onto the Foundation Day coronation ceremony, thus diminishing the long-time unique relevance of the former event.

148 Unless Austrian religious law is significantly altered or the UM increases its current asserted membership by a factor of 38 (which would then correspond to 2‰ of the current Austrian population or around 17.000 people), acknowledgment as a legally recognised religious society will be out of reach.

which the UM was in the spotlight of a heated ‘cult’ discourse). On the other hand, in terms of substantial membership growth and therefore vitally increased public impact, even slight progress might be difficult to attain. In spite of ongoing (although mainly small-scale) witnessing attempts, the domestic mission has been largely unsuccessful since the late 1980s. Hence, if things do not change dramatically, the membership is likely to continue to rise only marginally, chiefly based on reproduction within the community itself. At any rate, whatever the course taken, the pursuit of the millennium must go on.

Appendix

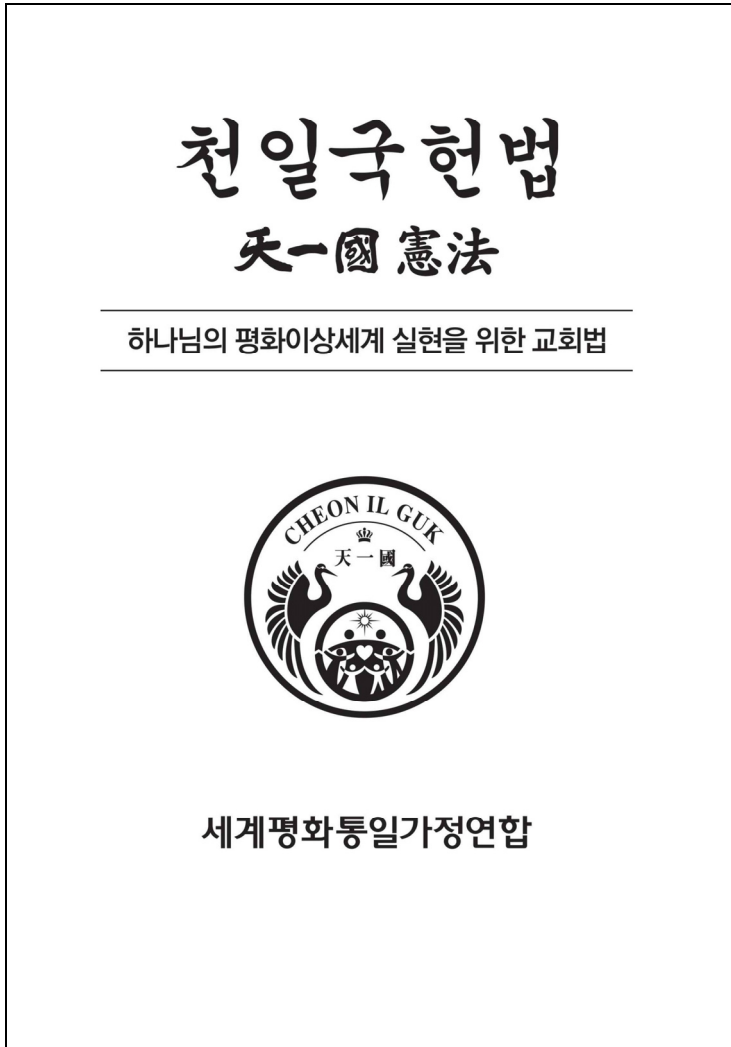


Figure 1: Cover of the Korean version of the Cheon Il Guk Constitution. The text above reads ‘Cheon Il Guk Constitution: Ecclesiastical Law to Actualise God’s Peaceful Ideal World’ with the first part given in Korean and Sinokorean. Beneath the Cheon Il Guk emblem is written in Korean ‘Family Federation for World Peace and Unification’



Figure 2: Foundation Day banner showing Mun Sŏn-myŏng and Han Hak-cha dressed in ritual garments. The Foundation Day emblem is depicted below. The text on the right-hand side reads: ‘Thanks and glory! A new start for the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification. Cheon Il Guk begins on January 13 by the heavenly calendar’



Figure 3: Group photo (March 17, 2013) of leading UM members and guests at the end of a three-day board meeting (*Leitertreffen*) of the Austrian UM held in Seeham, Salzburg, on the national implementation of the Vision 2020 agenda. Board meetings usually take place every three months



Figure 4: Austrian members at the post-Foundation Day ceremony on February 24, 2012, in the UM Vienna premises in Seidengasse 28



Figure 5: Group photo in front of the Cheon Jeong Gung of twelve of the 13 members of the Cheon Il Guk Supreme Council with Han Hak-cha, the ‘True Mother of Heaven, Earth and Humankind’, in the middle. The other members include (from left to right): Thomas G. Walsh, W. Farley Jones, Kim Ki-hun, Yu Kyōng-sōk, Kim Hyo-nam, Mun Sōn-jin (chairperson and FFWPU International President), Mun Hun-suk, Kim Yōng-hwi, Yi Chae-sōk, Kim Chin-ch’un, Song Yong-ch’ōn, and Oyamada Hideo (May 12, 2014)

List of Abbreviations

BGBI	<i>Bundesgesetzblatt</i> [Federal Law Gazette]
CIGHB	<i>Ch'õnilguk hõnbõp</i> 천일국헌법
FFWPU	Family Federation for World Peace and Unification
FOREF	<i>Forum Religionsfreiheit</i>
KM	<i>Kajõng maengse</i> 가정맹세
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
PREF	Pacific Rim Education Foundation
UPF	Universal Peace Federation
UM	Unification Movement
WK	<i>Wõlli kangnon</i> 원리강론

Glossary

Ch'oe Yŏn-a (Yeon Ah Choi Moon)	최연아 (崔妍娥)
Han Hak-cha (Hak Ja Han)	한학자 (韓鶴子)
Kim Hyo-nam (Hoon Mo Nim)	김효남 (金孝南)
Kim Chin-ch'un (Jin Choon Kim)	김진춘
Kim Ki-hun (Ki Hoon Kim)	김기훈 (金起勳)
Kim Yŏng-hwi (Young Hwi Kim)	김영휘 (金榮輝)
Mun Hun-suk (Hoon Sook 'Julia' Moon)	문훈숙 (文薰淑)
Mun Hŭng-jin (Heung Jin 'Richard' Moon)	문흥진 (文興進)
Mun Hyo-jin (Hyo Jin 'Stephen' Moon)	문효진 (文孝進)
Mun Hyŏn-jin (Hyun Jin 'Preston' Moon)	문현진 (文顯進)
Mun Hyŏng-jin (Hyung Jin 'Sean' Moon)	문형진 (文亨進)
Mun Kuk-jin (Kook Jin 'Justin' Moon)	문국진 (文國進)
Mun Kwŏn-jin (Kwon Jin 'Nathaniel' Moon)	문권진 (文權進)
Mun Sŏn-jin (Sun Jin 'Salina' Moon)	문선진 (文善進)
Mun Sŏn-myŏng (Sun Myung Moon)	문선명 (文鮮明)
Oyamada Hideo	小山田秀生
Pak Hun-suk	박훈숙 (朴薰淑)
Song Yong-ch'ŏn (Yong Cheon Song)	송용천 (宋龍天)
Yi Chae-sŏk (Jea Seok Lee)	이재석
Yu Kyŏng-sŏk (Kyeng Seuk Lu)	유경석 (柳慶錫)
Adam	아담
Chaerimju	재림주 (再臨主)
Chisang ch'ŏnguk	지상천국 (地上天國)
Chisanggye	지상계 (地上界)
Chŏllyak kukka	전략국가 (戰略國家)
Chŏngsŏng	정성 (精誠)
Ch'am chanyŏ'ŭi nal	참자녀(子女)의 날
<i>Ch'ambumogyŏng</i>	참부모경(父母經)
Ch'angjo isang	창조이상(創造理想)
Ch'angjo mokchŏk	창조목적(創造目的)
Ch'ŏngp'yŏng	청평 (淸平)
Ch'ŏngsim sinhak taehagwŏn taehakkyo	청심신학대학원대학교 (淸心神學大學院大學校)

Ch'õnilguk	천일국 (天一國)
Ch'õnilguk ch'oego wiwõnhoe	천일국최고위원회 (天一國最高委員會)
<i>Ch'õnilguk hõnbõp</i>	천일국헌법 (天一國憲法)
Ch'õnilguk kungmin	천일국국민 (天一國國民)
Ch'õnilguk kyõngjõn p'yõnch'an wi- wõnhoe	천일국경전편찬위원회 (天一國經典編纂委員會)
Ch'õnjiin ch'am bumonim	천지인(天地人)참부모(父母)님
Ch'õnjõnggung	천정궁 (天正宮)
Ch'õnjõngwõn	천정원 (天政苑)
Ch'õnju p'yõnghwa t'ongilguk	천주평화통일국 (天宙平和統一國)
Ch'õnsang ch'õnguk	천상천국 (天上天國)
<i>Ch'õnsõnggyõng</i>	천성경 (天聖經)
Ch'ukpoksik	축복식 (祝福式)
Haewa	해와
Hananim	하나님
Hananim arae han kajok	하나님 아래 한 가족(家族)
Hananim'ui choguk	하나님의 조국(祖國)
Hanguk hoejang	한국회장 (韓國會長)
Huch'õn sidae	후천시대 (後天時代)
Hundokhoe	훈독회 (訓讀會)
Isang segye	이상세계 (理想世界)
Kach'i	가치 (價値)
<i>Kajõng maengse</i>	가정맹세 (家庭盟誓)
Kiwõnjõl	기원절 (基元節; before: 起源節)
Õrinyang honin [chanch'i]	어린양(羊) 혼인(婚姻) [잔치]
Pijõn 2020	비전 2020
Ponyõn'ui hyõlt'ong	본연(本然)의 혈통(血統)
Puch'ik	부칙 (附則)
<i>P'yõnghwagyõng</i>	평화경 (平和經)
Samyõng	사명 (使命)
Sawi kidae	사위기대 (四位基臺)
Segye hoejang	세계회장 (世界會長)
Segye p'yõnghwa t'ongil kajõng yõnhap	세계평화통일가정연합 (世界平和統一家庭聯合)
Sinjongjok mesia	신종족(新種族) 메시아
Songsan	송산 (松山)
Sõmni kukka	섭리국가 (攝理國家)
Sõn'ui taesang	선(善)의 대상(對象)
Sõnch'õn sidae	선천시대 (先天時代)

Sŏnghwa

Taeryuk hoejang

Wansŏngjŏk sŏnghonsik

Wiwŏnjang

Wŏlli kangnon

Yŏnggye

성화 (聖和)

대륙회장 (大陸會長)

완성적 성혼식 (完成的成婚式)

위원장 (委員長)

원리강론 (原理講論)

영계 (靈界)

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