

Unification Movement

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Introduction

The Unification Movement (UM) is a cluster of organisations, businesses, initiatives, and campaigns centring on and navigating in the millenarian trajectory of a religious core organisation, the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification (FFWPU; Segye P'yŏnghwa T'ongil Kajŏng Yŏnhap 세계평화통일가정연합/世界平和統一家庭聯合), formerly known as the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity (HSAUWC; Segye Kidokkyo T'ongil Sillyŏng Hyŏphoe 세계기독교통일신령협회/世界基督教統一神靈協會).¹ The latter was formally established in Seoul in 1954. International expansion commenced in earnest in 1958 (Japan), extending to the United States (US) in 1959 and to Europe in 1963 (Germany). For early 1964, the UM reported some 32,500 followers in South Korea (Choi 1967: 169), a number that is held to have increased to 300,000 (FFWPU members only), or one million (counting all those involved in related NGO activities) by mid-2015. Between 2010 and 2015 a mean annual domestic growth of six per cent is noted (Chŏng 2015). Nationwide, 231 churches (*kyohoe* 교회/教會) are divided into twenty-two parishes (*kyogu* 교구/教區). The UM's main religious site is the *Chŏnjŏnggung* 천정궁/天正宮 (Palace of Heavenly Righteousness) in Songsan 송산/松山, fifty kilometres east of Seoul in Kap'yŏng 가평/加平 county, the home of many other major UM facilities, including the international headquarters and the Chŏngsim Peace World Centre (*Chŏngsim p'yŏnghwa wŏltŭ sent'ŏ* 청심[清心平和]평화월드센터), a stadium used for large-scale gatherings. The administrative headquarters of the FFWPU's Korea branch is based in Seoul's Yongsan 용산/龍山 district. At present, the UM claims to be active in 194 countries across all continents with an overall membership of three million followers (a figure occasionally meant to comprise the overseas adherents only). A more

1 Informally, the main religious body is labelled Unification Church (*T'ongil Kyohoe* 통일교회/統一教會), often abbreviated in Korean as *T'ongilgyo* 통일교/統一教. Between July 2009 and January 2013, the FFWPU was officially renamed *T'ongilgyo*, or, internationally, Unification Church. Internally, members often use the shortened form *Kajŏngyŏnhap* 가정연합/家庭聯合 (Family Federation).

probable yet still optimistic number would be 300,000 believers worldwide.² Exaggerated statistics notwithstanding, the UM has been part and parcel of Korean but also Japanese and, generally, Western religious history over the past five decades or so. Massive proselytising, especially in the 1970s in North America and Western Europe, was met, on the one hand, with strident opposition by the media and exponents of the religious establishment, branding the UM as the epitome of a notorious cult indulging in brainwashing techniques (a myth dispelled by Barker 1984), and intensified scholarly interest on the other (attendant on Lofland 1966), rendering the UM the most widely researched East Asian new religious movement throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Ambitious political engagement and large-scale economic commitment—today, the FFWPU wields extraordinary financial power since it virtually commands all the assets generated by the UM's multi-billion euro conglomerate—facilitated ideological outreach and firmly consolidated its prominent status among East Asia's new religious movements. The UM is inextricably linked with its founder and undisputed long-time leader, Mun Sŏn-myŏng 문선명/文鮮明 (1920-2012), who in union with his now widowed wife, Han Hak-cha 한학자/韓鶴子 (b. 1943), appears theologically as a quasi-divine being vested with salvific authority. Unification theology (*tongil sinhak* 통일신학/統一神學) is rooted in a Christian discourse, which is saliently permeated by a Korean syncretic heritage. The days of ecumenical ingratiating however are largely gone, with the UM increasingly cherishing a self-image that emphasises confessional distinctiveness. Overt confidence and renewed zest for action are ever more noticeable in the leadership's parlance today—a response to the formidable challenges encountered in recent years: Mun's demise and ensuing (millenarian) uncertainty, serious disruptions within the Mun family, and, as a consequence thereof, schismatic developments.

History and Development

Mun Yong-myŏng 문용명/文龍明—who adopted the name Sŏn-myŏng in the early 1950s—was born into a peasant family on February 25, 1920, in the village of Sangsa 상사/上思, Chŏngju 정주/定州 county in North P'yŏngan 평안/平安 province, in what is today North Korea. From an early age he received tradi-

2 To give a contrasting example: the European membership is usually taken by the UM to lie around 25,000 devotees; for 2014, however, the European headquarters internally communicated a (more credible) membership of 5,270 faithful (including children) across its thirty-five European national branches.

tional Confucian-style instruction at the local village school before entering formal education as a teenager. Alongside Hwanghae 황해/黃海 province, P'yŏngan was at the time “the heartland of Korean Christianity, with numbers far greater than any other part of the country” (Clark 2010: 234). The Christian mission in North P'yŏngan was virtually monopolised by the Northern Presbyterians, whose message Mun's parents came to accept around 1930 in hopes to thereby end misfortunes that had hit the family. As the emic narrative goes, Mun soon devoted himself entirely to the Christian cause, experiencing a life-altering epiphany on or around Easter Day 1935, in which Jesus mandated him to “save the people and realise God's peace on this earth” (Mun 2010: 68);³ the *raison d'être* of Mun's lifelong mission was thus created, and so was the millenarian rationale behind later Unificationism. From 1938 to 1941, Mun continued his educational training in Seoul, where he joined a Pentecostal congregation that was soon to merge with Yesugyohoe 예수교회 (Jesus Church), an indigenised Christian messianic group of a revivalist bent. Yesugyohoe was formed in the early 1930s around the charismatic mystic Yi Yong-do 이용도/李龍道 (1901-1933), whose legacy remained influential in the growing denominational milieu of homebrewed messianic fervour that spread from P'yŏngyang 평양/平壤, and in which Mun was deeply ingrained. Upon graduating in 1941, Mun moved to Tokyo—going by the name of Emoto Ryūmei 江本龍明—where he became a student of technical engineering at a technical school affiliated with Waseda 早稻田 University. The standard Unificationist account of Mun's life relates that it was during his time in Japan when, through spiritual communion with God, he discovered the ‘secrets of the universe’ (*uju'ūi pimil* 우주[宇宙]의비밀[秘密]) that would make the doctrinal foundation of the UM. Returning to his native village in the autumn of 1943, he was soon to enter into an arranged marriage—his wife, Ch'oe Sŏn-gil 최선길/崔先吉, gave birth to a son in 1946. The couple spent the years from 1944 to 1946 in Seoul, where Mun worked as an electrical engineer. Through his co-religionists at Yesugyohoe, he came into contact with the like-minded Yasugyo Isūrael Sudowŏn 야수교이스라엘수도원 (Jesus Church Israel Monastery), a freshly founded (1944) group under the lead of Kim Paeng-mun 김백문/金百文 (1917-1990).⁴ Much of what Mun encountered in Kim's teachings, most prominently

3 For a semi-authorised account of Mun's childhood and early years, widely distributed among international members, see Breen 1997.

4 Kim later renamed his congregation to Kidokkyo Ch'ŏngsu Kyohoe 기독교청수교회/基督敎清水敎會 (Pure Water Church of Christianity), however, it largely dissolved after his passing (Ch'oe 2002). Mun recognised both Yi Yong-do and Kim as spiritually significant for his own religious evolution.

the sexualising reading of the Fall narrative, belongs today to the key religious vocabulary of Unification thought. In 1946, Mun left Seoul for P'yöngyang, the still bustling Christian hub then tenderly nicknamed the 'Jerusalem of the East' (*Tongyang'üi Yerusalleem* 동양[東洋]의 예루살렘). He immersed into the city's vibrant messianic environment, where he quickly attained the reputation of a voluble preacher, gathering around him a circle of followers. His small congregation was one of many similar (usually short-lived) groups inspired by or having splintered from Yesugyohoe, which were mutually influencing each other on the basis of a shared Koreacentric millenarian vision, most notably Söngjugyo 성주교/聖主教 (Holy Lord Church), founded by Kim Söng-do 김성도/金聖道 (1882-1944) in 1935, and its offshoot Pokchunggyo 복중교/腹中敎 (Inside the Belly Church) (cf. Yang 2009).

After the end of the Pacific War, the Korean peninsula north of the thirty-eighth parallel came under communist control and, by 1948, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was formally constituted. Once the communist grip strengthened in the North, religious vitality gradually ceased and, eventually, persecution ensued. Following a several week-long episode in prison in summer 1946, Mun was incarcerated again in early 1948 owing to his avid proselytising. He was sentenced to five years of forced labour for deceit and disrupting social order, among others. Early in the Korean War (1950-1953), the advance of United Nations (UN) troops allowed Mun to escape from the labour camp in Hüngnam 흥남/興南. He first sought refuge in P'yöngyang, before travelling south via Seoul to the south-eastern coastal city of Pusan 부산/釜山, where he arrived in early 1951. He resumed his proselytising afresh, building a small hut out of mud, straw, and cardboard, which was to serve as the first church of the new congregation. He soon began to put his religious teachings down in writing, completing the manuscript of the *Wölli wönbön* 원리원본/原理原本 (Original Text of the Principle) by mid-1952, with two revised editions to follow in 1957 and 1966, respectively. Later that year he reunified with his wife; however, the two were to divorce in 1957 due to—as tradition maintains—Ch'oe's wish, because she did not feel able to support her husband in his divinely charged mission. The membership of the congregation soared, leading Mun to formally incorporate the movement on May 1, 1954, under the name of HSAUWC, henceforth headquartered in Seoul. Yu Hyo-wön 유효원/劉孝元 (1914-1970) became the first church president. Over the next years the movement expanded at a fast pace, facilitated through nationwide witnessing (*chöndo* 전도/傳道) campaigns. In addition, in order to address larger audiences, rallies, revival meetings (*simnyöng puhünghoe* 심령부흥회/心靈復興會), public lectures, and workshops commenced. By the end of the 1950s, a formal education programme had been institutionalised for membership

training (*sikku kyoyuk* 식구교육/食口教育), that was later to be adopted internationally. Starting at the time,⁵ the UM's missionary activities were directed overseas; Ch'oe Pong-ch'un 최봉춘/崔奉春 (b. 1936) was sent to Japan (1958) to launch the now economically most potent branch outside Korea with alleged 560,000 members (cf. Yang 2015), and Kim Yŏng-un 김영운/金永雲 (1914-1989) to the US (1959). It was from the latter's California commune where the first missionaries to Europe took off in 1963 (Germany). Kim, a former theology professor at Methodist Ewha Womans University (*Ihwa yŏja taehakkyo* 이화여자대학교/梨花女子大學校) in Seoul, became the main Korean contact for the nascent international UM community, as well as its chief theologian.

The year 1960 marks a providential watershed for Unificationists, the transition from a time of preparation to an age of eschatological consummation. This was ushered in through the 'marriage [feast] of the lamb' (*ŏrinyang honin* [*chanch'i*] 어린양(羊) 혼인(婚姻) [잔치]), that is, Mun's wedding with the seventeen-year-old Han Hak-cha on April 11, 1960.⁶ Mun and Han's blessing (*ch'ukpok* 축복/祝福) is held to represent the archetypal conjugal covenant centred on God, the emulation of which Unificationists deem the crucial stage in their soteriological and millenarian project. The marriage of the lamb was thus the prelude for numerous mass blessing ceremonies that became associative for the UM in public discourse ever since. The same year, the couple had their first of fourteen children, of which ten are still alive as of 2018. By raising a sinless True (i.e., God-centred) Family (*ch'am kajŏng* 참가정) they could lay the groundwork for accomplishing—what Unification Theology terms—God's Ideal of Creation (*ch'anjo isang* 창조이상/創造理想), and became the supposed role model for all of humankind.

During the 1960s, the UM's domestic witnessing programme reached new heights with missionaries regularly spreading out to thousands of villages. Membership expansion and, consequently, millenarian success was ritually emphasised by establishing Holy Grounds (*sŏngji* 성지/聖地) across the country—that is, sanctifying portions of land that were henceforth considered divinely reclaimed territory and enclaves of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth (*chisang ch'ŏn'guk* 지상천국/地上天國) yet to come—a practice which started in 1962. Elevating this to an international dimension, Mun embarked on his first 'world tour' (*segye sunbang* 세계순방/世界巡訪) visiting forty countries

5 Already in 1954, a UM leader—Kim Sang-ch'ŏl 김상철/金相哲 (1915-2011)—went to Wales as a student. UM sources frequently name him the first international missionary.

6 Han's mother, Hong Sun-ae 홍순애/洪順愛 (1914-1989), was a devout early follower of Mun, revered to this day as the Great Mother (*taemonim* 대모님) due to the salvific power she wields in the 'spirit world' (*yŏnggye* 영계/靈界) alongside Mun's deceased children.

in 1965. While in the US, he is said to have realised that “the new culture that will be established in the future must rise, having set foot on the United States” (Mun 2010: 185). Indeed, the Mun family relocated to Tarrytown, New York in 1971, in anticipation of putting the UM and its mission into the international spotlight. For more than three decades the UM leadership was to operate largely from the US, before Mun and Han returned to South Korea to take residence at the Ch’önjōnggung. Proselytising efforts noticeably shifted from South Korea to America and Western Europe, where the movement experienced its heydays in the mid-1970s. Meanwhile, in South Korea the UM entered a phase of consolidation—for instance, solid churches were built for local congregations, replacing apartments and barracks—and further professionalisation and, concomitantly, economic growth. The launch of businesses, affiliate organisations, and initiatives multiplied domestically and overseas. In Unificationism, the domains of politics, economy, culture, and education mutually unite in a shared millenarian agenda. That is to say, they are proselytising vehicles energised by the religious discourse, whose backbone represents the group’s economic engagement. As stated by Han (2013):

If the church organisation belongs to the mind, the business organisation corresponds to the body. Mind and body cannot be separated. They must become one, right? Hence, both organisations the [religious core] association and the [T’ongil] Foundation must become one. Moreover, the body must be healthy. The body must be healthy, work diligently and complete its responsibility in order to positively assist the work of the mind.

Through the Tongil Foundation (*T’ongil chaedan* 통일재단/統一財團), the FFWPU Korea to date manages the assets of its multi-billion euro conglomerate (*chaebōl* 재벌/財閥), the Tongil Group (*T’ongil kūrūp* 통일그룹), which Mun founded in 1963. Other notable international businesses comprise True World Foods (1975), the major wholesale sushi distribution company in the US; the news media corporation News World Communications (1976) which publishes several newspapers, such as the dailies *Sekai nippō* 世界日報 (1975) and *Segye ilbo* 세계일보/世界日報 (1989); the Washington Times (1982); Saeilo (1981), a cluster of machine tool and car repair companies;⁷ and, until recently, the first inter-Korean joint venture Pyeonghwa Motors (*P’yōnghwa chadongch’a* 평화자

7 Saeilo is also the parent company of the arms manufacturer Kahr Arms, led by one of the renegade Mun sons and former CEO of Tongil Group and chairman of Tongil Foundation, Mun Kuk-jin 문국진/文國進 (b. 1970).

동차/平和自動車, 1999). The involvement in education and cultural activities has always had crucial significance for the UM. Already in 1962, for example, Mun founded the Little Angels Performing Arts (*Rit'ül Enjelsü yesultan* 리틀엔젤스예술단), an all young female folk dance troupe travelling the world for the promotion of Korean folk culture. Tellingly, the first enterprise created by Unificationists in Europe was a nursery (1968). UM-run educational facilities, from kindergarten up to university, can be found in South Korea, the US, and partly beyond. At the university level, this includes Sun Moon University (*Sön Mun taehakkyo* 선문대학교/鮮文大學校, 1986) with two separate campuses in Asan 아산/牙山 and Ch'önan 천안/天安; the Cheongshim Graduate School of Theology (*Ch'öngsim sinhak taehagwön taehakkyo* 청심신학대학원대학교/淸心神學大學院大學校, 2003) in Songsan; the Unification Theological Seminary in Barrytown (1975); and the University of Bridgeport (1992). Similarly, from the 1970s, the UM actively pursued the promotion of sports, notably martial arts—Mun allegedly (co-)created the styles of *Wönhwado* 원화도/圓和道 (The Way of Circular Harmony, 1976) and *T'ongilmudo* 통일무도/統一武道 (Martial Art of Unification, 1979)—and football (Mun was an avid fan)—until 2013, the UM owned South Korea's most successful football club, the present *Söngnam FC* 성남 FC (1989). After humble beginnings in the 1950s and 1960s, HSAUWC affiliate organisations and initiatives were mushrooming from the 1970s onwards; a process of NGOisation, which is still ongoing within the UM. Mainly, three overlapping thematic areas build the trajectory of action of these organisations: politics, interfaith work, and religious education. The common goal envisions a world of peace under a monotheistic God, that presently goes by the slogan of 'One Family under God' (*hana'üi hananim arae han kajöng* 하나의하나님 아래 한가정). The Unificationist message is inherently political. Hence, early on the UM leadership aimed at addressing decision-makers in the political realm, but also religious leaders and intellectuals, especially scholars. By 1964, the UM had already established the Korean Culture and Freedom Foundation in Washington D.C., a diplomatic agency set up to foster US-Korean relations, and, therefore, to amplify the UM's political reach. Endowed with international repute by virtue of its US engagement, and due to its financial weight, the UM could also successfully enter the political discourse in South Korea. Since the 1970s, the UM sought contact with the UN and, in 1991, the first of several of its organisations, the charitable International Relief and Friendship Foundation (*Kukche kuho ch'insön chaedan* 국제구호친선재단/國際救護親善財團, 1975), gained official NGO status (Mickler 2008). Mun repeatedly promoted an inner renewal of what he saw as malfunctioning UN, or 'Cain UN' (*Kain yuen* 가인유엔). Ultimately, in the early 2000s, he announced the establishment of an alternative global peacebuilding network, the 'Abel UN' (*Abel yuen* 아벨유엔),

which is meant to replace its Cain counterpart. For Mun, the settlement of the Abel UN was “the most revolutionary and wondrous event since God’s creation of humankind” (Mun 2003). At its vanguard he placed the Universal Peace Federation (UPF; *Ch’ŏnju p’yŏnghwa yŏnhap* 천주평화연합/宇宙平和聯合, 2005). Alongside the Women’s Federation for World Peace (*Segye p’yŏnghwa yŏsŏng yŏnhap* 세계평화여성연합/世界平和女性聯合, 1992), the UPF is most actively concerned with forging political impact, and, in this way, disseminating the religious programme of the FFWPU.⁸ By supplanting the HSAUWC with the FFWPU in 1994, Mun underlined confessional confidence as well as a re-emphasised programmatic outlook for a maturing movement. Mun’s US adventure has indeed extended the UM’s ambit and profile. Yet, it created a hybrid movement, one that advocates and cherishes interculturality but, simultaneously, espouses doctrinal and institutional Koreacentrism—the former has been reaffirmed especially over the past two decades. The cultural discrepancy between the international community and the Korean/Japanese membership is conspicuous; it is best to be seen within the Mun family itself—the second generation, rarely attended by their parents, was largely raised in the US—whose disruption is a major point of concern among followers these days (Pokorny 2013b: 130–133).

A main feature of the UM was and still is the constantly providing of millenarian caesuras in order to realign motivational resources of members towards ‘kingdom-building.’ The realisation of the Kingdom of Heaven was always kept close at hand, and any progress made was being regularly celebrated in large events. With an aging Mun came an increasing succession of watershed events (cf. O 2012), the most recent apparent millenarian culmination of which, that is, Foundation Day (*kiwŏnjŏl* 기원절/基元節), he did not live to attend in person. Beginning in the early 1990s, Mun gradually (and largely successfully) transferred charisma to his wife, who following his passing on September 3, 2012, took over the UM as its unconditional leader. Despite several attempts over the years to put his children lastingly into leadership positions, and in particular, to groom a successor amid his sons—the youngest, Mun Hyŏng-jin 문형진/文亨進 (b. 1979), was eventually inaugurated as both FFWPU international and Korea president in 2008—none of these proved successful. Ever since her husband’s demise, Han keeps the millenarian engine intact, having selected 2020 as the next major turning point on the UM’s millenarian agenda,

8 In 2007, the UM fielded a short-lived political party for the April 2008 South Korean legislative elections. The Family Party for Peace and Unity (*P’yŏnghwa t’ongil kajŏng tang* 평화통일가정당/平和統一家庭黨) received 1.1 per cent or 181,000 votes.

and reorganises personnel and organisational structures to facilitate a smooth transition into the future.

Doctrinal Aspects

Scriptures

From a religion of the book to a religion of the books, the scriptural corpus of Unificationism grows while the UM prophets carry forward revelation. For decades, Unificationists drew upon a single sacred text, the *Principle* (*Wölli* 원리/原理) in its three superseding editions (Kim 1998): the *Wölli wönbön* (1952); the *Wölli haesöl* 원리해설/原理解說 (Explanation of the Principle, 1957); and the *Wölli kangnon* 원리강론/原理講論 (*wk*; Exposition of the Principle, 1966). The *wk*, like its preceding edition, was authored by Yu Hyo-wön to update and adjust the message Mun had first verbalised in the *Wölli wönbön*. The contents are divided into two main sections—one essentially introducing key theological concepts, the other expounding the providential course of humankind. Whereas the main text only implicitly indicates Mun as Lord of the Second Advent (*chaerimju* 재림주/再臨主), a revised later preface makes his messianity explicit. The *wk* gives an alternative interpretation of key biblical narratives with the Fall and Jesus' crucifixion at the centre. In 2010, Mun began to promote the Eight Great Textbook Teaching Materials (*8 tae kyojae kyobon* 8대교재교본[大教材教本]) as the extended canon, comprising: the *wk*; the *Mun Sön-myöng sönsaeng malssüm sönjip* 문선명선생[文鮮明先生]말씀선집[選集] (Selected Words of Mun Sön-myöng) in currently 600-plus volumes; the *Kajöng maengse* 가정맹세/家庭盟誓 (Family Pledge); the UPF-published *World Scripture* (*Segye kyöngjön* 세계경전/世界經典), an anthology of religious texts thematically arranged; and separate (compilations of) sermons of Mun, namely the (first edition of the) *Ch'önsönggyöng* 천성경/天聖經 (Heavenly Scripture); the *P'yönghwa singyöng* 평화신경/平和神經 (Godly Scripture of Peace); the *P'yönghwa'üi chuin hyölt'ong'üi chuin* 평화의주인혈통의주인 (Owner of Peace, Owner of Lineage); and the *Ch'öngug'ül yönün mun ch'am kajöng* 천국을여는문참가정 (True Family's Gateway to the Kingdom of Heaven). Under Han Hak-cha's leadership, a new set of scriptures was introduced comprising a collection of statements and sermons by Mun and Han, a move not met with unanimous endorsement by members. The three *Scriptures of Cheon Il Guk* (*Ch'önilguk kyöngjön* 천일국경전/天一國經典) include the revised *Ch'önsönggyöng* (CSG, 2013); the *Ch'ambumogyöng* 참부모경/父母經 (CBG; True Parents' Scripture, 2015); and the *P'yönghwagyöng* 평화경/平和經 (PHG; Scripture of Peace, 2013). Their canonisation as the prime Unificationist

scriptures was stipulated in the *Chönilguk hönböp* 천일국헌법/天一國憲法 (CIGH; Cheon Il Guk Constitution, 2014). This text lays down the cornerstones of FFWPU organisational principles as well as an outline of the foundational tenets of Unificationism for the post-Mun era. Further texts of canonical status include sermons by Mun held, for example, during Hoon Dok Hae (*hundokhoe* 훈독회/訓讀會; literally, gathering for instruction and studying) that have not yet been included in any printed materials but are circulated online, Mun's autobiography (Mun 2010), Han's speeches, and authorised messages from the spirit world channelled by the chief mediums Kim Yöng-sun 김영순/金英順 and Kim Hyo-nam 김효남/金孝南 (b. 1952) (Beverly 2005). In addition, members greatly rely on a wealth of commentary literature, instruction materials, and pertinent magazines, most notably, the multi-language monthly *True Peace*.

Teachings

Themes, concepts, and terminology in the Unificationist discourse developed and shifted over time, a process that noticeably continues in the post-Mun era. In the light of a larger corpus, inconsistencies are inevitable. Complicating the situation is members' uncertainty as to when to take (especially) Mun's assertions literally or symbolically. Generally, Unification doctrine can be divided into four areas: the Principle of Creation (*ch'angjo wölli* 창조원리/創造原理); the Fall (*t'arak* 타락/墮落); its repercussions; and the means of redemption. The discourse is embossed by a millenarian imagery (Pokorny 2013a) that at its core envisages the establishment of Blessed Families (*ch'ukpok kajöng* 축복가정/祝福家庭).

The Principle of Creation

"God [*hananim* 하나님] is the creator of the cosmos" (CIGH 1.1), the "eternally self-existent absolute transcending time and space" (WK 1.1.2: 29) emanating a universal prime power. This 'original force of all beings' (*manyu wölyök* 만유원력/萬有原力) permeates all of existence inscribing into it the principle of 'give and receive action' (*susu chagyong* 수수작용/授受作用). Informed by the notion of *üm* 음/陰 and *yang* 양/陽, *susu chagyong* epitomises the need for complementarity both internally and externally, providing the rationale for God's creation of the universe. Encompassing both the 'spirit world' (*yönggye*) and the physical world, the universe represents 'God's object' (*hananim'üi taesang* 하나님의 대상[代償]). As an incorporeal being, God wished to partake corporeally in His creation. He so created humankind as His substantial embodiment, manifesting His 'dual characteristics' (*isöng söngsang* 이성성상/二性性相) in the complementary form of male (Adam 아담) and female (Eve;

Haewa 해와) (CSG I.3.2: 87-88). Humankind's first ancestors themselves were intended to enter a reciprocal relationship centring on God, and thus complementing internally (as true, i.e., divinely sanctioned, husband and wife) and externally (forging an unbreakable bond of love with God). Thereafter their blessed union was meant to be consummated by establishing a Four Position Foundation (*sawi kidae* 사위기대/四位基臺), that is, a family consisting of (1) father, (2) mother, and (3) child uniting in love with (4) God. With God's Ideal of Creation (*ch'angjo isang*) thus accomplished, God could take delight in and rejoice beauty from His perfect object partner, in turn bestowing utmost love. Upon this God-devoted constellation of familial love and harmony, the Kingdom of Heaven on earth (*chisang ch'ön'guk*) would have stretched out naturally and preserved for all eternity (CSG IV.1.1: 378).

The Fall and Its Consequences

Both co-creator and the prime angelic servant of God was the archangel Nusiel 누시엘 (Pokorny 2017b). Through him, God conveyed His love to the other angels. Accordingly, Nusiel alone enjoyed its unmediated possession, which rendered him closest to God. In the Garden of Eden (*Eden tongsan* 에덴동산) Nusiel became chiefly responsible for Adam and Eve, tasked by God to rear and protect them, and, especially, to prepare them for their future role as True Parents (*ch'am pumonim* 참부모[父母]님), who were to bring to fruition the Ideal of Creation. However, Nusiel gradually realised God's unsurmountable love for humankind that eclipsed his own elevated position. Hence, jealousy took over and Nusiel dared to challenge God by seducing Eve into a spiritual relationship. Eve became Nusiel's object partner and thus inherited his fallenness, for Nusiel had become Satan (*Sat'an* 사탄) owing to his crime against God. According to Unification thought, this marks the 'spiritual Fall' (*yöngjök t'arak* 영적타락/靈的墮落). Plagued by terror and shame, Eve turned to Adam, whom she beguiled into consummating an illicit carnal relationship, concluding the 'physical Fall' (*yukchök t'arak* 육적타락/肉的墮落).

As a result of their fornication, Adam and Eve created a Four Position Foundation centring on Satan, passing on the 'original nature of the Fall' (*t'arak söngbonsöng* 타락성본성/墮落性本性) to their offspring. With the Fall, humankind's lineage shifted from that of God to the 'lineage of Satan' (*Sat'an'üi p'itchul* 사탄의핏줄), throwing the world into turmoil: "Extending from the individual to the family, tribe, people, nation, and the world, the lineage of evil established by this illicit relationship between man and woman took root, making this world into hell on earth, a false world filled with crimes, wars, and fear" (PHG VI.5: 930-931). Sexual transgressions, mainly expressed by free sex, promiscuity, and homosexuality, and being exposed by Mun as 'devilish tricks'

(*angma'üi kyegyo* 악마의 계교) (CSG v.4.2: 572), are held to be the root cause of evil.

Redemption

Actualising the vision of an 'ideal world' (*isang segye* 이상세계/理想世界) is part of divine creation's teleology. This soteriological promise, encapsulated by God's 'providence of restoration' (*pokkwi sömni* 복귀섭리/復歸攝理), was given subsequent to the Fall and was, eventually, acquitted by Mun and Han. Unificationists hold that the providence was led through a tripartite salvational history—the Old Testament age, the New Testament age, and the Completed Testament age (*söngyak sidae* 성약시대/成約時代), the latter commencing with Mun and Han's ministry (CSG I.4.2: 126-127). Across the ages, God commissioned various individuals to work towards the building of the Kingdom of Heaven. Most prominently, two thousand years ago, God sent Jesus (*Yesu* 예수) as the 'second Adam' and Messiah (*mesia* 메시아), that is, a human being capable by virtue of his sinless original nature to restore humans to the 'divine lineage' (*hananim'üi hyölt'ong* 하나님의 혈통[血統]). He was mandated to redeem the Fall by establishing the Four Position Foundation. Yet, he died prematurely before he could fully accomplish his mission. His crucifixion, which nevertheless brought redemption of the spiritual Fall, prevented Jesus from fathering children in a blessed union, sowing the seed of sinlessness and raising the Kingdom of Heaven. But the Saviour (*kuseju* 구세주/救世主) returned on the Korean peninsula in 1920 and 1943, respectively,⁹ in the form of Mun, the 'third Adam,' and Han, the 'restored Eve.' Their 1960 blessing—the first ever officiated by God—redeemed the failings of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, vesting them with salvific authority to liberate humanity from the yoke of Satan. The blessing ceremony ever since serves as the Unificationist means to restore humankind's divine lineage and populate the earth with 'God's children' (*hananim'üi chanyö* 하나님의 자녀[子女]), that is, human beings uncorrupted by fallenness.

Millenarianism and Soteriology

Mun and Han successfully built the Four Position Foundation and, with it, established the nucleus of Cheon Il Guk (*ch'önilguk* 천일국/天一國). Broadening the semantics of the term *chisang ch'ön'guk*, Cheon Il Guk—an abbreviation for Kingdom of Cosmic Peace and Unity (*ch'önju p'yöngghwa t'ongilguk* 천주평

9 For a brief outline of the Koreacentric aspects of Unification thought, see Pokorny 2013a. Notably, the CIKH (16) stipulates: "The official language of Cheon Il Guk is Korean, the language of God's homeland."

화통일국/天宙平和統一國)—was introduced to the Unificationist discourse in 2001. Most notably, and reminiscent of the Confucian millenarian trajectory, Cheon Il Guk is a divinely envisaged ideal state of multi-layered salvational perfection, ranging from the individual to the family, the ‘tribe,’ the nation, and, ultimately, the world/cosmos. Likewise, Cheon Il Guk represents the motivational momentum and personal guideline for kingdom-building. God’s Ideal of Creation finds its absolute fulfilment in Cheon Il Guk at the cosmic level. This state of all-embracing “freedom, peace, unity, and happiness centring on God and True Parents” (CIGH 8.1) based on the “principles of mutualism, mutual prosperity, and shared morality” (CIGH 9) has allegedly solidified in nuce through Foundation Day on February 22, 2013. On that day, Mun and Han qua True Parents of Heaven, Earth and Humankind (*ch’önjiin ch’am pumonim* 천지인[天地人]참부모님), that is, the true progenitors of humankind, celebrated their blessing at the completion stage.¹⁰ Through this final blessing they were soteriologically elevated to become the perfected ‘substantial embodiment of God’ (*hananim’üi silch’e* 하나님의실체[實體]), assuming a (semi-)divine-like position. Since Foundation Day, Cheon Il Guk unstoppably continues to substantially unfold, bringing together the spirit world and the physical world. An imminent completion of this millenarian process is held to be possible, depending on the action taken by those adhering to the Unificationist cause. This involves, next to various forms of proselytising, the internalisation and quotidian execution of True Parents’ teachings, which culminate in the application of ‘true love’ (*ch’am sarang* 참사랑), that is, God-embracing action that is directed at the realisation of the whole of Cheon Il Guk.

Daily Life and Main Rituals

With an aging first generation of members, the Unificationist’s daily routine has become less and less regulated over the years. A fixed date in the ritual schedule remains the weekly Sunday morning service at the local church. The set-up is not unlike that for Protestant liturgies, except for two things. On the one hand, two majestic armchairs are arranged usually on a pedestal at the top end, signifying True Parents’ presence. On the other, the UM emblem, allegedly designed by Mun himself, is displayed centrally, such as on the lectern and the

10 Pursuant to the Unificationist understanding of a three-tier scheme structuring any transformative process—‘formation’ (*sosaeng* 소생/蘇生), ‘growth’ (*changsöng* 장성/長成), and ‘completion’ (*wansöng* 완성/完成)—Mun and Han had to have three blessings (1960—2003—2013) themselves to finalise their own salvational evolution.

wall. The service usually comprises of a main sermon delivered by the local pastor or a guest speaker; the recitation of the Family Pledge; the singing of 'holy songs' (*sōngga* 성가/聖歌); musical or choir performances; individual prayer; and the sharing of news and notes of upcoming events often supported by the use of video recordings. When approaching True Parents' space (i.e., the armchairs) or coming in sight of it, and when expressing gratitude and reverence to them during the service, adherents perform a kowtow. In addition to the weekly service, a separate Family Pledge service, the Day of Settlement and Attendance (or Ahn Shi Il; *Ansil* 안시일/安侍日), is scheduled for every eighth day to be held by individual families with the purpose of fostering familial harmony (Mun 2009). Another recently introduced major home church activity, serving the same intention, is the daily Hoon Dok Hae, that is, an early morning gathering (ideally starting at 5:00 a.m.) of family and friends to jointly read and discuss passages from the Unificationist scriptures. Members have to observe 'eight great holy days' (*p'altaemyōngchōl* 팔대명절/八大名節) alongside a few others, such as the anniversaries of Foundation Day on January 13 or Mun's passing on July 17 (all dates are according to the lunar calendar). The great holy days include True God (i.e., Heavenly Parent) Day (*Ch'am hananim'ūi nal* 참하나님의날) on January 1; True Parents' Birthday (*Ch'am pumonim t'ansinil* 참부모님탄신일) on January 6; True Parents' Day (*Ch'am pumo'ūi nal* 참부모의날) on March 1; the Day of All True Things (*Ch'am manmul'ūi nal* 참만물의날) on May 1; the First of the Seventh Month Day (*Ch'irilchōl* 칠일절/七一節) or Declaration Day of God's Eternal Blessing (*Hananim ch'ukpokyōngwōn sōnp'oil* 하나님축복영원선포일[祝福永遠宣布日]) on July 1; the Eighth of the Seventh Month Day (*Ch'ilp'alchōl* 칠팔절/七八節) or Declaration Day of the Realm of Cosmic Sabbath for Parents of Heaven and Earth (*Ch'ōnji pumo ch'ōnju ansikkwōn sōnp'oil* 천지부모천주안식권선포일/天地父母天宙安息圈宣布日) on July 7 [sic]; True Children's Day (*Ch'am chanyō'ūi nal* 참자녀의날) on October 1; and Foundation Day for the Unified Nation of the Cosmos (i.e., Heaven and Earth) (*Ch'ōnju t'ongilguk kaech'ōnil* 천주통일국개천일/天宙統一國開天日) on October 3. There are various other commemorative days of lesser significance, such as the birth and death anniversaries of Mun and Han's children. Calendaring follows the 'heavenly calendar' (*ch'ōllyōk* 천력/天曆), whose reckoning draws on the lunar calendar, under the Cheon Il Guk timeline, which commenced on the first day of January 2013 as the first day of the first month of year 1. Further items on the Unificationist's agenda and usually conducted at one's own discretion are individual prayer, study, fasting, and proselytising. Self-study involves reading of the scriptures, commentary literature, and pertinent devotional literature. The UM utilises various channels to disseminate the latest domestic and international developments as well as to give doctrinal

guidance. The group's monthly *True Peace* and its daily newspaper *Segye ilbo* are widely read by members. Moreover, the UM has a sizeable internet presence (see, for example, <www.ipeacstv.com>), which allows members to access online a vast amount of textual and video resources. Members are frequently invited and exhorted to participate in special workshops, spanning from a couple of hours to several weeks. Equally, UM sub-organisations and local congregations regularly run diverse events to further group cohesiveness. Overall, in-group contacts and activities dominate members' social life. In terms of physical cultivation (which shall complement the cultivation of the mind), the UM puts a particular emphasis on martial art practice, preferably *T'ongilmudo* and, nowadays to a lesser extent, *Wŏnhwado*. Fasting has always been a key instrument for spiritual purification in the UM. Although diminishing in importance, many members still occasionally resort to this form of self-cultivation. Especially prior to important celebratory occasions, the participating adherents are urged to lay a spiritual condition by fasting for a certain period of time. One requirement for the blessing, for example, is a seven-day fast. As a rule, personal cultivation shall not be pursued to one's own gain, but for the benefit of one's family life and wider social environment. Thus, members are called to action emulating the True Parents' virtuous and unflinching course. Mun and Han represent the Unificationist role models, and their every action is to be taken as moral guidance. Part of the action plan is the member's engagement in proselytising activities and, related to that, NGO work. Under Han's leadership, proselytising in the form of witnessing has again become a prime objective, and members' NGO involvement continues to be at a relatively high level. A crucial mechanism to support outreach activities, including social-welfare and health activities and relief distribution, is the donation and fee system. Members are expected to tithe every month. Further donations are usually made on holy days, at special occasions, and during the weekly service. For workshops and special rituals (for example, ancestor liberation ceremonies and blessing ceremonies) fees are to be paid. Major humanitarian service organisations are the New York-based International Relief Friendship Foundation (*Kukche kuho ch'insŏn chaedan*) and the Seoul-based *Sadanbŏbin chawŏn pongsa aewŏn* 사단법인자원봉사애원/社團法人自願奉仕愛苑 (Aewŏn [i.e., Garden of Love] Volunteer Service Corporation, 1994). The UM is funding two hospitals, Isshin (One Heart) Hospital (*Isshin byŏin* 一心病院, 1978) in Tokyo and Ch'ŏngsim (Pure Heart) International Hospital (*Ch'ŏngsim kukche pyŏngwŏn* 청심국제병원/淸心國際病院) 2003) in Songsan.

Passage Rites

Mun has introduced various passage rites over time, the most important of which will be outlined below. When new life is born, the blessed parents have to welcome it in a spiritually pure environment where any evil is held at bay. This is done by prayer and lighting seven ‘birth candles’ (*haesancho* 해산초), a custom allegedly started by Mun at the birth of his first child sired with Han in 1960. The candles are given to the parents by older blessed couples (usually the paternal or maternal grandparents) or the local pastor, signifying a line of transmission that reaches back to Mun’s original candles. Prior to their use, the candles need to be sanctified by ‘holy salt’ (*songyŏm* 성염/聖鹽), the UM’s multi-purpose consecration material, traditionally held to be first used by Mun at his own blessing in 1960. The candles should be lit circa five minutes before the delivery and extinguished five minutes thereafter. The ritual can be conducted remotely by family members and friends. Eight days after the birth of their child, ideally at 7:00 a.m., the parents, donning white ceremonial robes (*yebok* 예복/禮服), should hold a ‘dedication ceremony’ (*ponghŏnsik* 봉헌식/奉獻式) through which gratitude is expressed and the new-born is dedicated to God. A ‘coming-of-age ceremony’ (*sŏnginsik* 성인식/成人式) for adolescent members—formally called the World Blessed Family Children Coming-of-Age Ceremony (*segye ch’ukpok kajŏng chanyŏ sŏnginsik* 세계축복가정자녀성인식) and hosted at the UM premises in Songsan—has been introduced in 2011. This ceremony is intended to make the teenage youth aware of their religious responsibility and spiritually prepare them for the blessing. It will be seen if this becomes a permanent event in the Unificationist ritual calendar.

The Blessing Ceremony (*ch’ukpoksik* 축복식/祝福式) is the most significant ritual, enabling the faithful themselves to raise a ‘blessed family.’ For first generation members, the blessing additionally entails ‘lineage restoration’ (*hyŏlt’ong pokkwi* 혈통복귀/血統復歸) or ‘lineage conversion’ (*hyŏlt’ong chŏnhwan* 혈통전환/血統轉換), that is, the person’s rebirth as God-desired original beings cleansed of their fallenness. The selection or ‘matching’ of the couples (*maech’ing* 매칭) and an ‘engagement ceremony’ (*yakhonsik* 약혼식/約婚式) precede the Blessing Ceremony.¹¹ The latter traditionally comprises five parts, of which the first three can be conducted consecutively in a single

11 Mun himself was often responsible for the matching, especially in the early days. Although his choice was not binding, members usually accepted it. The matching, however, is not (and never was) the only way by which male and female adherents are/were brought together. Members that are married before joining the UM can, of course, receive the blessing with their partners. Also, members may find a partner for the blessing ‘naturally’ or via familial arrangements within (or outside) the movement.

event or separately on one or more days: the Holy Wine Ceremony (*sŏngjusik* 성주식/聖酒式); the actual Blessing Ceremony; the Indemnity Stick Ceremony (*t'anggambong haengsa* 탕감봉행사/蕩減棒行事); a forty-day separation period; and the Three-Day Ceremony (*samil haengsa* 삼일행사/三日行事). The Holy Wine Ceremony is meant to bind the participants to God by purifying their lineage when drinking the Holy Wine (*sŏngju* 성주/聖酒), that is, a specially mixed liquid symbolising True Parents' blood. The Blessing Ceremony shall then conjoin husband and wife, empowering them with the God-given authority to carry out the biblical 'three great blessings' (*samdae ch'ukpok* 삼대축복/三大祝福) in line with the Ideal of Creation. Through the Indemnity Stick Ceremony the blessed couple heals any traces of past mutual resentment. The forty-day separation period denotes the indemnification of all of history since the Fall, and is a time of spiritual preparation before the blessing will be consummated in the Three-Day Ceremony. The conclusion of the Blessing Ceremony, the Three-Day Ceremony, lets the couple commence their conjugal life centred on God as true husband and wife. Most of the blessings—rising in the number of participating couples—until the late 1990s were attributed a decisive providential and symbolic-numerological significance, marking the increasing progress of the UM's millenarian mission (Chryssides 1991: 131-148, 193-195). As for the rationale behind holding mass blessings, Mun already stated in 1968: "A banquet held by God must be more extravagant than any other banquet in Satan's realm. However, an individual cannot uphold this standard. That is why we must host joint wedding ceremonies like never before in history" (Mun 1986: 32).

Once a faithful dies, her/his spirit is believed to ascend joyfully to the spirit world. Unificationists ritually celebrate the transition of the deceased to a spiritual being in the Seonghwa (literally, sacred harmony) Ceremony (*sŏnghwasik* 성화식/聖和式) (cf. Kil 2002). Formerly known as Seunghwa Ceremony (*sŏnghwasik* 승화식/昇華式), the UM's funeral ritual has been introduced in 1984 by Mun and Han with the death of their second son. The Seonghwa is divided into three parts, the Gwihwan (literally, returning to joy) Ceremony (*kwhwansik* 귀환식/歸歡式), the actual Seonghwa Ceremony or ascension ceremony, and the Wonjeon (literally, [returning to the] palace that is home) Ceremony (*wŏnjŏnsik* 원전식/原殿式, formerly 元殿式) or interment ceremony. Unificationists are taught to face death with a joyous heart. In the Gwihwan Ceremony, the immediate family bids farewell to the ascended spirit. Next, in the Seonghwa Ceremony the public service is held. Finally, the burial takes place in the last part, the Wonjeon Ceremony. After three days, a memorial service at the burial ground should follow (Yang 2007: 158-166). Further

memorial services may be held on the twenty-first, the fortieth, and the one-hundredth day following the interment.

Recent Developments

The UM's recent history has been dominated by the death of Mun Sŏn-myŏng, the ensuing accommodation process under Han, and the aggravation of schismatic developments. Mun was hospitalised in Seoul in mid-August 2012 for severe complications following pneumonia. He died on September 3, 2012, in the UM-owned Ch'ŏngsim International Hospital in Songsan. His passing at the age of 92 blindsided Unificationists across the globe despite well-communicated reports of his deteriorating health. Members were especially taken aback since this happened only a few months before Foundation Day. Taking Mun at his word, it was widely expected that he would be physically present at this historic ceremony. The Seonghwa took place after a twelve-day mourning period with the memorial service held at the Ch'ŏngsim Peace World Centre, attended by some 30,000 to 35,000 followers; a commemoration event of the same size is conducted every year since. Two of Mun's children, who had previously occupied key posts in the movement, did not partake in this event; an indication of serious frictions within the Mun family, frictions that exacerbated under Han's leadership, resulting in a second major schism. The first one occurred at the end of the 2000s, centring on the third and eldest surviving son and former 'heir apparent' Mun Hyŏn-jin 문현진/文顯進 (b. 1969), who was outlawed by his parents in mid-2010 and theologically ostracised when he repeatedly openly opposed the UM leadership and assumed sole control over substantial US assets. In addition, he hived off the UPF-led Global Peace Festivals, which to date operates as US-based Global Peace Foundation under his presidency. Moreover, in 2016, he founded the Family Peace Association meant to supersede the FFWPU. Perceived by members as the most charismatic of the 'second gen,' although Hyŏn-jin won over only a small fraction, he enjoys rising sympathy amid mainline Unificationists given the even worse more recent schismatic turbulences. Initially, three of his siblings, who were given crucial leadership positions by Mun, were Hyŏn-jin's greatest rivals: Mun In-jin 문인진/文仁進 (b. 1965), then president of the influential US branch of FFWPU; Kuk-jin, who was charged with overseeing the UM's Korean assets; and Hyŏng-jin, who was made FFWPU international president in 2008. However, increasing criticism within the UM leadership and from the grassroots level directed at the triarchy's improper and 'unfilial behaviour,' led Han to stepwise oust them from power (cf. Mickler 2013). In the same vein, to reinforce her

authority, Han began to replace central leadership positions and remove powerful former aides—such as the ‘court’ medium Kim Hyo-nam.¹² Implementing a clear organisational hierarchy, formalising her unquestioned lead and securing a functioning governance structure centred on a trusted family member, in February 2014, Han promulgated the Cheon Il Guk Constitution. In it, she also codified her newly gained ‘theological promotion’ (put into effect through her third blessing with Mun on Foundation Day). The supreme legislative organ, the Cheon Il Guk Supreme Council (*Ch’önilguk ch’oego wiwönhoe* 천일국최고위원회/天—國最高委員會), consists of thirteen high-ranked UM members headed by the hitherto relatively unknown Mun Sön-jin 문선진/文善進 (b. 1976). Sön-jin, the fifth daughter of Mun and Han, was also to replace Hyöng-jin as FFWPU International President, rendering her Han’s new successor-in-waiting. Organisational and personnel alterations aside, the UM leadership quickly began to communicate a new millenarian objective in order to counter disorientation following Mun’s passing and to keep the millenarian drive alive after Foundation Day. A shared vision, *Vision 2020* (*pjön 2020* 비전 2020), was devised to propel proselytising, thus reviving the missionary enthusiasm of the first generation during the 1960s and 1970s, until January 30, 2020, that is, Mun’s centenary (Pokorny 2014: 137-145). Most recently, however, member’s attention has been drawn to a—for many—unsettling development. Since early 2015, Mun Hyöng-jin increasingly went toe-to-toe with the UM leadership and, especially, his mother. Criticising both of corruption, fallenness, and distortion of Mun’s legacy, Hyöng-jin abides by his father’s decision to have him as his spiritual inheritor, which was actualised by the benediction received from his parents in an inauguration ceremony conducted in April 2008 (and reaffirmed thereafter). Together with his wife, Yi Yön-a 이연아/李妍雅 (b. 1978), and supported by his (equally disposed) brother Kuk-jin, he now leads—evolving from his own congregation (Sanctuary Church of Newfoundland)—the World Peace and Unification Sanctuary, headquartered in Newfoundland, Pennsylvania. Although still marginal in size, with devotees mainly in the US and, to a lesser extent, in Japan and Europe, but hardly any in South Korea, the Sanctuary Church’s fierce opposition that is widely disseminated by the use of the internet, fuels controversy, irritation, and uneasiness within the UM.

Challenging years notwithstanding, Han Hak-cha, by dint of her salvational status, is still a guarantor of cohesion in the UM (Pokorny 2017a). The biggest challenge for the movement, however, still lies ahead. Once Han ‘ascends to

12 In fact, ‘job rotations’ within the UM happen so frequently (also while Mun was still in full control) that it is hardly possible to keep track of them.

the spirit world,' current stagnation and perturbation will much likely turn into decline and further factional dismemberment. Mun Sŏn-jin's appointment is based on a compromise. Her responsibilities chiefly involve the management of Han's charisma, a duty carried out by Sŏn-jin at the expense of augmenting her own charisma. This might not be conducive for inducing growth in a post-Han era.

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