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1. Introduction

The Unification Movement (UM), though never exceeding a few hundred members, has been part and parcel of Austrian religious history for nearly 50 years, from its long-lasting court struggle for formal recognition as an association in the 1970s and early 1980s,¹ to the role it has been ascribed by the media throughout the decades as the epitome of a ‘dangerous cult’—public stigma in recent years largely transferred to Scientology—and its strident call for reform of Austrian religious law. Besides its decidedly meaningful place in modern Austrian religious history, the Austrian UM has been vitally important in spreading Unification thought (t’ongil sasang) in Western Europe and particularly beyond the Iron Curtain. All this renders a systematic historical account of the Austrian UM fruitful and as such a desideratum for a better understanding of emergent religions in the European context, as well as of post-World War II religious history in Austria and Central Europe at large. This paper continues to develop a micro-

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¹ On January 4, 1974, the association, originally constituted in May 1966, was dissolved by the authorities on the grounds of maintaining a misleading designation and contradicting the association statues.
historical narrative, providing a thorough discussion of the history of the Austrian UM between June 1966 and March 1969. These pioneering years have seen the Unificationist mission at the experimental stage, and can be characterised as an essential period in establishing the foundation for long-term viability and expansion. March 1969 marks a caesura inasmuch as Mun Sŏn-myŏng (1920–2012), the recently deceased founder of the UM, made his second visit to Germany, conducting the first European ‘blessing ceremony’ (ch’ukpoksik), which was attended by the Austrian and the German national leaders, both of whom were amongst the eight couples blessed at this—from an emic perspective—historic occasion. Only two days before, on March 26, 1969, Mun commanded that the two leaders should exchange their areas of operation, an edict put into effect on May 11, 1969, with the aim of invigorating the German mission.

The next section discusses the key message of Unification thought as well as the life and impact of its major advocate, Mun Sŏn-myŏng, both of which are imperative for understanding the driving force behind the Unificationist mission. Following this, the backdrop to and the preceding year of the Austrian mission up to May 1966 are briefly outlined. The main part of this paper comprises an elaboration of the history of the Austrian UM from June 1966 to March 1969, followed by a number of succinct discussions addressing key themes including the missionary field, the public reception, the economic dimension, and the early internationalisation efforts in Switzerland and Czechoslovakia. Ultimately, this paper offers the first historical documentation of the foundational history of—with the exception of the German group—the single most important European branch during the early days of Unificationism. Future studies may draw upon the historical data in this paper which has been empirically collected by various means, including semi-structured and narrative interviews, copious archival research and a comprehensive assessment of primary sources.

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2 Pokorny and Steinbeiss (2012) delineate the United States and German contexts and the period from May 1965 to May 1966 of the Austrian mission, whose essential aspects are summarised in Section 3 of this paper.

3 Despite support of the UM European headquarters, access to relevant archival sources at the Korean headquarters was not granted to the authors. From the early days, it was common that UM national leaders reported monthly in detail to the Korean headquarters about recent developments and the proselytising progress made. In the time period discussed in this paper, reports were usually sent to Kim Yong-un (1914–1989), the UM’s ‘court theologian’ and main contact for the European movement. Some or perhaps all of these reports, a few of which could be retraced by the authors in local archives, might be preserved in the UM’s central Korean archives. However, the authors’ close scrutiny of a large number of missionary diaries from the centres in Graz, Linz and
2. Historical Overview and the Main Tenets of the Unification Movement

‘What is the purpose of religion? It is to set up God’s ideal world. […] Ultimately, the path trodden by religion shall be peace’.

Mun’s avowedly theocentric diagnosis of what religion ought to be, set out in his recent autobiography, nicely encapsulates the keystone of the UM’s millenarian agenda, namely the establishment of the ‘Kingdom of Heaven on earth’ (*chisang ch’ŏnguk*) mirrored by world peace. At the ideological centre of the UM’s multi-faceted pursuit for peace stands its (erstwhile) voluble founder, whose role was not limited to being the religious mastermind pulling the doctrinal strings. Much more than this in the eyes of his devotees, Mun embodied the roles of ‘Lord of the Second Advent’ (*chaerimju*) and God’s ambassador on earth, commissioned to bring redemption to erring humanity. It was Mun who built the pivotal element of Unification thought and the reference point for the Unificationist mission, for he is deemed the ‘True Parent of humankind’ (*illyu’ŭi ch’am pumo*). His life, thought and deeds are envisioned to be directed by ‘Heaven’s mandate’ (*ch’ŏnmyŏng*) following a providential course, which, ultimately, shall rationalise proselytism for the three million adherents (this is the membership count commonly indicated by the UM).

Mun Sŏn-myŏng was born on February 25, 1920, in what today is North Korea. A convert to Presbyterianism in 1930, Mun devoted himself to extensive Bible studies from an early age, leading him to seek proximity to various millennial groups in later years, an experience that has been most influential for the ripening of Unification thought. Having undergone both traditional—based on Confucian mores—and modern schooling in Korea, he concluded educational training at a technical school in Tŏkyŏ (1941–1943). During his time in Japan, Mun is said to have identified the reason why humanity suffers in a world of never-ending strife and chaos. Turning away from God (*hananim*), humans supposedly inherited the lineage of
Satan and created ‘hell on earth’ (*chisang chiok*). By discovering the secret behind the Fall of Man, he realised the first major step on his divinely charged mission to reclaim God’s original homeland. Thanks to his newly gained insights into this ‘cosmic secret’ (*uju’ui pimil*), he returned to Korea to impart his ideas; however, he faced repressive measures there, including imprisonment by the authorities. Early in the Korean War (1950–1953), Mun fled to the city of Pusan on the peninsula’s South-East coast and resumed his ‘sacred task’, building his first provisional church and, in 1954 in Seoul, founding the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity (HSAUWC, *Segye kidokkyo t’ongil sillyŏng kyŏphoe*) or Unification Church (*T’ongil kyohoe*), as the movement is informally called to this day. At the time a first edition of the so-called *Principle* (*wŏlli*), the foundational text of Unification thought, was consigned to writing with two extensive revisions to follow in the years ahead. Divorcing his first wife in 1957, he married Han Hak-cha (b. 1943) in 1960 which, in Unificationist terms, concluded ‘the mission received by God to become True Parents’ (Mun 2010: 223). Mun is believed to be the Messiah (*mesia*) who descended upon earth to restore the divine bond of humanity sundered by sin because Jesus failed to build the Four Position Foundation (*sawi kidae*), that is, a union of husband, wife and children centred on God and based on the principle of ‘give and receive action’ (*susu chagyong*). By establishing a conjugal relationship and siring sinless children, the ‘perfect Adam’ (*wansŏnghan adam*), or Mun, laid the foundation of the messianic kingdom. The ‘True Family’ (*ch’am kajŏng*), whose archetype is Mun’s family, represents the nucleus of ‘Cheon Il Guk’ (*ch’ŏnilguk*), a world of plenty, peace and equality. The late 1950s and 1960s witnessed a gradual internationalisation of the Unificationist message. After a brief interlude in England and Wales in 1954, the mission extended to Japan (1958), the United States (1959) and—this time more lastingly—to Europe in 1963. Mun’s ‘world tour’ of

6 Tradition has it that during the Easter of 1935, Mun had an epiphany in which Jesus instructed him to establish the Kingdom of Heaven according to God’s will. This momentous watershed moment marks the *raison d’être* of the UM’s millenarian zeal.

7 The *Wŏlli wŏnbon* (Original Text of the Principle) was published in 1952, the *Wŏlli haesŏl* (Explanation of the Principle) in 1957 and the final version, *Wŏlli kangnon* (Exposition of the Principle), in 1966. At first, the book was commonly referred to as *The Divine Principles* in English (German: *Die Göttlichen Prinzipien*). Later, the plural was changed to the singular: *The Divine Principle* (German: *Das Göttliche Prinzip*).

8 The blessing ritual, ‘engrafting’ (*chŏpput’im*) bride and bridegroom to the Messiah and purifying their stained lineage, is considered to emulate Mun’s union with Han Hak-cha.
1965 paved the way for the UM’s American adventure which,⁹ as Mun indicates in his autobiography (Mun 2010: 185), was the necessary step to expedite the millenarian vision on a global scale. Over the following decades Mun raised a multi-billion dollar conglomerate, alongside the donation system, which since the beginning of the movement was most profitable in Japan, the economic backbone of Mun’s religious enterprise. Exactly 40 years after the foundation of HSAUWC, Mun inaugurated the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification (FFWPU, _SEGye p’yonghwa t’ongil kajong yonhap_), the UM’s new umbrella organisation, which replaced HSAUWC. In 2008 Mun’s youngest son, Mun Hyŏng-jin (b. 1979), took the reins as international president of FFWPU whilst Mun transitioned into semi-retirement. Mun Sŏn-myŏng died on 3 September 2012 aged 92 from pneumonia related complications, which put his widowed wife, Han Hak-cha, in power.¹⁰

3. Background and Context

Early in the history of the UM missionaries went to great lengths to spread the new Gospel abroad, with Kim Sang-ch’ol (1915–2011), Ch’oe Pong-ch’un¹¹ (b. 1936) and Kim Yŏng-un in the initial vanguard of the internationalisation. After being rather unsuccessful in disseminating Unification thought in England and Wales, Kim Sang-ch’ol followed Kim Yŏng-un to the United States in September 1959. Nine months earlier Kim, a former professor at Seoul-based Ihwa Women’s University (ihwa yŏja taehakkyo), had become the first missionary in the United States, and thenceforth the major figure of the American and European mission in the 1960s. Kim’s San Francisco commune had been either a temporary or permanent rallying point for most early European missionaries, including Doris Walder (later Orme, b. 1930), who launched the mission in Italy in 1965, Teddy Verheyen (b. 1935), who went to the Netherlands in 1965, Sandra (alias Sandy/i) Pinkerton, who left for the United Kingdom in 1966, Ursula Schuhmann (b. 1937) and Peter Koch (1927–1984), who both spearheaded

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⁹ Mun relocated to the United States in 1971 where he was to stay for more than three decades. After 2004, if not travelling, he spent most of his time in South Korea.

¹⁰ Internal struggles had Han neutralise all her children who held major positions within the UM, including Hyŏng-jin, following Mun’s demise. For a more detailed account on more recent personnel developments, see Pokorny 2013.

¹¹ Ch’oe is mainly known as Ch’oe Sang-ik in English publications. When in Japan he took the name Nishikawa Masaru.
the German mission in 1963, \(^{12}\) and Paul Werner (1927–2008), who pioneered in Austria in 1965. \(^{13}\) Paul Werner and his wife Christel (b. 1929), together with their son Klaus (b. 1952), emigrated to Canada in 1953, later moving to the United States—first to Cleveland (1957) and then to Sacramento (1961) where they joined the UM in 1963. In April 1964, the Werners returned to Germany, zealously resolved to work towards the ‘establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth’. \(^{14}\) Arriving at the centre in Frankfurt am Main about one month later, the Werners decided to open a new centre in nearby Wiesbaden soon thereafter. On December 11, 1964, the ‘German Family’, totalling eight adult members at the time, \(^{15}\) incorporated the Gesellschaft zur Vereinigung des Weltchristentums e.V. (Society for the Unification of World-Christianity, Registered Association), with Koch as its first president. The mission in Wiesbaden was not successful and the overall atmosphere within the small German group, especially the relationship between Werner and Koch, was tense. After almost one year in

12 Prior to Koch’s arrival in June 1963, there has been at least one Korean UM member (Kim Kae-hwan, a student of business)—arriving in 1962—already present in Germany, who only later joined the German branch’s proselytising efforts (Letter from Ursula Schuhmann to Kae Hioan Kim, January 30, 1965). Furthermore, at least seven other Korean UM members—including the brother of the aforementioned Kim Kae-hwan—are known to have resided in Germany in the 1960s; however, not all of them upheld close ties to the German Family.

13 German and Austrian members in particular played a key role in the spread of the early mission within Europe. Schuhmann was the first missionary sent to Spain in 1965 and Germany’s Reiner Vincenz (b. 1939) went to France in 1966. In 1968, Austria’s Bernhard Maierhofer (1943–2012) and Emilie Steberl (later Steberl-Lee, 1932–1981) went to Switzerland and Czechoslovakia, respectively. Other Austrian missionaries included Harald Unger (b. 1944, Turkey/1969), Christine Schönenberger (Belgium/1969), Beate Paul (Denmark/1969) and Robert Brandner (Luxembourg/1969). Furthermore, in 1969, two German missionaries, Ingrid Schneider (later Jörgenson) and Friedhilde Bächle (b. 1939), went to Norway and Sweden, respectively. In 1972, Ellen Kocher (later van Kampen, b. 1950) and Kirsti Laaninen (later Nevalainen, b. 1946), a Finnish native who joined the UM in 1971 whilst spending a year in Germany, were sent from Germany to Finland.

14 ‘Father [i.e. God], let us be thankful, Let [sic] us take this precious gift that we have received from You and show it to the entire world! Let everyone have a part in it! Let us bring mankind back to You, Let [sic] us help in a great way to establish your Kingdom on earth quickly, so that Your grief may be stilled, Your heart may be healed, Your tears may be wiped away! [...] Father, our hearts long for the speedy establishment of Your Kingdom, where Your Divine Love shall reign forever and ever!! We are now leaving for Germany and Europe, where we will do our part in Your great construction project to remodel the universe!’ (NAF21 1964: 8).

15 These included Peter and his sister, Barbara Koch (later Vincenz, b. 1930), Ursula Schuhmann, Elke Klawiter (later van der Stok, b. 1941), Paul and Christel Werner, Paul Werner’s sister, Elisabeth Werner (later Herzer, 1933–2002), and Reiner Vincenz.
Germany, Werner made up his mind to escape from this predicament. On May 18, 1965, he embarked on his mission to ‘restore’ Austria (Werner 1985: 39), which, at the time, had been a predominantly Catholic country, with up to 89% of the population belonging to Roman Catholicism. Stemming from a staunchly Protestant environment,16 in the beginning Werner particularly sought to witness amid various Protestant communities—however, for the first half a year, he achieved only modest success, having recruited only one part-time fellow traveller. For the first four months the Austrian mission was ‘headquartered’ in Werner’s 1963 Volkswagen bus, before he took shelter for the cold season in a tiny ramshackle apartment on the outskirts of Vienna.17 Earlier that year Mun started his first ‘world tour’ through 40 countries, leading him to visit Vienna from August, 15 to 17, 1965. Attended by Peter Koch and Paul Werner, who was assigned to ‘drive Father and his party through Europe’18 (Werner 1985: 44) in his Volkswagen bus, Mun consecrated a ‘Holy Ground’ (sŏngji) in the Rathauspark on August 16, 1965, thereby—as Unification thought has it—restoring a first piece of God’s original land on Austrian soil. In December 1965, Werner’s sedulous missionary work eventually came to fruition when two of his early acquaintances from the Calvinist parish, Gerhard (b. 1940) and his spouse Waltraud Wurm (b. 1942), converted, as did five other contacts over the following months, all of whom had Protestant backgrounds—Romana Maierhofer (later Kunkel, b. 1937), Hildegard Maierhofer (later Blanchard, b. 1940), Bernhard Maierhofer, Ingeborg Eisner (later van Winden, b. 1938) and Marianne Kolup. With a rising number of members and an enthusiastic outlook for further expansion, Werner decided to incorporate an association (Verein),19 which was then officially acceded by the Sicherheitsdirektion (Security Directorate) in Vienna on May 16, 1966, marking the birth of the Gesellschaft zur Vereinigung des Weltchristentums (Society for the Unification of World Christianity), a watershed moment in the history of the UM in Austria.

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16 Like his wife, Christel, Paul Werner was raised a Lutheran.
17 The first so-called ‘centre’ of the Austrian UM was located at Donizettiweg 23 in the twenty-second district. In spring 1966, Werner rented a room in a flat in Schlüsselgasse 9 in the fourth district before opening a ‘real’, that is, a community centre in Zirkusgasse 37/13 in the second district at the beginning of May 1966.
18 Mun’s entourage included Kim Yong-un, Ch’oe Wŏn-bok (1916–2006) and Ch’oe Pong-ch’u’n, all of whom have been eminent members of the early UM.
19 At the time, the only possibility for the UM to become a legal entity was the founding of an association.
4. The Unification Movement in Austria: June 1966 to March 1969

The first half of 1966 was a period of major developments in the early history of the UM in Austria. The group constituted itself legally as an association, the first community centre was founded in a shared flat in Vienna, membership numbers started to increase slowly but steadily, and more public activities were launched. Paul Werner commented on the changing situation: ‘Here in Austria things are moving pretty fast now’ (NAF8 1966: 13).

From August to October 1967, public lectures were organised in the ‘Porrhaus’ located in Operngasse 9 in Vienna’s fourth district. After having conducted missionary work centred on one social circle stemming from two Protestant churches in Dorotheergasse, close to St. Stephen’s Cathedral, until mid-1966, the early members of the UM tried to expand their field of proselytising to the general public by introducing street witnessing and handing out pamphlets. Prior to moving into the new centre in Zirkusgasse 37 in Vienna’s second district, the group had mostly assembled at the home of Gerhard and Waltraud Wurm. Even when visitors were present, the ‘Austrian Family’ stayed and spent the nights in the private apartment in Harmoniegasse 4 in Vienna’s ninth district (NAF5 1966: 18). In July 1966, the Austrian group undertook a trip to Frankfurt to sustain the connection with the German Family. The ties be-

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20 Public lectures commenced on August 2 and were given on the first, second and third Tuesday of the month (Letter from Waltraud Wurm to Peter Koch, June 20, 1966). Additionally, every Sunday so-called ‘evangelisation lectures’ (Evangelisationsvorträge) were held. The first public lecture on August 2 was attended by a total of 18 people, of whom eleven were members of the group and seven were visitors (Missionary Diary Zirkusgasse/Ölzeltgasse: 108). The rate of 15 to 20 attendees in total—many of whom were members—was kept up until the abandonment of the Porrhaus as a venue in October 1967 (Missionary Diary Ölzeltgasse 1: 95). In place of the public lectures, Werner instructed the group to focus on inviting people to the centre, a strategic decision likely informed by the visit of Kim Yong-un that month. The ‘Porrhaus’, funded by the Viennese building company Porr, was a popular venue for small-scale public events. It was the domicile of several labour unions, for example that of textile workers. The room rented by Paul Werner and his followers was equipped with 30 to 40 seats. Today, it is part of the University of Technology of Vienna.

21 The practise of street witnessing was commonly referred to by members as ‘addressing people’ (Ansprechen gehen) or ‘looking for people’ (Menschen suchen). A pamphlet printed and distributed in 1967 to attract potential proselytes is included in the appendix (see Appendix, Figure 4). In addition, Werner started a small-scale one-time letter-writing campaign in late 1966, sending out approximately forty letters to mainly female contacts, who were involved in religious education or service, but also several clergymen (Letter from Paul Werner to Peter Koch, November 26, 1966).
tween the two neighbouring missions were strong at all times, even though Paul Werner’s decision to leave for Austria initially caused some discontentment. The German UM consisted of around seven members at the time and went through some turbulence until 1969.

The mission in Wiesbaden that Werner left behind when relocating to Austria was carried forward by his wife, Christel, until she too moved to Vienna in 1967. On September 30, 1966, the Austrian group expanded for the first time to another city, opening a centre in Graz in Steyrergasse 161/II, about one km from the historic city centre. At the outset this centre was directed by Ingeborg Meyer (later Sorgenicht, b. 1933), a local resident who joined the UM in June 1966 after coming into contact with Paul Werner in Vienna (NAF8 1966: 17-18). By the end of 1966 the Austrian Family consisted of approximately twelve members, an increase of around

22 According to Hardin and Kuner, the UM in Germany consisted of six active members in June 1966 (1981: 132). This number is inaccurate, because at least Christel Werner, who stayed in Wiesbaden until 1967, was left out.

23 The UM in Germany was struggling with internal disagreements and almost split in 1967. In a personal letter, Kim Yŏng-un reprimanded Peter Koch, emphasising his responsibilities as a national leader (Letter from Kim Yŏng-un to Peter Koch, April 11, 1968). Koch tried to counter the problems in his community by ordering 40-day periods of fasting (Letter from Peter Koch to Kim Yŏng-un, September 20, 1968), however without immediate success (Letter from Kim Yŏng-un to Peter Koch, October 4, 1968).

24 Initially, it was planned that Waltraud Wurm—leaving her daughter with her mother in Vienna—would establish the mission in Graz alongside Ingeborg Meyer. The two even took preparatory trips to Graz together several times in August and September, before Meyer pioneered Graz on her own (Missionary Diary Zirkusgasse/Ölzeltgasse: 115-117, 123-128, 133). Eventually, Werner accompanied Meyer back to Graz, staying for two weeks and assisting to set the mission in motion. For the first year, he was going to Graz every other week for a couple of days to support the local mission. Similarly, Werner was to visit the Linz mission on regular terms, usually once a month. When new contacts proved to be promising, Werner would be called in by the centre leader in both Graz and Linz to engage closely with the prospective convert. He would then decide whether to continue proselytising. Normally, those interested would then be invited to spend some time at the Vienna headquarters and, subsequently, encouraged to move there for a longer period of time or even completely.

25 It is difficult—if not impossible—to assess the exact number of members, partly due to a lack of information, partly because it is difficult to distinguish between interested participants, who would leave shortly after coming into contact, and stable members. Christel Werner describes the criteria for classifying someone as a member in these early days as ‘accepting the teachings of the new revelation of God for present-day times and accordingly also the messengers, which are True Parents, as the basis for his life’ (‘Wenn der Gast dann die Lehre als die neue Offenbarung Gottes für unsere heutige Zeit und damit auch den Überbringer, sprich Wahre Eltern, als Grundlage für seinen weiteren Lebensweg anerkannte und mitarbeiten wollte, wurde er/sie als Mitglied aufgenommen [...’], Personal interview with Christel Werner on June 14, 2012). Furthermore, there was
four members since the founding of the association. The clergy of the Protestant churches to which the proselytes had mainly belonged slowly but surely became aware of the potential ‘threat’ the UM posed: ‘take[ing] away some of their flock’ as Werner reminisces (Werner 1985: 60). Still, many of the early UM members—including Paul Werner himself—remained active in the communities in Dorotheergasse. Whilst the Lutheran community mostly accepted them, Werner recounts the relationship with the Calvinist church as being more difficult.26

The UM expanded its presence once again on January 18, 1967, by sending a recent convert, Alfons Carda, to Hafnerstraße, located in the city centre of Linz, the capital of Upper Austria. He was joined by Hildegard Maierhofer in March 1967, who rented a separate flat in nearby Bethlehemstraße 1c. Meanwhile, two of the early members—Gerhard and Waltraud Wurm—dropped out of the movement and even took a critical stance towards it (Werner 1985: 63). In March the group opened a new centre in Ölzeltgasse 1B/8 in Vienna’s third district. Shortly after the relocation, Christel Werner and her son Klaus moved to Austria, having realised ‘that Paul would remain in Austria indefinitely’ (Werner n/a: 18; see also Werner 1985: 64).

From late September to mid-October 1967, Kim Yŏng-un visited Germany, Austria, Italy and Spain on a tour through Europe. She had been to Germany first and was escorted to the Austrian border on October 5 by leading members of the Frankfurt and Essen communities, including Peter Koch, his sister Barbara Koch, and Elke Klawiter. On their way from Salzburg to Linz, the party made a detour to Linz, visiting and blessing the ‘centre’ led by Hildegard Maierhofer. During her first two days in Vienna, Kim held question-and-answer sessions in the morning and evening translated from English by Paul Werner. In the afternoon, she engaged in private conversations with Hildegard Maierhofer and Ingeborg Meyer, who were head-

constant fluctuation—even amongst long-time or otherwise stable members—despite the fact that practitioners had to make an effort and take ‘Principle tests’ (Prinzipientests) to obtain ‘full’ membership (see note 47). The members referred to here were: Gerhard Wurm, Waltraud Wurm, Romana Maierhofer, Hildegard Maierhofer, Bernhard Maierhofer, Ingeborg Eisner, Marianne Kolup, Alfons Michael Carda (b. 1944, NAF8 1966: 19), Harald Unger (NAF6 1967: 16-17), Emilie Steberl (NAF6 1967: 15-16), Ingeborg Meyer (NAF8 1966: 17-18) and Adolf Spotte (NAF8 1966: 20). From July 1966 onwards, the group kept personal record cards of all members, suggesting the existence of an internal membership register (Missionary Diary Zirkusgasse/Ölzeltgasse: 98).

26 The bonds between the two churches and the members of the Austrian UM were close at the time: Most of the early members sang in the choir of the Lutheran church, which was directed by Gerhard Wurm’s father. Gerhard Wurm himself was in turn the organist in the Calvinist community.
ing the mission in Linz and Graz, and paid a visit to the Holy Ground in the Rathauspark. On October 7, Johan van der Stok (b. 1937), who had joined the movement in 1966 in Cleveland, Ohio, arrived after dinner from Amsterdam. Kim then briefed the Austrian Family about the requirements for partaking in a blessing ceremony. On Sunday, October 8, she informed the group about missionary prospects and strategies as developed and applied in other countries, primarily the United States and Japan (NAF10 1967: 10). Representing Mun in his absence, she instructed the Austrian members to help build a European Family following the American model. During her five day sojourn in Vienna (October 5 to 10, 1967) Kim also held lectures on the Principle, engaged in personal talks with other senior members of the group and participated in collective prayer. On the penultimate day of Kim’s visit to Vienna, Werner announced changes with regard to the personnel at the centre in Linz and the initiation of English lessons under the guidance of Christel Werner. On October 10, the Werners, Johan van der Stok and the three German guests then accompanied Kim to Rome.

On October 31, a new centre in Graz was opened in Krenngasse 19/6 in lieu of the previous flat in Steyrergasse. Ingeborg Meyer had already made a few promising contacts with locals by proselytising on the streets; at least one had moved into the new residence and another one was allegedly about to convert (NAF3 1968: 7). Following Kim’s visit to Vienna, Alfons

27 Christel Werner mentioned in a personal interview (August 30, 2013) that already in October 1967, Kim notified the Austrian followers that a European blessing was planned for the next visit of Mun, instructing them about future arrangements which were required to be made. This is also confirmed by one of the missionary diaries (Missionary Diary Ölzeltgasse 1: 82, 86). The said blessing, eventually, took place in Essen in March 1969.

28 An extensive study on the missionary strategies applied in the early phase of UM proselytism in the United States was conducted by John Lofland (1980: 63-189).

29 Kim instructed Paul Werner to aid the Italian Family during the upcoming period (Missionary Diary Ölzeltgasse 1: 85).

30 In line with the practice in Vienna, street witnessing—individually or as a group—was the main missionary tactic employed by the Graz (and Linz) circle. Regularly, members would also attend religiously themed public lectures, Christian liturgies (for example, Catholics, Adventists, Baptists, Methodists, New Apostolics, and Churches of Christ) or meetings of other faiths (for example, Bahá’í, Theosophy, and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), thereafter engaging in discussion with attendees to pique their interest for the new revelation. Missionary activities of the UM did initially not extend to the periphery or other parts of Styria or Upper Austria but remained limited to Graz and Linz (Personal Interview with Ingeborg Sorgenicht on August 30, 2013; cf. Missionary Diary Graz 1 and Linz).

31 The community in Graz was all-female at the time. Elfriede Schultermandl (later Verstraeten, b. 1938) and Edeltraud Stimpfl (later Ebi, b. 1944) joined the group in May and September 1967, respectively (NAF7 1968: 24; Werner 1985: 62). In addition,
Carda returned to Vienna, having been replaced by Brigitte Plöchl (later Meister, b. 1942), who moved into the new centre in Lustenauerstraße, which was rented by Hildegard Maierhofer shortly before in September 1967 instead of the small flat in Betlehemstraße. Overall, the Linz mission was relatively unsuccessful in the first couple of years.

Towards the end of 1967 the number of members had risen modestly. In Vienna, nine people were living in the ‘headquarters’—as it was referred to internally—in Ölzelgasse, an additional four were staying in Zirkusgasse and a couple more of other less active followers resided in private quarters. In Graz and Linz there were three and two members, respectively—amongst several people who were largely sympathetic but did not yet ‘accept’—which amounted to a total number of around 20 members.

The year 1968 started with the opening of the first church-affiliated or church-driven enterprise in Austria, a nursery called ‘Ingeborg’ in Pyrkergasse 6, located in Vienna’s traditionally middle- to upper-class nineteenth

Marianne Kolup was sent by Werner from Vienna to Graz. Schultermandl was later to succeed Meyer as the centre leader upon the latter’s return to Vienna.

Arriving in Linz in November 1967, Plöchl moved to Graz in April 1968 and was replaced by Kolup. In late September 1968, the Linz family relocated to a new centre in Volksfeststraße 12. Since the beginning of the Linz mission, Hildegard Maierhofer acted as the local mission leader.

According to Paul Werner’s report on the status of the Austrian mission in June 1968, there were only three members in Linz (NAF6 1968: 17). This is confirmed by the Linz missionary diary; however, this third member mainly resided in Vienna (Missionary Diary Linz: 245, 257-258, 284-303).

Concluding from Werner’s report to Kim summing up his fist two years in Austria, Ingeborg Meyer’s report on Kim’s visit to Austria and the missionary diary of the centre in Ölzelgasse the members were: Romana Maierhofer, Hildegard Maierhofer, Bernhard Maierhofer, Ingeborg Eisner, Marianne Kolup, Alfons Carda, Harald Unger, Emilie Steberl, Ingeborg Meyer, Brigitte Plöchl, Beate Paul, Elfriede Schultermandl, Edeltraud Stimpfl, Elfriede Weber (b. 1950), Ingrid Bauer, Franz Wasenegger, Karl Leonhardsberger and the Werner family (NAF6 1968: 2; NAF10 1967: 9; Missionary Diary Ölzelgasse 1: 77-149). Not all of them lived in one of the centres. Other ‘members’ mentioned, for instance, by Meyer—Aurelia Henökl, Waltraud Horina, and Christa Meglic—have, in fact, not yet ‘accepted’ at that time (Missionary Diary Graz 1: 116-126).

Plans to open a nursery in order to support the mission financially were first discussed in the beginning of January 1967. By January 21, these efforts had already become more serious and members were looking forward to training children in Unificationist thought (‘Die Sache mit dem Kindergarten wird jetzt ernst. Sobald wir die geeignete Wohnung haben, wollen wir beginnen. Wie wunderbar wird das sein, wenn wir schon bei den Kindern Prinzipien lehren können’, Missionary Diary Zirkusgasse/Olzelgasse: 178).

The name, being a typical woman’s name at the time, was chosen to add an element of local colour. Small wonder, two female members carried the name Ingeborg—
A few of the female members of the Austrian UM were trained kindergarten teachers and assumed positions at the nursery (NAF6 1968: 17). The agenda of expanding the missionary field was further intensified during 1968 with two members being sent as pioneers to neighbouring countries. In March Bernhard Maierhofer, an early core member of the community, left for Zurich, Switzerland, to become Austria’s first foreign missionary. In October Emilie Steberl, who joined the group exactly two years earlier in 1966, was sent by Paul Werner across the Czechoslovakian border to spread the Unificationist faith behind the Iron Curtain (see Appendix, Figure 2). After passing the border she continued to Bratislava where she carried out her mission, with the exception of one short and, reportedly, unsuccessful interlude in Prague (FN3 1968: 10; MB, 25). In the autumn of 1968 a group of students, all members of the students’ union ‘Akademische Gilde Thule’ (Academic Guild Thule), came into contact with the UM. This helped to further the scope of the Austrian UM’s public missionary activities, extending the reach also to universities. Hence, lecturing on Unification thought was expanded to academic venues like the Uni-

Ingeborg Meyer and Ingeborg Eisner—with the latter taking on a principal role at the nursery.

37 Whilst starting out as a very successful business venture for the Austrian Family—by February 1968 there were already 22 children registered, increasing to 34 children in August—the nursery was closed shortly after Peter Koch took over the Austrian mission in May 1969.

38 Maierhofer’s mission in Switzerland was seemingly not the result of long planning, as its announcement on March 12, 1968, took most members by surprise (Missionary Diary Ölzeltgasse 2: 30). On March 13, Werner gave Maierhofer ‘Holy Salt’ (sŏngyŏm) and a picture of Mun for his pioneering mission to Switzerland. The next day Maierhofer left for Zurich. The choice of Switzerland as the first step for expansion appears to have been taken owing to the local prevalence of the Protestant faith: ‘Paul says, that Zurich is “good soil” and that the people are open and prepared and that he could forthrightly feel how pleased the reformers Zwingli and Calvin are about this mission’ (‘Paul sagt, daß Zürich ein “guter Boden” ist und die Menschen offen und vorbereitet sind und daß er direkt spürte, wie sich die Reformatoren Zwingli und Calvin über diese Mission freuen’, Missionary Diary Ölzeltgasse 2: 30). Obviously, the lack of a language barrier in the German speaking parts of Switzerland also bore a tremendous advantage compared to other European missions that were initiated by Austrian members.

39 Hardin and Kuner wrongly imply that the first missionary to Switzerland was sent from Germany in the first half of 1968 (1981: 134).

40 Winfried Schwarzl (b. 1941) describes the profile of the ‘Gilde Thule’ as focussed on Ancient Greece, Teutonism and Christianity (‘Antike, Germanentum und Christentum’) (FN2 1968: 4). Next to Winfried Schwarzl, who was witnessed by Emilie Steberl and initiated the contact, two other members of the ‘Gilde Thule’, Walter Leitner (b. 1943) and Erich Brockelmann (b. 1939), joined the UM.
versity of Technology of Vienna, the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences (Universität für Bodenkultur Wien) and the University of Vienna. At the time, members of the Austrian UM published the first issue of the monthly internal periodical Familien Nachrichten (Family News), which operated until August 1972.

In November a schism shook the Austrian UM with long-time member Romana Maierhofer breaking away from the group with three other female members, who henceforth pursued their ‘Principle work’ without Werner’s leadership and the support of the Austrian Family. Towards the end of the month, a new centre was opened in a 300sqm flat in Schlüsselgasse 3 in Vienna’s fourth district. It enabled the community to reserve a room for prayer—the new ‘master’s chamber’ (Meisterzimmer)—and one for public lectures (FN3 1968: 7). Whilst the literary basis for the Austrian UM had been the German translation by Peter Koch and Ursula Schuhmann of Kim Yŏng-un’s fourth English edition of the Wŏlli haesŏl (Kim 1963), Paul Werner now strived to create his own translation of Kim’s Divine Principle and Its Application. The first chapter was to be printed and distributed in January 1969.

A short-lived centre in Albertgasse 14/19 in Vienna’s eighth district was closed on November 27 after only operating for four months with the three female residents dispersing to the other two centres in Vienna (Missionary Diary Albertgasse: 42-43). In December, parents of members were invited to the new headquarters in Schlüsselgasse, which allegedly resulted in ‘for-

41 Lectures at the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences were held by Harald Unger whilst the lectures at the University of Technology and University of Vienna were delivered by Winfried Schwarzl and Dietrich (‘Dieter’) Seidel (b. 1943). The general motto of their talks was ‘Man between God and Universe’ (‘Der Mensch zwischen Gott und Universum’, FN2 1969: 7).

42 Despite multiple attempts to reconcile the parties at strife and mediation efforts by Peter Koch during November and December, Romana Maierhofer never returned to the Austrian Family, instead relocating to Germany (Missionary Diary Ölzeltgasse 3: 8-10, 25).

43 These ‘master’s chambers’ existed also in most other centres in Austria at the time and typically featured an altar, often decorated with flowers, and one or more pictures of ‘True Parents’ or Mun alone.

44 The first edition of Werner’s complete German translation of the Principle entitled Die göttlichen Prinzipien was published in 1972 (Gesellschaft zur Vereinigung des Weltchristentums e.V. 1972).

45 The centre in Albertgasse was opened towards the end of June 1968. Beate Paul, being the leading figure of the centre, moved to Linz on December 1, 1968 shortly after the flat was vacated.
mer persecutors turning into friends', as Werner maintains. Whilst the so-called ‘Principle tests’ had already been held on a small scale since April 1966, the first large exam in Austria was conducted on December 30, 1968 with, reportedly, 24 members participating (FN1 1969: 19). By the end of 1968, the Austrian UM had extended to two centres in Vienna: the new headquarters in Schlüsselgasse (see Appendix, Figure 3) and the former headquarters in Ölzeltgasse (FN1 1968: 16; FN3 1968: 6). Furthermore, centres in Linz (Volksfeststraße) and Graz (Krenngasse) were opened and the group sent two missionaries abroad. The membership figure increased from around 20 at the end of 1967 to more than 30 by the end of 1968.

By starting to organise lectures at universities in Vienna, the UM slowly gained the attention of Roman Catholic theologians, including the main

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46 ‘An important day: those who persecuted us have become our friends!’ (‘Ein bedeutender Tag: Diejenigen, die uns vorher verfolgt hatten, sind jetzt zu unseren Freunden geworden!’, FN1 1969: 18).

47 Prospective members in Korea had to take one test each issued by the local church, the district and the national headquarters. With these organisational structures absent in the early phase of the American and European mission, all three tests were conducted by one entity, occasionally even at once. Three formal conditions had to be met prior to being admitted to the exams, namely recognising Mun as the Lord of the Second Advent, taking up some responsibility in the community and being able to cover one’s own expenses. The tests were drafted by the national headquarters with the ‘details [having been] left up to the wise judgement of the head of the national family’ (Letter from Peter Koch to Doris Walder, August 9, 1966). The written part of the examination usually comprised 30 ‘tough’ questions followed by an oral exam. The evaluation of the individual teaching ability was based on an oral presentation paraphrasing three chapters of the Koch-Schuhmann translation of the Principle, giving a general overview over the Unificationist doctrine (FN2 1968: 16). Upon passing the test, the neo-member was granted a missionary or evangelist membership card.

48 Whereas the first written Principle test was held in April, Gerhard Wurm was the first member to pass the oral exam on May 15, 1966, being awarded a picture of Mun (Missionary Diary Zirkusgasse/Ölzeltgasse: 69).

49 The private flat of Winfried Schwarzl in Schottengasse 3a in Vienna’s first district was internally referred to as a fourth centre (FN1 1968: 16) prior to the closing of the third centre in Albertsgasse.

50 The newly established centre replaced the flat in Zirkusgasse as Vienna headquarters (FN3 1968, 7). The centres in Schlüsselgasse and Zirkusgasse were used by members of both sexes, whilst the third and relatively transient centre in Vienna’s Albertsgasse, and the ones in Linz and Graz were inhabited by women only.

51 On January 1, 1969 (God’s Day; hananim ‘ui nal), a number of 30 members, including a few who could not attend, was reported in the Familien Nachrichten (FN1 1969: 20). Christel Werner confirmed a list of 42 members in Austria by March 1969, including the two foreign missionaries, in a personal interview on June 14, 2012. The list reportedly comes from a contemporary photo album that all members signed.
monitoring institution run by the Roman Catholic Church (FN3 1969: 5-6). A symbolic watershed moment in the UM’s rising publicity was the use of a large sign of almost one square metre placed outside the new centre in Schlüsselgasse at the beginning of 1969, announcing the Sunday service and weekly lectures (FN1 1969: 2). Members persevered with inviting people to the new centre, but the general response was rather cautious. Hence, Werner proceeded to train members in giving speeches or sermons on Unification theology. Furthermore, another English course was initiated twice a week to widen the potential target audience of the mission as well as to prepare the group for Mun’s visit to Europe. On February 22, Peter Koch, Reiner Vincenz and the members from Graz and Linz came to Vienna to celebrate the birthday of ‘True Parents’. However, the most significant event of that year was Mun Sŏn-myŏng’s second visit to Austria in early April. Preparations for the visit, which started two months prior in February 1969, included amongst other things the arrangement of rooms to accommodate Mun and his entourage (FN3 1969: 2).

4.1. Mapping the Missionary Field

Austria was—and still is—a country largely dominated by Roman Catholic faith. It is most likely due to Paul Werner’s personal background that the Austrian mission was initially focussed on the Protestant environment,
expanding decisively to the general public only after about 18 months. During the first period of proselytising in Vienna, Werner mainly worked within one social circle, centring on the two Protestant parishes in Dorotheergasse; one Calvinist and the other of Lutheran denomination. Having established a firm member-base of around eight people after the first year, he was able to widen the target group and, as a consequence, the first Catholics joined the community. Since the early members were all working day jobs to sustain themselves financially, their missionary activities—which largely meant street witnessing at the time—were usually limited to evenings and weekends. On weekends, the group would also go to a Christian church to attend the Sunday service and invite people to the centre thereafter (Personal Interview with Christel Werner on July 4, 2012). Another interesting aspect in the early development of the Austrian UM was that members—as well as mainly being in their 20s—were predominantly female. The enduring dominance of female members in the 1960s could be partly attributed to them being more likely to approach people of the same sex publicly. In general, the relationship between men and women was regulated in a very clear way in accordance with Unification theology. This did not mean that it was uncommon for men and women to live in the same


57 Paul Werner put a particular emphasis on street witnessing, which was not always met by unreserved excitement, provoking tension with those who were less enthusiastic about it. His fervent and stern devotion to advance the Unification mission seems to have mesmerised most members, furnishing an even closer bond and thus benefiting the community spirit. A few followers, however, found it more difficult to cope with such forceful personality, not accepting a subordinate role, and, accordingly, temporarily went at some distance or left the group straightaway (personal conversation with early UM members; see also the various missionary diaries).

58 This is implied by reports of female members (FN3 1968: 6). Christel Werner mentioned (Personal Interview on June 8, 2012) that approaching men brought women into a social situation that could be easily—and, in fact, was at times—misinterpreted. This was also implied by Winfried Schwarzl (Personal Interview on October 10, 2011), who claimed that only people of the same sex could be witnessed publicly and therefore converted. Indeed, Paul Werner at least once explicitly discouraged a female member of the Graz Family to meet with a male prospect (Missionary Diary Graz 2: 116). Naturally, there could be other factors leading to the preponderance of female members, like women simply being more receptive to or more successful in their proselytising strategy.
centre, but keeping sexual purity remained of the highest priority. Until contact was established with the ‘Akademische Gilde Thule’, most members were employees and workers. In 1968, the focus of proselytising shifted from talks at public venues, like the ‘Porrhaus’, to various universities and from early 1969 onwards, public lectures were also held weekly at the newly established centre in Schlüsselgasse. It was not until after Peter Koch had taken over the Austrian mission that the group started regularly sending out letters to people they had previously witnessed on the streets (FN6 1969: 17). This was one of the more obvious changes in terms of missionary strategy accompanying the change of national leaders in May 1969. According to Peter Koch, his mission in Germany differed from Werner’s approach by virtue of focussing on ‘telling a few people a lot, instead of telling a lot of people just a little’. Whilst it is not easy to pinpoint all the differences in the actual promotion vehicles applied, the success of the Austrian mission far exceeded the German one. Most other European countries featuring UM missions at the time were pioneered by Germans or Austrians, so it seems safe to assume that their missionary tactics did not differ drastically from their respective parent missions. Within a few years the UM had expanded to Austria’s three largest cities, however the centres having been opened outside of Vienna in the 1960s, that is in Graz and Linz, were not as successful in terms of gaining new members. The contact between the Austrian group and its foreign missionaries was steady. Not only did Bernhard Maierhofer and Emilie Steberl

59 Male and female members shared a flat in Zirkusgasse (1966–1968) as well as in Schlüsselgasse (1968–1977). Romana Kunkel confirmed in a personal interview (May 18, 2012) that there was no strict segregation in every life aspect of male and female members.

60 Peter Koch implicitly criticised Paul Werner for not adhering to this maxim and was taken by surprise by the fast conversion rates achieved by the groups in the United States (Hardin and Kuner 1981: 134-135). He also addressed slight criticism to Werner’s decision to include new converts in missionary work as quickly as possible, which Hardin and Kuner styled as ‘American tactics’ (1981: 139). As both Peter Koch and Paul Werner virtually stemmed from the same group in California it seems that they simply drew different conclusions from their missionary training overseas.

61 The most notable difference, in fact, was that Austrian members were on the streets trying to reach as many people as possible by talking to them directly about the Unificationist message, whilst Peter Koch’s missionaries tried to attract people by handing out pamphlets in front of public buildings and inviting them to talks in the centres. Ultimately, the low success rate of Peter Koch in Germany has been one of the main motives for swapping national leaders with Austria. It should be noted, however, that under Koch’s leadership the Austrian group eventually prospered, reaching its heyday from the early 1970s to the early 1980s.

62 See note 13.
report on their activities nearly once a month in the internal periodical *Familien Nachrichten*, they also frequently visited Austria. Whilst Maierhofer was able to receive visits in Switzerland, it was impossible for the Werners to meet Steberl in Czechoslovakia. Later, when Peter Koch became national leader of Austria, the reports by Maierhofer and Steberl in the *Familien Nachrichten* ceased almost abruptly.

4.2. Public Reception

During the first year of his mission in Vienna, Paul Werner made contact primarily with the clergy in the Protestant churches in Dorotheergasse. He reported that the relationship went smoothly at the beginning, but with his increasingly successful proselytising the relationship became more troublesome. Christel Werner mentioned (Personal Interview on July 4, 2012) that her husband officially met Franz König (1905–2004), Cardinal of the Catholic Church and at the time Archbishop of Vienna, during the earliest period of his stay in Vienna. Werner allegedly described the atmosphere of the meeting as open and friendly.

Increasing missionary activities amongst Christian churches led to heightened awareness amongst involved Church individuals by late 1966 and related information exchange about the activities of the group, mostly in the form of warning notices. As a consequence, a first (anonymous) theological dossier entitled ‘Information Material on the Sect “Society for the Unification of World-Christianity”’ (*Informationsmaterial über die Sekte ‘Gesellschaft zur Vereinigung des Weltchristentums’*) was produced in early 1967. It contains detailed personal information on members in Austria, especially the Werner family, and an assessment of the group’s ‘promotion methods’ (*Werbemethoden*). Furthermore, doctrinal inconsistencies are indicated en passant. The tone of the document is generally negative, com-

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63 For example, they travelled to Austria to attend major religious events such as ‘God’s Day’ on January 1, 1969 (FN1 1969: 19-20).

64 Visitors to Switzerland were Paul Werner and Edeltraud Stimpfl in December 1968 (FN3 1968: 15) and Peter Koch in August 1969 (FN9 1969: 19). Christel Werner maintained in a personal interview (June 14, 2012) that she and her husband Paul were ‘blacklisted’ as ‘anti-communists’ and that this was the reason why it was impossible for them to visit Steberl in Czechoslovakia. However, Werner and Edeltraud Stimpfl met with Steberl at the border in November 1968 (Missionary Diary Ölzeltgasse 3: 13).

65 Maierhofer’s last report is dated to May 1969 (FN5 1969: 15-17) and Steberl’s is dated to April 1969 (FN4 1969: 16-17). There were occasional exceptions, like the news of a member joining in Czechoslovakia (FN6 1969: 17), but no letters reported in detail on the status of the mission.
prising various allegations of ‘false’ claims supposedly made by UM members during public or private discussions. The surprising detail and accuracy of the personal information contained in this file indicates that the author was in direct contact with members of the Austrian UM.

In September 1968, a private individual filed a charge at the court of Vienna against the Gesellschaft zur Vereinigung des Weltchristentums (Society for the Unification of World-Christianity), referring to the Austrian law for the protection of the youth. The main points brought against the group were the conducting of ‘spiritistic séances’ under the influence of drugs and the spreading of a ‘sexual myth’ which would endanger the youth. It remains unclear whether there was ever an investigation into the association based on this complaint. Up until the UM started to hold lectures at universities in Vienna, the public echo had been negligible.\textsuperscript{66} Reportedly, the various talks members gave stirred the attention of students of Catholic theology, who challenged attending UM members in discussions after their lectures (FN3 1969: 5-6). According to one of the UM members, the Catholic Student Union posted a warning report, highlighting the differences between the Unificationist and the Catholic creed under the heading ‘Danger – Cult!’ (\textit{Danger – Sekte!}; FN3 1969: 5). The first scholarly reference to the UM in Austria was made in a popular German language handbook on ‘sects and religious special communities’ (\textit{Sekten und religiöse Sondergemeinschaften}), authored in 1968 by the Protestant theologian Kurt Hutten (1901–1979), the first head of the formerly Stuttgart- and since 1995 Berlin-based Protestant Central Office for Questions about World Views (\textit{Evangelische Zentralstelle für Weltanschauungsfragen}) (Hutten 1968: 762-771). In a brief chapter, he renders a largely sober account of the general history of the UM and the basic principles of Unification thought.\textsuperscript{67} He also provides a terse description of the Austrian and German situation with an emphasis on the former, implying a more sizeable impact of the Werner-led mission.\textsuperscript{68} He mentions in passing Werner’s background and conversion in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{66} ‘Up to this point the Catholic Church has been behaving rather indifferently with respect to our Principle work’ (‘Bisher hat sich die katholische Kirche in bezug \textit{[sic]} auf die Prinzipienerarbeit ziemlich indifferent verhalten’, FN3 1969: 5).
\item \textsuperscript{67} Hutten draws on a series of articles he previously published in the \textit{Materialdienst} (Hutten 1966a-d), which represent the first substantial scholarly treatment of Unification thought in German.
\item \textsuperscript{68} In a personal letter to Alfons Carda, Kurt Hutten mentions that over 90\% of all requests concerning the UM come from Austria and that the group is scarcely known in Germany. Moreover, he considers it ‘curious’ that the UM was apparently mostly active—and successful—in Austria. As can be concluded from the content and tone of Hutten’s reply, Carda had not disclosed his member status (‘Merkwürdig, die “Gesellschaft zur Vereinigung des Weltchristentums” scheint vor allem in Österreich zu wirken
\end{itemize}
‘1961’ (in fact, the Werners joined in August 1963), the founding of the association in 1966, the centres in Vienna and Graz, and the visit of Mun in the summer of 1965, whose departure, he indicates, is said to have caused the flood disaster in Carinthia (which occurred in September that year) (Hutten 1968: 762-763).69 The earliest newspaper article pertaining to the UM in Austria was published on June 14, 1970 in the Vienna Church Magazine (Wiener Kirchenzeitung) (see Appendix, Figure 5).70 Entitled ‘Beware of a New Cult’ (Warnung vor neuer Sekte), it features direct quotations (see, for example, Kim 1965, VIII) from the Koch-Schuhmann translation of the Principle and criticises the teachings of the UM as ‘sexual myth, numbers games, a fantastical interpretation of history and a reinterpretation of Christian terminology’.71 The article rejects the claim that the UM pursues ecumenical goals, and instead asserts that the group would ‘lead away from Christianity’.72 Moreover, it criticises the missionary activity carried out in front of churches and on the streets and tries to expound the problems of the UM’s success amongst young people. Whilst the public echo was largely indifferent in the first years of the UM’s Austrian mission in the 1960s, the general perception around the beginning of the 1970s became fiercer and more critical. There have been recurring points in polemics against the Austrian UM, namely the ‘endangerment of the youth’, the ‘abuse of drugs’, ‘the use of psychological tricks in converting people’ and ‘deception’. The largely Catholic environment in which these allegations


70 The ‘Vienna Church Magazine’ was a weekly newspaper edited by the Catholic Archdiocese of Vienna. In 2004, it was renamed The Sunday (Der Sonntag). Six days after the publication, the ‘Catholic News Agency Austria’ (Katholische Presseagentur Österreich) released an article entirely based on the article of the Wiener Kirchenzeitung, entitled ‘What is the “Society for the Unification of World-Christianity”? Teachings and Methods of a New Sect’ (Was ist die “Gesellschaft zur Vereinigung des Weltchristentums? Lehren und Methoden einer neuen Sekte, Kathpress 1970).


were publicised has, to some degree, induced and acted as a catalyst to the generally reviling tenor of the media.

4.3. Economic Situation

Consistent with other major national missions around the globe, the revenue of the Austrian group from the 1970s onwards was fed by three main areas of income: donations, fundraising and—partially connected to the latter—a variety of economic undertakings. The years between 1966 and 1969 witnessed a similar approach to generating earnings to secure the movement’s operability and growth, with one exception concerning fundraising activities, which were never executed during this brief period under Paul Werner. From the very beginning, and explicitly after incorporating the association in May 1966, donations by members have been embraced as crucial for the mission. Apart from Werner, who was engaged as a full-time missionary, all members held regular jobs, unless they had been enrolled at the university. Members were commonly asked to donate whatever they could and virtually all the members living in the centres handed over their entire salary. The money so collected made up the majority of the UM’s budget, which was, in the case of the Vienna group, basically controlled by Werner, who only later received knowledgeable assistance in accounting matters from another member, whilst the communes in Linz and Graz, as well as Bernhard Maierhofer’s mission in Zurich, were completely self-sufficient. In contrast, Emilie Steberl’s mission to Czechoslovakia was entirely dependent on the financial aid provided by Werner, who was devoted to continuing his support when he became national leader of the German UM in May 1969. Members were permitted under certain conditions to withdraw money from the collective pot if needed, for example, as pocket money, to pay a bill, to do the grocery shopping or to buy clothes. The group’s budget

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73 The association statutes of April 1966 indicate the pecuniary means to achieve the UM’s millenarian goal 1) ‘by registration fees’, 2) ‘by voluntary donations’, and 3) ‘by the net yield of any festivals hosted by the association that have been approved by the authorities’ (see Pokorny and Steinbeiss 2012: 181 and 185).
74 Werner was forced to take up employment only temporarily in late 1965, being a clerk in a bookstore, where he soon converted one of his co-workers, Marianne Kolup.
75 Donations from the centres in Graz and Linz were also mainly directed to the Vienna headquarters.
76 On her frequent visits to Austria and later Germany, Steberl received money in cash to assure a livelihood in Bratislava (Personal Interview with Christel Werner on July 4, 2012).
was also allocated to fund group activities such as recreational day trips, and Werner’s official journeys, domestically and to Switzerland, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. In early 1968, Werner launched the Austrian UM’s first business venture, a nursery in Vienna, Döbling, staffed and operated by trained members of the group. According to Christel Werner (Personal Interview on July 4, 2012), Kim Yŏng-un’s visit of October 1967 finally reinforced Werner’s decision taken sometime previously to realise this project. The nursery ‘Ingeborg’ turned a profit, making an appreciable contribution to the group’s assets. Until his death, Werner was allegedly praised amongst the movement’s elders (including Mun) for having a money-making talent in business affairs.77

4.4. Mission to Switzerland

Bernhard Maierhofer,78 who went to Zurich (Augustinergasse 4) in March 1968 (Werner 1985: 75), was eagerly expecting yet unable to convert anyone during the first few months (FN1 1968: 5). There were several contacts he characterised as promising, but the progress was slow and laborious. His strategy was comparable to pioneering missionary efforts in other countries: Maierhofer tried to ‘lay a condition’ (FN1 1969: 5) for Switzerland by hiking over the Saint-Gotthard Massif towards the end of October 1968,79 he distributed written material and he shifted from proselytising at Christian churches to contacting students and people in public places (FN4 1969: 16). Despite having had good prospects with some of the students, none of them converted. When Mun and his company visited Switzerland in May 1969, Maierhofer was still alone when he collected the group from Geneva airport (FN5 1969: 16). The sojourn mainly comprised visiting the Holy Ground Mun had blessed in August 1965. Maierhofer then accompanied the group on their way to Vienna. Mayer, in his brief account of the early Swiss mission, mentions that in fact the first local member only joined in April 1973

77 This was held by a number of UM members in personal conversations.
78 Sometimes he is referred to as ‘Mayerhofer’. See, for example, FN4 1969: 16 and FN5 1969: 15.
79 Maierhofer refers to the notion of t’anggam pokkwi (restoration through indemnity). According to Unification soteriology, humans must strive to make a ‘condition of indemnity’ (t’anggam chogŏn) through benevolent and pious efforts in order to work towards the restoration of humankind’s ‘original state and position [at the time of] creation’. See WK II.0.1.1, 242-247, especially 244. The strenuous marathon walk was deemed a personal sacrifice for the sake of the Swiss mission.
under Maierhofer’s successor Walter Leitner, who resumed the former’s unsuccessful mission to Switzerland in Geneva in 1972 (Mayer 1984: 40).

4.5. Mission to Czechoslovakia

In October 1968, Emilie Steberl80 was charged by Paul Werner to launch the Unificationist mission in Czechoslovakia. Being the only member from what is today Slovakia,81 she seemed to be the natural choice for this task. Having been escorted to the border by Werner, Edeltraud Stimpfl, and Christine Schönenberger, Steberl continued by taxi to near-by Bratislava. When the Czechoslovakian border police discovered the pertinent literature in her luggage, they merely instructed her not to leave the country without it (Missionary Diary Ölzeltgasse 3: 2-3). Furthermore, it was determined that her visa was only valid for 14 days instead of three months, which forced Steberl to take a short trip to Prague.82 After having settled her visa situation, Steberl returned to Bratislava by mid-November 1968 (FN3 1968: 9) and started studying the Slovak language at Comenius University (FN2 1969: 11; MB 25).83 Steberl’s official status in Czechoslovakia was that of a student and she received financial support from the Werners; at first from Austria and then, after April 1969, from Germany (Personal interview with Christel Werner on June 14, 2012). In January 1969, she met Alžbeta Danišková (b. 1949) at the Blumentál church in downtown Bratislava (Danišková 2012), who was to become the first local member in Czechoslovakia. Towards the end of January, Steberl met Dorota Šebestová (later

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80 In Czechoslovakia, she was commonly referred to by the more Slavic-sounding ‘Emilia’, abbreviated to ‘Emi’.

81 According to her testimony she came to Austria with her parents after the end of World War II, being around 13 years of age at the time (NAF6 1967: 15). Generally, it must be noted that the early testimonies have to be taken with some caution, given that they were translated (and presumably edited) by Werner and, perhaps, also the NAF editors prior to publication. This might not concern too much the (conversion) dates included.

82 ‘That time, Ema might have come from Prague to Bratislava; it was that November and the people somehow did not react there… Later, a Slávka, I do not remember her name […] was the only person who reacted, and then she came here.’ (‘Ema možno z Prahy prišla vtedy do Bratislavy akurát v tom novembri, nejako nereagovali řidia tam… Tak potom, nejaká Slávka tam, si nepamatám to meno, tam z tých osob, ona neják jediná taká osoba, ktorá tak zareagovala, a ona potom odišla sem.’, Personal interview with Dorota Šimeková on February 8, 2012).

83 Reportedly, her level of Slovak was rather poor when she arrived in Czechoslovakia (Danišková 2012).
Šimeková, b. 1948)—a student of Arabic and English—at the protests for Jan Palach (1948–1969). At first, the two kept in touch for a while.

From late June to late August 1969, Danišková joined Steberl, whom she described as “the only person she met with a solution in a desperate time”\(^84\), on a trip to Austria where the two stayed with the Vienna group (FN7 1969: 21). They translated parts of the Principle translation by Koch and Schuhmann during their sojourn (Personal Interview with Šimeková on February 8, 2012). Upon their return to Bratislava in September, Steberl and Danišková moved into a flat together in Dobšinského ulica. They invited Šebestová to their new lodging, who joined the emerging local group shortly thereafter, assisting with the translation work. According to Steberl’s reports to Austria between December 1968 and May 1969,\(^85\) the locals found it difficult to grasp why someone from ‘the West’ would move to a country of the former Soviet Bloc. Yet, surprisingly, being an alien was also an advantage for Steberl’s mission,\(^86\) because many of the students she encountered on campus were studying foreign languages and were keen to practise their skills. At the same time, they were curious to talk to someone from outside the former Soviet Bloc, so it was easy for her to approach people in this context (FN4 1969: 13). On the other hand, it was rather challenging to approach people on the streets, as one of the early missionaries relates (Personal interview with Šimeková on February 8, 2012). Steberl’s reports to the Austrian Family were in parts very enthusiastic,\(^87\) which may seem surprising taking into account the historical circumstances surrounding the Prague Spring.\(^88\)

Forced to leave Czechoslovakia in August 1970, Steberl was succeeded by her first ‘spiritual child’, Alžbeta Danišková.

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\(^{84}\) ‘In times of the normalisation, when I graduated in 1968 and studied for my first year at the university, the everyday atmosphere was very hopeless. Emi seemed like a person who had found solutions and aimed and knew how to give those to others’ (‘V dobe normalizácie, kedy som v r. 1968 zmaturovala a chodila som do I. ročníka VŠ, bola všeobecná atmosféra veľmi beznádejná. Emi pôsobila ako človek, čo našiel riešenie a cieť a vie to dávať ostatným’, Danišková 2012).

\(^{85}\) See relevant FN.

\(^{86}\) Danišková describes Steberl’s ‘appearance and language’ as ‘strange, acted as if from another world’ (‘Jej výzor a jazyk bol zvláštny, pôsobila ako z iného sveta’, Danišková 2012).

\(^{87}\) ‘If you all only knew what it means to have the benefit of being here, right here, you would envy me’ (‘Wenn Ihr alle wüßtet, würdet Ihr mich beneiden, daß gerade ich diesen Vorzug habe, hier sein zu dürfen, gerade hier’, FN3 1969: 10).

\(^{88}\) Steberl arrived in Czechoslovakia only months after the occupation through troops of the ‘Warsaw Treaty Organisation of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance’ (Warsaw Pact) had ended the Prague Spring.
5. Concluding Remarks

The foundation years of the UM in Austria are tightly connected to the missionary zeal of Paul Werner, whose unconditional leadership paved the way for the relatively thriving development of the group. Arriving in Vienna in May 1965, within one year he was to gather a number of committed followers, enabling him to make the required steps for the group to become a corporate body under the Austrian act on associations (Vereinsgesetz). A full-time missionary and, reportedly, charismatic sermoniser with business acumen, Werner dedicated himself to the millenarian cause of Unification thought, skilfully orchestrating the day-to-day operations of the Austrian branch from its inception until May 1969. Our interviewees, as well as contemporary accounts, put particular stress on Werner’s religious verve, personal integrity but also his intransigent observance of the missionary agenda, which indubitably gave momentum to the movement’s sustainable flourishing. Werner combined the role of local religious authority—for he was not only personally acquainted with the ‘Master’ (Meister), that is, Mun Sŏn-myŏng, but it was he, a comparatively urbane and well-versed preacher, ten to twenty years senior to most of his followers, who introduced Unificationism to Austria—and organisational strategist, who contrived and administrated the group’s economic operability, the initial internal (Vienna→Graz→Linz) and external expansion (Switzerland→Czechoslovakia), domestic missionary tactics, and communal life in the Vienna headquarters. The Austrian UM, small in number in the 1960s, attracted only muted attention from the Catholic Church, scholars and the authorities, and none from the media. Hence, the Unificationist mission was, for the most part, unimpeded during the time in question since harsh public criticism, fuelled by the Church and private individuals, did not take root before the early 1970s. For these reasons, the Austrian UM, with Paul Werner in the vanguard, evolved into the leading national group in Europe, a fact not unnoticed by Mun, who had Werner take over the German mission in May 1969, propelling the group’s expansion.
Appendix

Figure 1: Paul Werner speaking at the Porhrhaus, 1967

Figure 2: Paul Werner and Emilie Steberl at the Austrian-Czechoslovakian border, October 1968
Figure 3: Group picture of Austrian members and guests in Schlüsselgasse, January 1969
From left to right, front row: Ingeborg Eisner, Christel Werner, Paul Werner, Hilde-gard Maierhofer, Bernhard Maierhofer
Third row: Ingeborg Meyer, Christa Olbrich (b. 1939), Beate Paul, N.N., Edeltraud Stimpfl, Herta Goldfuß (later Benfold), Christine Schönenberger
Fourth row: N.N., Rosa Zenz (later Boland, b. 1948), Hildegard Pirkfellner
Fifth row: Winfried Schwarzl, Hans Fuetsch, Dietrich Seidel, Franz Wasenegger, Alfons Carda, Harald Unger
Sind Sie

glücklich? Können Sie ehrlich sagen, daß Ihr Leben erfüllt ist? Oder sehnen Sie sich nach mehr?

Was kann
den Menschen überhaupt erfüllen? Was kann ihn glücklich machen? Sex ist nicht die Antwort. Auch nicht Geld, Politik oder Philosophie. Oder theoretisches Christentum. Was dann?

Gibt es überhaupt

eine Antwort? Eine Antwort, die Ihnen im täglichen Leben zu einer großen Wirklichkeit wird?
Oder gibt es nur etwas, was man „glauben muß“?

Wir sind

ein Kreis junger Menschen, die nicht zufrieden waren mit alten Berichten, sondern sich fragten: „Wenn Gott wirklich existiert, wie und wo wirkt er dann HEUTE?“
Dabei sind wir auf etwas ganz Gewaltiges gestoßen. Auf etwas, wonach die Welt - wonach jeder Einzelne sich heute verzweifelt sehnt. Bewußt oder unbewußt.

Wir laden Sie ein


Figure 4: Pamphlet distributed by UM members on the streets of Vienna, April 1967
Figure 5: Article on the UM in the Wiener Kirchenzeitung on June 14, 1970
### List of Abbreviations

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FFWPU</td>
<td>Family Federation for World Peace and Unification</td>
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<td>FN</td>
<td><em>Familien Nachrichten der Vereinigten Familie GVW</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>HSAUWC</td>
<td>Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td><em>Mission Butterfly: Pioneers Behind the Iron Curtain</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAF</td>
<td><em>New Age Frontiers and The New Age Frontiers</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>UM</td>
<td>Unification Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WK</td>
<td><em>Wŏlli kangnon 원리강론</em></td>
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## Glossary

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<td>Ch’oe Pong-ch’un</td>
<td>최봉춘 (崔奉春)</td>
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<td>Ch’oe Sang-ik (Sang Ik Choi)</td>
<td>최상익 (崔翔翼)</td>
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<td>Ch’oe Wŏn-bok (Won Bok Choi)</td>
<td>최원복 (崔元福)</td>
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<td>Han Hak-cha (Hak Ja Han)</td>
<td>한학자 (韓鶴子)</td>
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<td>Kim Kae-hwan</td>
<td>김계환</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kim Sang-ch’ŏl (David Sang Chul Kim)</td>
<td>김상철 (金相哲)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kim Yŏng-un (Young Oon Kim)</td>
<td>김영운 (金永雲)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mun Sŏn-myŏng (Sun Myung Moon)</td>
<td>문선명 (文鮮明)</td>
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<td>Nishikawa Masaru</td>
<td>西川勝</td>
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<td>Chaerimju</td>
<td>재림주 (再臨主)</td>
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<td>Chisang chiok</td>
<td>지상지옥 (地上地獄)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chisang ch’ŏnguk</td>
<td>지상천국 (地上天國)</td>
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<td>접 붙 임</td>
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<td>참가정 (家庭)</td>
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<td>Ch’ŏnilguk</td>
<td>천일국 (天一國)</td>
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<td>Ch’ŏnmyŏng</td>
<td>천명 (天命)</td>
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<td>하나님</td>
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<td>Ihwa yŏja taehakkyo</td>
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<td>Illyu’ŭi ch’am pumo</td>
<td>인류 (人類)의 참부모 (父母)</td>
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<td>메시아</td>
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<td>Pusan</td>
<td>부산 (釜山)</td>
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<td>사위기대 (四位基臺)</td>
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<td>세계기독교통일신령협회 (世界基督教統一神靈協會)</td>
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<td>Susu chagyong</td>
<td>수수작용 (授受作用)</td>
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<td>東京</td>
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<td>통일교회 (統一教会)</td>
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<td>T’ongil sasang</td>
<td>통일사상 (統一思想)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Korean Interpretation</td>
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<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uju’ūi pimil</td>
<td>우주(宇宙)의 비밀(秘密)</td>
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<td>Wansŏnghan adam</td>
<td>완성(完成)한 아담</td>
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<td>Wŏlli</td>
<td>원리(原理)</td>
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<td>Wŏlli haesŏl</td>
<td>원리해설(原理解說)</td>
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<td>원리강론(原理講論)</td>
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<td>원리원본(原理原本)</td>
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<td>Wŏnjoe</td>
<td>원죄(原罪)</td>
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<td>Yŏngjŏk t’arak</td>
<td>영적타락(靈的墮落)</td>
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<td>Yukchŏk t’arak</td>
<td>육적타락(肉的墮落)</td>
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