FFWPU Europe and Middle East: Massimo Introvigne on Unlikely Alliance Against Religious Minorities

Knut Holdhus
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Dr. Massimo Introvigne speaking at the CESNUR 2026 conference on October 12, 2026 in Taiwan

Bitter Winter, the world's leading online magazine on religious liberty and human rights

How Chinese organizations, leftwing political groups, and anti-cult activists found common ground in alliance spanning China, South Korea, and Japan

Renowned Italian scholar Massimo Introvigne argues that Korean anti-cult activists, Japanese left-wing lawyers, and Chinese Communist Party-linked organizations have found common ground in campaigns against religious movements.

An unusual convergence of political and religious interests may be reshaping the treatment of minority religions in East Asia. According to Dr. Introvigne, a leading sociologist of religion, Christian anti-heresy activists in South Korea, left-wing lawyers in Japan, and organizations linked to China's Communist Party have developed relationships that transcend their profound ideological differences.



Alliance spanning three countries: China, Japan, and South Korea. Here with North Korea

In an article published by Bitter Winter on 27th October, Introvigne examines what he describes as a pragmatic alliance directed against religious movements that its participants regard as dangerous or illegitimate. He argues that this cooperation deserves greater international attention because of its possible implications for freedom of religion or belief.

The issue has become particularly significant following two major developments: Japan's dissolution of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, formerly known as the Unification Church, and the prosecution of religious leaders in South Korea.

Three countries, one common adversary

Japan's campaign against the Family Federation accelerated after former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe (安倍晋三) was assassinated on 8th July 2022. The perpetrator, Tetsuya Yamagami (山上徹也), said that he had targeted Abe because of his association with the religious movement, to which Yamagami's mother

belonged.

The incident triggered an intense public controversy over the Family Federation's activities and political connections. In March 2025, the Tokyo District Court ordered the organization's dissolution. The decision was upheld by the Tokyo High Court in March 2026, and the dissolution subsequently became final, according to Introvigne's account.



Detained and prosecuted: Hak Ja Han, aka. Mother Han in 2023

South Korea experienced a different but related series of developments. The Family Federation's leader, Dr. Hak Ja Han (한학자), was detained and prosecuted, while Lee Man-hee (이만희), chairman of Shincheonji Church [See editor's note below], also faced prosecution. Introvigne views these cases as part of a broader regional climate in which authorities and anti-cult campaigners have increasingly targeted religious movements they consider problematic.

His argument goes beyond the existence of separate national campaigns. He suggests that networks of activists, lawyers, pastors, and organizations have helped connect these developments across borders.

The apparent contradiction is striking. South Korean anti-cult campaigners often come from conservative evangelical backgrounds and are strongly opposed to communism. Japanese lawyers involved in the campaign against the Family Federation, by contrast, include figures associated with the political left. China's Communist Party operates within an officially atheist political system that restricts religious activity.

Why would these groups cooperate?

Introvigne argues that a common adversary can provide sufficient motivation to overcome ideological disagreements. In this case, their shared opposition to so-called cults and heretical movements may have created opportunities for cooperation that would otherwise have seemed unlikely.

China's role in the picture



A Chinese policewoman indoctrinating children about the "evil of cults". These activities are usually carried out with the China Anti-Xie Jiao (anti-cult) Association. According to Bitter Winter, the China Anti-Xie Jiao Association legitimately claims to be the largest anti-cult association in the world. It has branches in all large cities and most small towns and villages. The large Association is controlled by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) through the United Front Central Work Department

A central element of Introvigne's thesis is the China Anti-Xie-Jiao Association (中国反邪教协会), established in 2000. The Chinese term xie jiao (邪教) is commonly translated as "heterodox teachings" or "evil cults" and is used by Chinese authorities in their classification of certain religious groups.

Introvigne describes the association not as an independent civil society organization but as an organization operating within the Chinese Communist Party's United Front (统一战线 - often abbreviated as 统战 - Tǒngzhàn) system. He argues that its extensive organizational network gives it a reach that Western anti-cult organizations cannot match.

According to the article, contacts between Chinese and South Korean anti-cult activists date back at least to 2007, when a Korean delegation attended an anti-cult symposium in the large Chinese city of Shenzhen, near Hong Kong. Subsequent exchanges included participation in one another's meetings and the promotion of events through Chinese media.

For Introvigne, these contacts are significant because they bring together groups with fundamentally different political objectives. He contends that China has its own reasons for opposing certain religious movements, while South Korean evangelical activists are primarily concerned with what they regard as doctrinal threats and competition for church members.

The result, in his interpretation, is a relationship based less on shared beliefs than on overlapping interests.

Why religious freedom is at stake

The central concern raised by Introvigne is that campaigns against minority religions may acquire influence through cooperation between actors who possess different forms of power: religious networks, legal expertise, political connections, and state resources.



Falun Gong protesters about to be arrested in Tiananmen Square in Beijing in the early phase of the persecution

This does not mean that every criticism of a religious organization is illegitimate, or that concerns about misconduct should be dismissed. The question is whether opposition to a religious movement can lead to disproportionate restrictions on its members' rights, particularly when allegations become the basis for extensive legal or administrative action.

The Japanese dissolution case and the South Korean prosecutions have unfolded under different legal systems and circumstances. Their similarities should therefore be examined rather than simply assumed. Nevertheless, Introvigne believes that the relationships he identifies offer a reason to investigate how anti-cult ideas circulate internationally and influence public policy.

His thesis is deliberately provocative: groups that disagree about religion, politics, and ideology can still cooperate when they share an adversary.

For defenders of religious liberty, the challenge is to ensure that legitimate investigations into wrongdoing remain distinct from efforts to marginalize religious communities because of their beliefs. In Introvigne's analysis, the emerging East Asian network illustrates why that distinction deserves closer scrutiny.

Source: Massimo Introvigne, "The Triple Alliance: The Chinese Communist Party, Japanese Anti-Cult

Lawyers, and Korean Heresy Hunters", Bitter Winter, 27th October 2026.

Text: Knut Holdhus, editor

[Editor's note 1: Shincheonji, officially known as Shincheonji Church of Jesus, the Temple of the Tabernacle of the Testimony, is a new religious movement founded in South Korea in 1984 by Lee Man-hee, who claims to be the promised pastor mentioned in the Bible's Book of Revelation.

Shincheonji teaches that the Book of Revelation is being fulfilled through its church and that Lee Man-hee has received divine revelation to interpret it. He teaches that South Korea is the location where the prophecies of the Book of Revelation are actively playing out in real-time, making it the epicenter of the final harvest. Shincheonji focuses on filling the literal 144,000 slots of the 12 Tribes mentioned in Revelation. Once this number of truly sealed, flawless believers is completed, they believe they will rule as kings and priests over the rest of humanity.]

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Peace Prize Medals Become Political Flashpoint

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Medals spark fresh debate over political pressure on religious minority

A report by domestic media outlet News1 on 27th October, highlights a new front in the ongoing political pressure against the *Family Federation for World Peace and Unification* in South Korea.

During a parliamentary audit, *Democratic Party* lawmaker Kim Young-hwan (김영환)

Logo of News1 (뉴스1), South Korea's largest private news agency and wire service.



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The main entrance of the Korea Minting and Security Printing Corporation (KOMSCO). Photo (2019): Trainholic / Wikimedia Commons. License: CC ASA 4.0 Int

directed sharp criticism at the *Korea Minting and Security Printing Corporation* (KOMSCO). His grievance? The public institution had successfully fulfilled business-to-business (B2B) contracts to manufacture award medals for the *Sunhak Peace Prize* – an international award established at the initiative of Family Federation leader Hak Ja Han (한학자).

See also Mother Han: A Cycle of Prosecution Without End

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Lawmaker Kim argued that the Korea Mint neglected its public responsibility by failing to vet the "public interest implications" or potential "social controversy" surrounding the purchasing organization. According to documents released by his office, the corporation produced 24 medals across four separate contracts between 2020 and 2025, netting approximately 207.3 million won (US$145,000) in standard business revenue.

Kim insisted that even profit-making arms of public entities must guard their reputation against alignment with controversial groups. However, a closer look at the political landscape reveals a profound irony: the very "social controversy" cited by Lawmaker Kim is a crisis meticulously manufactured and sustained by his own political party through an escalating judicial campaign.

The Anatomy of a Manufactured Scandal

The critique leveled against the Korea Mint relies heavily on circular logic. Lawmakers use state resources to generate negative publicity around a minority religious group, and then point to that exact negative publicity as a reason why state-linked entities should socially exclude them. The Korea Mint correctly noted in its defense that these medals were standard commercial orders produced under strict corporate guidelines. Yet, in the theater of parliamentary audits, standard business practices are easily reframed as institutional failure when a politically targeted group is involved.

This dynamic becomes clear when evaluated alongside the broader legal strategy deployed against Hak Ja Han (한학자) – also called Mother Han. National media outlets have raised the alarm over this judicial overreach; notably, a 24th August editorial by *Segye Ilbo* explicitly cautioned that South Korea has entered an



Mother Han at the Sunhak Peace Prize award ceremony in Seoul 7th February 2017 with prize winner Sakena Yacoobi, an

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Seoul 3rd February 2017 with prize winner Sakena Yacoobi, an Afghan professor famous for education of women. The image behind them resembles the medals mentioned by News1. Screenshot from live transmission by PeaceLink TV.

unprecedented era where state prosecutors function as permanent instruments of political attrition.

In this light, the negative public sentiment surrounding the movement is not a spontaneous grassroots reaction, but the direct result of coordinated lawfare. A striking example occurred on 28th August, when domestic outlets reported a new indictment accusing Mother Han and senior officials of embezzling 10.5 billion won (approximately US$7.5 million) over an eight-year period.

Tactical Timing and Overlapping Indictments



Min Joong-gi (민중기), the head of an army of special prosecutors with extensive investigative powers. Image: Grok xAI, Jan. 2026.

The timing of these legal maneuvers betrays a clear political motive. This fresh embezzlement indictment was unsealed just three days before an earlier, entirely separate trial involving political-funding allegations was scheduled to reach its verdict on 31st August. In that initial case, the Min Joong-gi (민중기) Special Prosecutor's team had demanded an extraordinary 13-year prison sentence.

The tactical implementation of these rolling, overlapping indictments strongly indicates an institutional determination to sustain an unending cycle of prosecution against the religious minority. By layering new accusations immediately before older ones reach a resolution, prosecutors ensure that even if one legal theory collapses under scrutiny, another is instantly ready to take its place. This strategy guarantees that the Family Federation remains perpetually under a cloud of suspicion.

Conclusion

When Lawmaker Kim Young-hwan (김영환) chastises the Korea Mint for producing medals for an organization in spite of its "social controversy", he is weaponizing a stigma that his own political faction has worked tirelessly to produce. The attack on the Sunhak Peace Prize medals is not an isolated oversight issue; it may well be a calculated public relations maneuver designed to enforce the social and economic isolation of a religious minority. By recognizing these overlapping legal indictments and parliamentary criticisms as part of a singular, sustained campaign, observers can see past the political theater and recognize the profound threat this lawfare poses to institutional neutrality and religious freedom in South Korea.

See also Mother Han: A Cycle of Prosecution Without End

See also Climate of Suspicion: Peace Reframed as Politics

***Text**: Knut Holdhus, editor*

***Featured image** above: Mother Han at the Sunhak Peace Prize award ceremony 11th April 2025 in Seoul. The Sunhak Peace Prize is one of numerois peace projects she and her late husband Sun Myung Moon founded. Screenshot from PeaceLink TV.*

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The Triple Alliance: The Chinese Communist Party, Japanese Anti-cult Lawyers, and Korean Heresy Hunters

by Massimo Introvigne | Oct 27, 2026 | Op-eds Global

Korean pastors, Japanese leftist attorneys, and Beijing's Communist bureaucrats have formed a united front against conservative religion; so far, it has been effective.

*by Massimo Introvigne**

*A paper presented at the CESNUR 2026 international conference, Taichung, Taiwan, October 11, 2026.



Massimo Introvigne presents his paper.

Politics, it is said, makes strange bedfellows, and anti-cultism makes even stranger ones. In 2025 and 2026, East Asia went through a religious liberty crisis that received less international attention than it deserved. Japan saw the dissolution of the Unification Church, now called the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification. The Tokyo District Court ordered it in March 2025, and the decision became final in 2026. South Korea witnessed the arrest and prosecution of the Family Federation's leader, Dr. Hak Ja Han Moon, and of Chairman Lee Man-hee of Shincheonji.

These events are well known. Less known is the role China played in them, particularly through the China Anti-Xie-Jiao Association, established in 2000, which claims to be the largest anti-cult organization in the world. The claim is true, although the association is hardly a civil society organization. It is a branch of the Chinese Communist Party operating through the United Front, with representatives in small villages and, in the larger cities, in every few blocks of apartments. No Western anti-cult group, however enthusiastic, can boast a similar network of volunteers, though "volunteers" may not be the right word.

Korea's anti-cult movement is the most aggressive in East Asia, and it has evangelical origins. In 1998, Protestant pastors, mostly Presbyterian, founded the Christian Heresy Research Council. They were worried about what they called "sheep stealing," the migration of members of their congregations to the Unification Church and Shincheonji, a complaint as old as religious competition itself. The council later became the Christian Heresy Countermeasures Association, and the new name announced a more active approach, including deprogramming. During the 2000s, it started inviting pastors from abroad, and in 2012 it went global as the

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World Association Against Heresy, which incorporated a branch in Australia in 2015.

Deprogramming means kidnapping adult members of disfavored religious groups and confining them until they renounce their faith. Born in the United States, it later flourished in Japan. American and European courts ended it decades ago. In Japan, it mostly stopped after the case of Toru Goto, a Unification Church member confined for more than twelve years, whose captors were held liable by the Tokyo High Court in 2014 in a decision the Supreme Court confirmed in 2015. South Korea is the only democratic country where deprogramming has continued into the 2020s. Its case law is inconsistent. Deprogrammers who use open physical violence are sentenced, while parents who simply lock up an adult son or daughter are normally left alone, and law enforcement is often tolerant.

As in Japan, and unlike in the United States, Korean deprogrammers are pastors, often supported by mainline churches. However, there is a difference from Japan. In Japan, the Unification Church was the main victim of deprogramming, while in Korea no case involving the Unification Church has been reported. The explanation is demographic. Young Korean members of the Family Federation are overwhelmingly second generation, born to parents who are themselves members, and these parents have no intention of hiring a deprogrammer. Shincheonji is a different story, since many of its young members have evangelical parents, and thousands of its devotees have been deprogrammed. Other targets have included the World Mission Society Church of God, the Christian Gospel Mission, also known as Providence, and even the Jehovah's Witnesses.



Korea's anti-cult pastors complain about "sheep stealing." From the presentation.

China entered the picture in 2007, when a Korean delegation attended an anti-cult symposium in Shenzhen, and perhaps even earlier. Since then, Chinese representatives have attended Korean anti-cult gatherings, Koreans have been welcomed at Chinese ones, and the China Anti-Xie-Jiao Association has publicized the Korean events. This is anything but normal. Korean evangelical anti-cultists are staunch anti-communists, and in theory they should regard as an enemy the atheist regime that persecutes Christians in China. In practice, both sides follow the old principle that the enemy of my enemy is my friend.

Why does the Chinese Communist Party support Korean anti-cultists? I see four main reasons. The first is that Korean churches and new religious movements, including Shincheonji, have been active as missionaries in China, where they are illegal, and Beijing likes to deal with problems at their roots. The second is ideological, and concerns above all the Unification Church, whose anti-communist activities have made it an enemy in the eyes of the CCP.

The third reason involves refugees. Chinese citizens can enter Jeju Island without a visa, and many members of religious groups persecuted in China used this door to escape and seek asylum in South Korea. There, they told everybody willing to listen that they had been arrested and tortured at home. Beijing did not appreciate the publicity, and Korean

tortured at home. Beijing did not appreciate the publicity, and Korean anti-cultists were mobilized for street demonstrations against the refugees. With some help from right-wing anti-Muslim activists, the agitation succeeded. Korea adopted a stricter asylum policy and started sending refugees back to China. The Church of Almighty God (CAG), which once counted hundreds of Chinese members in Korea, now has only a handful there, while the others are scattered around the world, many of them in Italy, where very few have been deported.

The fourth reason is intelligence gathering, since court decisions have established that some anti-cultists act as agents of Chinese intelligence services. This brings us to the protagonists. On the Chinese side, those interacting with the Koreans include Xu Tao of the Hubei Anti-Xie-Jiao Association, Professor Chen Dequan of Northeastern University, and Zhang Chunli of the Chinese People's Public Security University, who teaches police "cult" prevention. Zhang once had long dialogues with British sociologist Eileen Barker, although I am not sure how much she learned from it.

The Korean side has two main protagonists. One is O Myung-ok, publisher of the magazine "Religion and Truth" and the website churchheresy.com, who has often supported operations against CAG refugees and demonstrations against the Unification Church and Shincheonji. Her activities were mentioned in a CAG refugee case in Italy. As a result, the Court of Rome noted in a decision of June 14, 2024, which happens to be my birthday, that she was a "special agent" of China. Birthday gifts come in many forms.



Pastor Jin Yong-sik.

The other protagonist, and the network's central node, is Pastor Jin Yong-sik, now president of the World Association Against Heresy. He is also a convicted felon. In 2007, he was prosecuted for illegally sending a member of the World Mission Society Church of God to a psychiatric institution as part of a deprogramming, and he was sentenced to ten months in prison with two years of probation. A 2012 investigation revealed that his deprogramming business had earned him more than one billion won, roughly 850,000 euros. Since 2023, Jin has toured the world, including Spain, Germany, and Mongolia, lecturing against Shincheonji and the Unification Church and supporting China's repression of The Church of Almighty God and Falun Gong. One may wonder why a Korean Christian minister should be so concerned with Falun Gong, a Chinese spiritual movement that does not compete for his sheep, and who pays for his tours. I suspect the answer to both questions is the same.

The strange bedfellows form a triangle, whose third corner is in Japan. There, the partner is the National Network of Lawyers Against Spiritual Sales, founded in 1987. Thanks to the research of investigative journalist Masumi Fukuda, we know that its founders were members of the Communist or the Socialist Party, and the network has maintained close ties with the Japanese Communist Party, a significant force in Japanese politics. For Beijing, this partner is much easier to deal with than Korean fundamentalists, since leftist Japanese lawyers have no anti-communist scruples to overcome.

scruples to overcome.

The assassination of former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe on July 8, 2022, launched the campaign that led to the dissolution of the Unification Church in Japan. Its perpetrator, Tetsuya Yamagami, whose mother is a member of the church, claimed he shot Abe to punish him for his friendship with it. The lawyers' network moved fast, and its campaign crossed the sea almost immediately. On July 22, 2022, two weeks after the assassination, attorney Hiroshi Watanabe of the Japanese lawyers' group joined a press conference in Seoul with Pastor Oh Myeong-hyeon, a notorious Korean deprogrammer, asking Korea to act against the Unification Church. Before the 2022 Jeongeup murders, Oh had persuaded a man that his ex-wife, a Shincheonji member, needed deprogramming, and the man later killed her and his sister-in-law.

On December 15, 2022, a conference in Seoul organized by Christian pastors promoted the adoption in Korea of a French-style anti-cult law. Watanabe was there again, together with Yoshifu Arita, a former Japanese legislator and veteran campaigner against the Unification Church. In case anybody wonders, Yoshifu is an unusual name in Japan, and it was chosen to honor Joseph Stalin, whose first name in Russian is Iosif. On May 13, 2025, nine Japanese pastors, together with Japanese and Korean deprogrammers, presented in Seoul an "Agreement on Cooperation Against Korean-Origin Heretical and Pseudo-Religious Groups."



The secret meeting at Mokwon University, images from the Chinese media.

Mokwon University in Daejeon hosted the key event for the triple alliance in August 2025. Organized by the World Association Against Heresy, the "International Exchange on Cults and Heretical Movements" was meant to remain secret. Korean media did not publish a single word about it, and neither did the university's website. Unfortunately for the organizers, Chinese media reported the event extensively, complete with pictures and lists of participants. Who reads Chinese media, after all? Well, I do.

Pastor Jin Yong-sik presided, with several other Korean anti-cultists. Japan was represented by scholar Hiroko Nakanishi, who co-authored a book against the Family Federation with Professor Yoshihide Sakurai, a well-known critic of the Unification Church. From China came Zhang Chunli, Chen Dequan, Xu Tao, this time representing the China Anti-Xie-Jiao Association, and Li Jinghu of the government-controlled Three-Self Church. A German evangelical anti-cult pastor completed the picture. The participants specifically called for decisive action against the Family Federation in Korea. The request did not have to wait long; in September 2025, Dr. Moon was arrested.

The story has a twist that is worthy of a Korean drama. President Lee Jae-myung's government took harsh measures against the Family Federation

and Shincheonji in 2025 and 2026. It has also turned against conservative evangelical churches, many of them with an anti-cult past, which oppose the president on LGBT and other issues. Authorities raided the Yoido Full Gospel Church, which later made peace with the president. Pastor Kim Jang-hwan was targeted in investigations, and Pastor Son Hyun-bo was jailed and sentenced; he is now free yet continues to be harassed, and his family bravely spoke up in favor of Dr. Moon. The anti-cult ideology, in other words, is now being used against some of those who created it. Mary Shelley, the author of "Frankenstein," would recognize the plot.

In conclusion, a pragmatic triple alliance unites Christian fundamentalists in Korea, secular leftist activists in Japan, and Communist authorities in China. Its members share a common enemy, the "cults," while their ideologies could hardly be more different. The alliance may run into trouble in the future, as the LGBT question and the clash between President Lee and some evangelicals could become irritants. For now, however, it has worked. The measures against the Family Federation and Shincheonji, together with President Lee's anti-heresy crusade, show how anti-cult tools can be repurposed for political repression and for China's geopolitical strategies, with the result of regional instability and serious risks for religious liberty. Of an alliance that achieves its aims, one would normally say: so far, so good. In this case, I prefer to say: so far, so not good.

Anti-Cult, China, Chinese Communist Party, Japan, Religious Liberty, South Korea



Massimo Introvigne

Massimo Introvigne (born June 14, 1955 in Rome) is an Italian sociologist of religions. He is the founder and managing director of the Center for Studies on New Religions (CESNUR), an international network of scholars who study new religious movements. Introvigne is the author of some 70 books and more than 100 articles in the field of sociology of religion. He was the main author of the *Enciclopedia delle religioni in Italia* (Encyclopedia of Religions in Italy). He is a member of the editorial board for the Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion and of the executive board of University of Pennsylvania Press' Nova Religio. From January 5 to December 31, 2011, he has served as the "Representative on combating racism, xenophobia and discrimination, with a special focus on discrimination against Christians and members of other religions" of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). From 2012 to 2015 he served as chairperson of the Observatory of Religious Liberty, instituted by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to monitor problems of religious liberty on a worldwide scale.

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