'To Restore This Nation': The Unification Movement in Austria. Background and Early Years, 1965–1966

Lukas Pokorny and Simon Steinbeiss

1. Introduction

The Unification Movement (UM, *t'ongil undong*) is a global religious organisation, spanning five continents and being vigorously engaged in various peace promotion and social welfare initiatives. Its millenarian agenda rests on a sophisticated doctrinal foundation that entails the establishment of God's Kingdom on Earth, that is, world peace through the creation of ideal families centred on God. Rising to prominence in the 1960s and 1970s, the UM has been widely stigmatised, often labelled pejoratively as a 'destructive cult' and connected to sinister brainwashing techniques and the like.¹ The severity of the polemics against the UM has corresponded to the success of its proselytising and publicity. Proselytising is crucial for Unificationists as a way of bringing about harmony into a world of dissonance and conflict. Unification thought, as promulgated by

Acknowledgments: The authors are grateful for the valuable support received from the members of the Unification Movement in Austria and Germany, and the Department for Questions about World Views of the Catholic Archdiocese of Vienna (*Referat für Weltanschauungsfragen der Erzdiözese Wien*). For reasons of confidentiality, the authors cannot name all those who have provided kind assistance during their research. The authors express their gratitude to (in alphabetical order): Elisabeth Cook, Karl Ebinger, Peter Haider, Hans-Jürgen Hutzfeld, Heinrich Krcek, Romana Kunkel, Stefan Lorger-Rauwolf, Ulrike Schütz, Winfried Schwarzl, Johannes Sinabell, Ingeborg Sorgenicht, Christel Werner, and Peter Zöhrer. The authors would also like to thank the Austrian UM for their permission to reproduce documents and personal photographs found in various archives.

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

¹ For a groundbreaking study that has provided scholarly answers to these kinds of accusations, thereby dispelling common stereotypes about the UM, see Barker 1984.

162 LUKAS POKORNY AND SIMON STEINBEISS

the UM founder Mun Sŏn-myŏng (1920-2012), builds the doctrinal momentum for the Unificationist mission. Thus, the first part of this study briefly delineates the main stages of the UM's historical development with a focus on its founder and his core teachings, and forms the basis of the subsequent discussion. The Unificationist mission commenced in the mid-1950s and reached the United States soon thereafter. The first European missionaries (who were German) came out of the 'Californian family', that was for several years led by the foremost Unificationist theologian and first missionary to the United States Kim Yong-un (1914-1989). The second part of the study outlines Kim's mission, which became the point of origin for the European and German/Austrian mission in particular, and continues with a brief account of Paul Werner (1927-2008) who conveyed the Unificationist message to Austria in 1965, fathering one of the most influential national groups in Europe. The Austrian family is particularly well-known for the significant role it played in the spread of Unification thought behind the Iron Curtain, begun as early as 1968. Despite its later success, Paul Werner's mission to Austria had to deal with challenging and unique socio-cultural and political contexts. Thus, the legal environment and *zeitgeist* of the time will be addressed succinctly in the next section, followed by an in-depth examination of the history of the early mission to Austria from May 1965 until the foundation of an association in May 1966.

This study provides the first thorough investigation of the background and inception of the Austrian UM, revealing the backdrop and turbulent history of a national movement that was crucial in the globalisation of the teachings of the Korean sermoniser Mun Sŏn-myŏng. The discussion will not offer a sociological elaboration but a micro-historical narrative that encompasses a historical documentation and its ideological framework.

In this study, the authors draw on a variety of primary sources including internal periodicals, personal letters and notes, official and internal documents, external reports, and historical newspaper articles. In addition, qualitative semi-structured and narrative interviews were conducted with numerous members of the Austrian UM. The information thus gathered served as a preliminary enquiry into the matter and was helpful in revising and complementing our discussion.

2. Historical Overview and Main Tenets of the Unification Movement²

Mun Sŏn-myŏng was born Mun Yong-myŏng³ on February 25, 1920⁴ in the village of Sangsa, Tŏgŏn Township, Chŏngiu County, North P'vŏngan Province, in what is now North Korea. Among 13 children of whom five died prematurely, he was the second son to Mun Kyŏng-yu (1893–1954) and Kim Kyŏng-gye (1888–1968). At the age of 10, he entered the local village school (kŭlbang) and spent two years becoming closely familiar with classical Confucian scholarship (Mun 2010: 54).⁵ At around the same time, his parents converted to Presbyterianism (changnogyo), and the young Mun consecrated himself to Christian teachings.⁶ On or around Easter Day, 1935, having spent the whole night in deep prayer, he experienced an epiphany in which he was entrusted by Jesus to take on a divine mission. establishing God's kingdom on Earth (Mun 2010: 62-3, 68). Following several years of intense religious reflection. Mun spent the years between 1941 and 1943 overseas studying electrical engineering at a technical school affiliated with Waseda University in Tokyo. During these days of pondering the 'mystery of the creation of the universe' (uiu ch'angio'ŭi *pimil*) (Mun 2010: 90-2), Mun is said to have finally realised the cause of God's sorrow and discovered the secret behind the fall of mankind. After his return to Korea he remained devoted to his sacred task and advanced his evangelical work.⁷ Mun married in 1944⁸ and moved to the 'Jerusalem of the East' (tongyang'ŭi verusallem), the city of P'yŏngyang, in 1946 (Mun

² The authors would like to note that, despite an abundance of secondary literature on the historical development and doctrinal tenets of the UM, the vast majority is either biased—occasionally polemic—or perpetuating the same erroneous data. In addition, scholars largely ignore the source material in the Korean language despite the fact that the founder of the UM preached and wrote exclusively in Korean.

³ He changed his name in the early 1950s, while a war refugee in the port city of Pusan. For a detailed semi-official narrative of Mun's childhood and young adult life, see Breen 1997. For a first emic evaluation of Breen's historiography, see Mickler 1998.

⁴ January 6, 1920 according to the lunar calendar.

⁵ Mun's autobiography was first published in 2009 and, despite having reportedly been ghost-written and appearing to some extent sketchy and reticent, is avidly promoted by the UM.

⁶ Korean Christianity during Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945) was characterised by millennial and charismatic elements (Pak 2005).

⁷ In his early years, Mun was strongly influenced by the teachings of various messianic groups that were decisive in the formation of Unification theology (Chryssides 1991: 93-107).

⁸ Mun divorced Ch'oe Sŏn-gil in 1957.

2010: 100). Having repeatedly suffered under the weight of the harsh repressions of both the Japanese and North Korean authorities, Mun was again imprisoned in 1948. He was found guilty of disturbing the social order amongst other things and was sentenced to five years in a labour camp. Heavy bombing by the United States forces early in the Korean War (1950–1953) allowed Mun to escape from the prison in late 1950. He fled to the southeast and arrived in the city of Pusan in January 1951, where he was soon to build his first 'church', made of mud, straw, and cardboard. Mun and his first disciples started to put his religious tenets down in writing, completing the *Wŏlli wŏnbon* (*Original Text of the Principle*) in 1952.⁹ The number of his followers quickly increased owing to Mun's remarkable preaching skills and extraordinary charisma, leading to the foundation of the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity (HSAUWC, segye kidokkyo t'ongil sillyŏng hyŏphoe) in Seoul in 1954.¹⁰

The Unificationist mission went international in 1958.¹¹ Two years later, Mun realised the 'marriage of the lamb'¹² (*ŏrinyang* [*hon'in*] *chanch'i*) by marrying the 'second Eve', Han Hak-cha (b. 1943).¹³ In the same year, the first group blessing took place, which, on a larger scale, was to become a well-known characteristic of the UM. Over the years, extensive fundraising built the basis for future ventures and generated considerable revenue, precipitating a rapid expansion of the UM. In late 1971, Mun left South Korea for the United States 'to establish [...] the foundation for the worldwide restoration of God's sovereignty over all mankind' (HASUWC 1974: vii). In 1994, Mun inaugurated the 'Family Federation for World Peace and Unification' (FFWPU, *segye p'yŏnghwa t'ongil kajŏng yŏnhap*), an umbrella association that eventually superseded the HSAUWC. In April 2008, Mun, then 88 years old, introduced his youngest son, Mun Hyŏng-jin (b. 1979) as the new president of the FFWPU. Mun and Han Hak-cha have spent most of their time since then in South Korea. Mun died on September 3, 2012 having been under treatment for pneumonia. The UM, having

⁹ Kim 1998 offers an emic discussion of the formation history of the UM's main scripture. The *Wölli haesŏl (Explanation of the Principle)*, a largely revised edition, was published in 1957. The current version, *Wölli kangnon (Exposition of the Principle)*, was published in 1966.

¹⁰ More literally 'Spiritual Association for the Unification of World Christianity'.

¹¹ In fact, from 1954 to 1955 there occurred the first, though entirely unsuccessful attempt to spread the Unificationist message abroad when Kim Sang-ch'ol (1915–2011) became an overseas missionary in England and Wales.

¹² See WK II.3.1.2, 291 in reference to Rev 19.7, 256.

¹³ Mun fathered 14 children (between 1960 and 1982) with his second wife. Prior to that, his first wife gave birth to a son in 1946. In 1954/5, Mun became the father of an illegitimate child with Kim Myŏng-hŭi.

moved its headquarters to Seoul, is now spread over five continents, comprising a veritable conglomerate with numerous affiliated organisations. As of 2012, the UM claims to have three million members worldwide.

Unification theology has grown into an elaborate system of thought that is taught at university level in the United States and South Korea.¹⁴ Several scholars have indicated the syncretistic nature of Mun's teachings, tracing the doctrinal, ritual and aesthetic elements of various Korean religions (Chryssides 1991: 46-68; Flasche 1987; Lee 1991). In a nutshell, the Wölli kangnon attempts to shed light on the purpose of creation, the biblical Fall (Gen 3.1-3.24, 2-3) and its consequences for mankind, and the process of restoration. Engendered by Satan (sat'an), the Human Fall (ingan t'arak) severed the deep relationship between humanity, that is, Eve (haewa) and Adam (adam) and God (hananim). Unification theology divides the Fall into the 'spiritual Fall' (võngjõk t'arak), based on an illicit sexual relationship between Satan and Eve on a spiritual level, and the 'physical Fall' (vukchŏk t'arak), caused by an illicit carnal relationship between Eve and Adam (WK I.2.2.2, 85-9). Adam gave in to Eve's seduction and both passed on the 'lineage of Satan' (sat'an'ŭi hyölt'ong) to their descendents and to humankind. Several New Testament passages are referred to¹⁵ in order to state that, through the Fall humankind became 'sons and daughters of Satan' (sat'an'ŭi chanvo), living in a 'world of Satan's sovereignty' (sat'an chugwŏn'ŭi segve), and inheriting 'an original nature that corresponds to the nature of the Fall' (t'araksong ponsong) (WK I.2.4.1, 92-3; WK I.2.4.6, 99). According to Unification theology, Jesus (vesunim) was supposed to restore the 'Kingdom of Heaven on Earth' (chisang ch'ŏn'guk), becoming the 'True Parent' (ch'am pumo) and king of mankind (WK II.6.2.2, 541). Redemption was to be achieved by the 'perfect Adam' (wansönghan adam),¹⁶ spiritually and physically engrafting (chöpput'im) humanity and thus cleansing and freeing the people from the original sin (*wŏnjoe*).¹⁷ Jesus descended to fulfil this purpose and to unify all religions under the banner of Christianity (WK II.4.6, 450), but the 'Messiah' (mesia) failed to complete his divine mission. His crucifixion entailed spiritual atonement but did not bring forth physical redemption, for he was not able

¹⁴ The Unification Theological Seminary in Barrytown, New York, and the Sun Moon University (*sŏnmun taehakkyo*) in Asan and Ch'ŏnan, South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, offer programmes in Unification Theology.

¹⁵ See John 8.44, 98; Matt 12.34, 12; Matt 23.33, 25; Matt 3.7, 2-3; John 12.31, 103; 2 Cor 4.4, 177.

¹⁶ The 'perfect man' (wansönghan namsöng) is aware of the 'ideal of creation' (ch'angjo isang).

¹⁷ See WK I.2.1.1.1, 73-4 or WK II.2.3.2.3, 384 in reference to Rom 11.17, 157.

to procreate and therefore could not purify humanity's stained physical bodies. Jesus promised to return and restore the direct lineage of mankind as children of God (WK II.2.3.3.2, 397). Unificationists believe that the birth of Mun Sŏn-myŏng signifies the dawn of the Last Days (*malse*). He is the 'Lord of the Second Advent' (*chaerimju*) and 'True Father' of mankind, the third Adam, who accomplished the divine mandate, realising true parenthood and hence laying the foundations of God's Kingdom on Earth. By being engrafted (*chŏpput'im*) with the Messiah—through a blessing ritual—one is able to resolve the original sin and fulfil the purpose of creation, which is the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven where man becomes God's 'object of goodness' (*sŏn'ŭi taesang*), henceforth sharing the greatest joy and love equally (WK I.1.3.1, 44-5).¹⁸

3. Background: the Oakhill Family and Paul Werner

3.1. The Oakhill Family

As mentioned, the internationalisation of the Unificationist message started early in the history of the movement. After a brief attempt in England and Wales (1954–1955) by Kim Sang-ch'ŏl—usually called 'David' missionaries were sent to Japan (in 1958) and the United States (in 1959). The first UM member to arrive in the United States was Kim Yŏng-un, who joined the movement in December 1954.

After having had to give up her position at 'Ewha Womans University'¹⁹ in March 1955, she played an active role in Seoul before leaving to do missionary work.²⁰ Kim obtained a student visa, seemingly the only way for her to leave South Korea for the United States, and arrived at the University of Oregon in Eugene in January 1959. After quitting university after about a year in March 1960 to commit herself to full-time witnessing, she had recurring visa problems and came close to being deported. In the end, a severe case of appendicitis seems to have been a stroke of luck (NAF12 1963: 4), for it provided her with some extra time to finally obtain

¹⁸ The nucleus of the Kingdom of Heaven (*ch'ŏn'guk*) is the 'Four Position Foundation' (*sawi kidae*), completed by God, husband, wife, and children (WK I.1.2.3, 33-5).

¹⁹ Ihwa Women's University (ihwa yŏja taehakkyo).

²⁰ The beginnings of the UM in the United States are well documented in Lofland 1980, and Bromley and Shupe 1979. For a comprehensive historical account of a UM member, see Mickler 1993.

permanent permission to stay in the United States in October 1963. Apart from the visa-situation, Kim was—according to internal church sources—financially on her own, and only got her travel expenses covered by the community in Seoul (Mickler 1993: 7-8).

After her first year at the University of Oregon, Kim had largely revised her translation of an abbreviated version of the *Wölli haesŏl*²¹ Mun Sŏnmyong had not given Kim any guidance on how to conduct the mission. In accordance with her changing expectations and target groups, she tried various methods of promotion-writing articles, visiting churches, and personally witnessing.²² By travelling to cities near Eugene by bus and giving personal testimonies, she was able to form a small group. The first meeting of Kim's followers took place shortly before she dropped out of university in February 1960 at the Oregon Women's Club, where she lived at the time (Lofland 1980: 5). Only three months later she was forced to leave Eugene due to financial difficulties and moved to Oakhill, several kilometres outside of Eugene. The private property of Galen (1930–2008) and Patricia (Patty) Pumphrey (1933-2008) served as the movement's home until they decided to move to the San Francisco Bay area later that year (Lofland 1980: 6). The 'Oakhill' group of followers, or the 'Unified Family²³ was still very small at that time, consisting of only six members including Kim, Doris Walder (b. 1930, later Orme), Galen and Patricia Pumphrey, and George Norton and Pauline Phillips (1932-2008, later Verheyen). In July and September of 1960, the group met Kim Sang-ch'ŏl and his followers in Lebanon, about 40 kilometres north from Eugene. Kim Sang-ch'ŏl had been the second missionary sent from Korea to the United States in September 1959 in order to attend the Western Conservative Baptist Seminary in Portland, Oregon. However, the two groups did not join forces.

The Unified Family's group life changed considerably after their move to San Francisco in November 1960. Having lived in separate households in Oakhill, they had moved into a seven-room flat at 410 Cole Street, San Francisco. Four members of the group held regular jobs to provide a stable financial basis for their community. By the first half of 1961, the first English edition of the *Wŏlli haesŏl* had been published and a second one

²¹ The title has been translated into English as *The Divine Principles*. The German translation has been *Die göttlichen Prinzipien*.

²² For an extensive account of the variously applied proselytising methods and tactics, see Lofland 1980: 63-189.

²³ They decided to use the designation 'Spiritual Association for the Unification of Christianity' in June 1960.

168 LUKAS POKORNY AND SIMON STEINBEISS

was in progress.²⁴ In September 1961, Kim Yŏng-un registered her group as the 'Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity' (HSAUWC) in the state of California. A competing mission had already been established in Washington D.C. by Pak Po-hŭi (b. 1930). Pak came to the United States as the third missionary in February 1961, working as an attaché to the Korean Embassy in Washington. Similarly to Kim Yŏng-un, when a student, he worked during the day and executed his missionary activities in his free time.

For the UM in Europe, the conversion of Ursula Schuhmann (b. 1937) in 1961 was a highly significant event.²⁵ She was the first German (and most likely European) convert. She met Doris Walder in a church and later came to the centre in Cole Street, where she attended a 'briefing session'²⁶ in the form of a taped introduction to the *Wŏlli haesŏl*.²⁷ In early January 1962, Schuhmann brought Peter Koch (1927–1984), a German student at Berkeley whom she had met at a party, to the centre. That month, Peter Koch 'accepted the principles'²⁸ and, about 16 months later, he returned to Europe in June 1963 to become the first missionary to Germany (NAF12 1963: 6-7). His 'spiritual mother',²⁹ Ursula Schuhmann, joined him in July.

In March 1962, Kim Yŏng-un's group moved to a three-storey house on 1309 Masonic Avenue, which they had acquired in January. Shortly after relocating, most of the original Oakhill Family left San Francisco and dispersed into the surrounding area.³⁰ At the time, John Lofland (b. 1936), a

²⁴ Kim's initial translation, which she had pursued in 1956 in South Korea, went through several revisions whilst having its message adjusted to a Western audience and its style im-proved (Bromley and Shupe 1979: 65; Lofland 1980, 137-9).

²⁵ Whilst Koch led the German movement during the 1960s, Ursula Schuhmann was the first UM missionary to go to Spain in 1965. It is important to note that most of the early missionaries in Europe came from Kim Yǒng-un's San Francisco community.

²⁶ John Lofland coined the term 'briefing session' for a specific type of 'promotion vehicle'. Initially, Kim Yŏng-un had recorded a slightly abbreviated version of her translation of the *Wŏlli haesŏl* that was more than four hours long. Later, due to its lack of success, the tape was reduced to two-and-a-half hours, then one hour and twenty minutes, and in the end to thirty-four minutes (Lofland 1980: 124-9).

²⁷ See Ursula Schuhmann's personal testimony in Piepenburg 2010, 32-41.

²⁸ At the time, 'accepting the principles' meant taking a written exam on the contents of the *Wölli haesŏl*. In Germany and Austria, a German translation from the English by Peter Koch and Ursula Schuhmann was used in the first years of the mission. See Kim 1963 [²1965].

²⁹ The UM member who brings a convert to the group is referred to as a 'spiritual mother' or 'spiritual father' by the convert, the 'spiritual child'.

³⁰ June 6: Doris Walder to San Jose. June 17: Patty Pumphrey to Hayward. June 19: Pauline Phillips to Berkeley. June 20: Galen Pumphrey to Burlingame (Mickler 1993: 47).

sociology PhD student, was conducting a long-term study on the UM and, with Kim's support, was already observing the group.³¹ On August 15, 1962, Kim issued the first edition of a newsletter entitled *The New Age Frontiers*. She had decided to revitalise it in order to re-connect the members of her group.³²

After the dispersion of members throughout the San Francisco Bay area the movement slowly started to grow. Through Pauline Phillips (who left in July 1963 for Sacramento) (NAF12 1963: 4), John and Sandra (Sandi/ Sandy) Pinkerton joined the UM, who in turn became the 'spiritual parents' of Paul and Christel Werner (NAF18 1964: 4).

3.2. Paul Werner

Paul Werner was born as the ninth of eleven children on September 13, 1927, in the city of Labes in Pommern, North-East Germany.³³ His father was a Lutheran minister, and Werner described both his mother and his upbringing as very religious. At 16, he was drafted into the army and was sent to military school in Stettin. He was later transferred to Dresden, where he witnessed the bombing of the city on the night of February 13, 1945. Shortly after, he became a prisoner of war. He was initially brought to Remagen and placed in one of the *Rheinwiesenlager* (Rhine meadow camps), built by the United States army to house German prisoners of war. A few months later, he was transferred to a French forced labour camp, where he stayed until December 1948. In his testimony, Werner remembers this time as one of spiritual tests and resolutions to 'serve Him for the rest of my life, if He saved me' (Werner 1985: 6).

After returning home without possessions in 1948 at 21 years of age, Werner began his religious quest. In 1950, he met Christel in a Christian youth group.³⁴ One year later, the couple married, and, in 1952, their son Klaus was born. In April 1953, the young family decided to emigrate to Canada due to the bad economic situation in post-war Germany (NAF18

³¹ Lofland lived in the centre in Masonic Avenue from November 1962 to January 1963 (Lofland 1980: 273).

³² In 1960, there was already a periodical very similar to the *The New Age Frontiers* simply entitled *Monthly Newsletter*. In the first issue of the reinstated *The New Age Frontiers*, John Lofland contributed his first and only field report, shortly before having to leave the Oakland Family (NAF7 1963: 6-7).

³³ Located in today's Poland the current name of the village is Łobez.

³⁴ Christel Werner was born in Duisburg on November 10, 1929 (Werner n/a: 2-6).

170 LUKAS POKORNY AND SIMON STEINBEISS

1964: 4). For the next few years, Werner worked as a construction labourer and carpenter but was also sometimes unemployed.

In 1957, the Werners moved to Cleveland, Ohio, in hopes of improving their economic condition (NAF21 1964: 7-8). Paul Werner became a partner in a Formica factory in Cleveland before the family decided to move to California in 1961. He started studying in Sacramento and obtained diplomas in business, engineering, and real estate, enabling him to become a real estate broker.

In the summer of 1963 (between July and August), Christel Werner met Sandra Pinkerton, who had just joined the UM, and the Werners decided to invite her to their house.³⁵ She and her husband John were accompanied by their 'spiritual mother' Pauline Phillips when they met the Werner family, and, on a second visit a week later, they handed them an edition of Kim's latest translation of the *Wölli haesŏl*. The Pinkertons and Pauline Phillips later moved into Paul and Christel Werner's flat and 'took over in no time at all' (Werner 1985: 14).³⁶ The Werners then met Kim Yŏng-un, first in Sacramento and then in the centre on Masonic Avenue in San Francisco on the Labour Day weekend (August 31 to September 1). Paul Werner marks the date of his conversion as August 11, 1963 (Werner 1985: 21).

After joining the UM, the Werners spent less than a year with the Sacramento and San Francisco Family before deciding to return to Germany as missionaries. According to his 'Personal Testimony', Paul Werner traded his new Imperial (Chrysler's luxury automobile) for a Volkswagen bus and left his business partner. In April 1964, the Werners started their journey across the United States together with Elke Klawiter (b. 1941, later van der Stok) (NAF21 1964: 8).

About a month later, they arrived in the centre of the German UM in Frankfurt am Main. It was then that Peter Koch and Ursula Schuhmann met

³⁵ Paul Werner has stated that Sandra Pinkerton seemed in trouble and that this was the main reason for inviting her: 'She must have fallen into the hands of some false prophets, or some anti-Christian sect, since there are so many of them these days' (Werner 1985: 12). Ironically, Werner himself faced very similar reactions in Germany: 'I also went to churches, attended Bible classes and other activities. But as soon as I started talking about the Divine Principle they branded me the "Anti-Christ", or "false prophet" and warned their congregations not to have any contact with me' (Werner 1985: 27).

³⁶ The dramatic changes in lifestyle this entailed for the family are vividly described by Christel Werner: 'They practically decided what should be done and when. I knew then that this was the end of our family life. We slept in different rooms right away and practically everything changed over night. [...] Life at our home was upside down. How could I protect our child who wasn't sure of what to make of these drastic changes in our family life [*sic*]' (Werner n/a: 11).

the Werners.³⁷ Only a few days later it was decided that the Werners would establish a new centre in Wiesbaden, about 40 kilometres west of Frankfurt.³⁸ The two groups, representing the entire European UM, started witnessing on the street. Peter Koch recruited their first member, his co-worker Reiner Vincenz (b. 1939), in August 1964.³⁹ Having a total of eight members⁴⁰ they were able to officially register as an incorporated association, *Gesellschaft zur Vereinigung des Weltchristentums e.V.* (Society for the Unification of World-Christianity), on December 11, 1964.⁴¹

During their days in Wiesbaden, the Werners witnessed on the streets every day after work. Though they were able to make a few contacts, the headwind of the Christian churches and their ministers—as Paul Werner maintains in his testimony—was too strong to win any of them over (Werner 1985: 35-8). In the end, Werner was even banned from a few Bible classes and churches when giving the 'final conclusion' (Werner 1985: 27).⁴² The missionary work of the Werner family in Wiesbaden between mid-1964 and May 1965 turned out to be fruitless.

The next section will expound the ideological and legal framework at the time of Paul Werner's Austrian enterprise and shall foster a better understanding of the context of the early Unificationist mission.

³⁷ They seem to have corresponded by letter as early as 1963, when Koch tried to instruct Werner in his responsibilities: 'In this time of the great universal change, you have a tremendous responsibility – not only to yourself, but also to God, your family, your nation, and to all mankind. Once you have realized that responsibility, all your other problems which you may deem very important dissolve into nothing' (NAF17 1963: 4-5).

³⁸ Before moving to Wiesbaden, the Werners made a journey across Europe, also visiting Vienna. This was likely to be the first time that UM members entered Austrian soil (Werner n/a: 15).

³⁹ Christel Werner mentions in a personal interview that Paul Werner was the first who started street witnessing in Germany. According to Elke Klawiter's testimony, Reiner Vincenz was the first to have introduced the idea to the Frankfurt family (Piepenburg 2010: 67; Werner 1985: 25).

⁴⁰ The eight members were Peter and his sister Barbara Koch (b. 1930, later Vincenz), Ursula Schuhmann, Elke Klawiter, Paul and Christel Werner, Paul Werner's sister Elisabeth Werner (1933–2002, later Herzer), and Reiner Vincenz. Barbara Koch joined the UM in the United States but returned to Germany to support her brother's mission.

⁴¹ The first president of this incorporated association was Peter Koch (Hardin and Kuner 1981: 131-2).

⁴² Paul Werner describes the unsuccessful attempt to recruit new members as paradigmatic of his mission in Wiesbaden. At first, his theological explanations would interest prospective converts, but, as soon as he revealed the source of his arguments (i.e. Unification theology), his contacts informed their ministers, who, in turn banned him.

4. Austria in the Mid-1960s: Legal Environment and Zeitgeist

The predominant religion in Austria has been Roman Catholicism since the Habsburg counter-Reformation, which exerted much influence on the ecclesiastical law until the 19th and 20th centuries. The significant position of the Church is reflected in the legal system: the first law to reduce the denominational bias of the state was the Staatsgrundgesetz (Constitutional Act on the Fundamental Rights of Citizens) of 1867 (RGBI 142/1867). The Katholikengesetz (Law on Catholics) of 1874 also greatly cut back the privileges of the Church; however the administration moderated it in practice because it still tended to favour the Church (Potz 1996: 230). On May 20 of the same year, the Anerkennungsgesetz (Law Concerning the Legal Recognition of Religious Communities) was issued (RGBI 68/1874), which regulated the legal recognition of religious communities by the state, as amended, until 1998.⁴³ The *Staatsgrundgesetz* was kept in the *Bundesver*fassungsgesetz (Federal Constitution of the Austrian Republic) of 1920 as an agreement on a new set of fundamental rights had failed. On June 5, 1933, the Concordat between Austria and the Holy See was concluded. Having been suspended between 1938 and 1945, and legally until 1956, it still remains valid.44

In the 1960s, there were few options by which 'new' religious communities—those not yet recognised by the state—could gain official status.⁴⁵ In order to gain full legal recognition a few conditions had to be met: the religious doctrine, forms of worship, the constitution and the name could not contain anything illegal or immoral. Furthermore, the establishment and existence of a religious community fulfilling at least the requirements of the *Anerkennungsgesetz* had to be ensured (Potz 1996:

⁴³ For a brief overview of the crucial changes in the new laws, see Kalb, Potz and Schinkele 1998: 19-22.

^{44 &#}x27;The "Anschluss" to Nazi Germany on 13 March 1938 brought an end to the denominational structure of Austria. The Concordat was declared invalid [...]. In 1956 the Supreme Court declared the validity of the Concordat as a matter of domestic law, whatever its status in international law' (Potz 1996; 230).

⁴⁵ The officially recognised religions in Austria until 1965 were the Roman Catholic Church (BGBl II 2/1934), the Old Catholic Church (RGBl 99/1877), the Hebrew Community (RGBl 57/1890), the Islamic Community (RGBl 159/1912), the Methodist Church (BGBl 74/1951), the Protestant Church—both the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions (BGBl 182/1961)—and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (BGBl 229/1955).

238).⁴⁶ Since there is no right to be recognised by the state, in conformity with the practice of the High Administrative Court, it was not feasible to appeal a refusal, even if the conditions of the *Anerkennungsgesetz* had been met.

According to §3(a) of the 1951 *Vereinsgesetz* (Act on Associations), churches and religious communities could not be subject to the law governing associations.⁴⁷ Consequently, only a partly religious function was accepted in administrative practice.⁴⁸

Hence, without the possibility of becoming an officially recognised religion in Austria,⁴⁹ the only way for the UM to become a legal entity at the time was to form an association (*Verein*). It is important to keep in mind that, according to article 16 of the *Staatsgrundgesetz*, members of religious communities that were not officially recognised by the state, did not have the right to practise their faith publicly. Even though the *Staatsvertrag von Saint-Germain-en-Laye* (Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye) of 1919 finally granted this essential right, this was used as an argument against letting religious communities constitute themselves legally as associations.⁵⁰ Consequently, the status of those unrecognised religious communities such as the UM in Austria remained legally uncertain and controversial.

⁴⁶ For a detailed overview of the requirements, see Gampl 1971: 132-50. It should be noted that the formulation of the requirements is very vague and subject to interpretation; there is, for instance, no definite minimum number of members. Moreover, it is unclear what the financial means for establishing and securing a religious community mean: the law mentions, for example, the payment of confessional teachers, which is, in fact, covered by the state. Finally, it seems unlikely that a (new) religious community could have substantiated its 'continued existence'.

⁴⁷ See BGBI 233/1951 as amended by BGBI 127/1952, BGBI 141/1954 and BGBI 102/1962. For an overview of the actual text of the law and its various amendments, see Gampl, Potz and Schinkele 1993: 123-40.

⁴⁸ The problematic situation of 'religious associations' or 'associations with a partly religious function' was already noted by Höslinger 1948. It was more widely and controver-sially discussed in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1970s, the Austrian UM often served as a prime example of a case where Austrian ecclesiastical law was unable to cover the *status quo* of the religious landscape (Ermacora 1963; Gampl 1971; Melichar 1979). For a more recent and comprehensive account of the issues regarding the *Vereins-gesetz* and religious communities, see Kalb, Potz and Schinkele 2003: 127-35.

⁴⁹ As mentioned above, the establishment of a religious community (*Kultusgemeinde*) according to the demands of the law had to be ensured. This would have been impossible for a newly emerged and small religious community such as the UM.

⁵⁰ At the time, public religious practice was the focal point, not legal constitution (Kalb, Potz and Schinkele 1998: 123-4). For an in-depth account of the problem of legally unrecog-nised religious communities, whether private, public, individual, or in a group, see Ermacora 1963: 436-43.

Total	7,073,807	100%
Roman Catholic	6,295,075	88.99%
Protestant ⁵²	438,663	6.20%
Old Catholic	29,652	0.42%
Israelite	9,049	0.13%
Others ⁵³	31,386	0.44%
Non-denominational	266,009	3.76%
Unknown	3,973	0.06%

Official statistics of religious communities in Austria, 1961⁵¹

As is clearly visible in the statistical data, the Roman Catholic Church dominated the religious landscape in Austria in the 1960s. The influence of the Church on the state was still considerable after World War II, even though the close ties with the Austrian People's Party loosened after 1945.⁵⁴ The frequently tense situation between the Church and the Social Democratic Party of Austria eased, partly due to the Pontificate of John XXIII (Neck 1972: 272). In political terms, this era is often referred to as one of social-liberal consensus between the two ruling parties (the aforementioned Austrian People's Party and the Social Democratic Party) as both were pursuing a common goal: the modernisation and democratisation of Austria (Hanisch 1994: 456-83).

In the decades after 1955, during which Austria once again became independent, it slowly transitioned to a post-industrial society. The growing number of white-collar employees⁵⁵ during the 1960s drove consumerism to

⁵¹ See Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt 1964: 17.

⁵² This figure includes both the Augsburg (423,285) and Helvetic (15,378) confessions.

⁵³ This figure includes Islam.

⁵⁴ The Christian Social Party (*Christlichsoziale Partei* until 1934) was the forerunner of the Austrian People's Party (*Österreichische Volkspartei* after 1945).

⁵⁵ At the same time, more women were participating in the job market (Fassmann 1995: 97-8).

new heights while the phenomenon of 'secularisation' was diagnosed by sociologists of religion.⁵⁶ Another key feature of this decade is the increasing politicisation of young people, which culminated internationally in the protests of 1968.⁵⁷

In Austria, the 'long 1950s'—a rather conservative era during which the country had to be rebuilt—were followed by the more open-minded 1960s. The latter was also characterised as a 'golden age for families': marriage rates seemed at all-time highs, and the Baby Boom commenced (Bauer 1995: 108).

The Unificationist message seemed to coincide with a few of the main currents of this period—the focus on family life, the politicisation of youth,⁵⁸ and the generally more liberal climate in society, which was conducive to the emergence of religious doctrines beyond the mainstream. Even so, the UM in Austria struggled in the 1960s and even more so in the following decade.

5. Paul Werner and the Unification Movement in Austria, 1965–1966

Paul Werner's year-long sojourn in Germany was full of bitter hardships; his proselytising efforts in Wiesbaden were utterly unsuccessful,⁵⁹ and the atmosphere among members of the small German group was deteriorating.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Sociologists were using 'secularisation' to refer specifically to the decline in service attendance.

⁵⁷ Even though the revolts of 1968 were not as drastic in Austria as elsewhere (in the United States, for example), they subtly and slowly influenced society in many ways, leading to a new ecological consciousness, the emancipation of women, marriages and education based on partnerships, and alternative ways of life. Another distinct feature of 'Austria's 1968' is that it was more a cultural (anarchistic) than a political (Marxist) protest (Hanisch 1994: 483).

⁵⁸ This refers to the anti-Communist stance of the UM.

^{59 &#}x27;All die Energien und einsamen Stunden, die ein Jahr lang in Wiesbaden ausgegeben waren, schienen vergeblich – zumindest ohne sichtbaren Erfolg' (Extracts of the Diary of Paul Werner [Vienna, May 18, 1965]). 'Du gibst Dir vermutlich mehr Mühe, Leute heranzuholen, als irgend ein anderer hier. Dennoch sieht man keine Resultate' (Letter from Peter Koch to Paul Werner [Frankfurt, November 24, 1965]).

^{60 &#}x27;Die einzelnen Familienmitglieder rennen sich die Hacken ab, um Leute heranzuschaffen. Wir erzählen ihnen, dies sei das Himmelreich. Und dann wundern wir uns, dass die Leute wieder weglaufen. Wenn wir nicht das <u>sind</u>, [*sic*] was wir den Leuten bringen wollen, dann können wir sie niemals überzeugen. Schlaue Reden haben die Leute genug gehört. Uneinigkeit kennen sie zur Genüge. Wir wollen die Welt und die verschiedensten Religionen vereinen, und doch sind wir noch nicht mal fähig, zehn Leute von der

In mid-May of 1965, he made up his mind to overcome the deadlock by pioneering the Unificationist mission in Austria. Several days later, on May 18, 1965, he departed from Wiesbaden, leaving behind his wife Christel and his son Klaus, who were to join him in 1967. On his way to Vienna, Werner stopped by the adjacent centre in Frankfurt to bid farewell. However, his unexpected decision to leave in the midst of a time of strife was controversial for the German family. Werner bewailed the disgruntled attitude he had to take from his fellow coreligionists in a letter to Peter Koch: 'This morning was a blow, as if I had lost a child. I cried my way to Austria'.⁶¹ Later that day, he arrived in the city of Salzburg and spent his first night at a camping site (Camping Kasern). Werner's 1963 Volkswagen bus was to serve as a temporary shelter for the months ahead.

On May 19, 1965, Werner arrived in Vienna, a 'stronghold of Catholicism',⁶² providing a truly challenging situation for the UM. Being aware of the difficulties for his mission in this firmly Catholic environment, he was keen from the beginning to find proselytes amid the small Protestant community in particular.⁶³ Werner started to visit and witness in Methodist, Calvinist, Adventist, and Lutheran parishes, continuously fasting and praying to 'yet find someone before the Master arrives'.⁶⁴ Werner remembers in his testimony that he immersed himself in his sacred task, sleeping only four hours a day whilst summoning all his strength 'to restore this nation' (Werner 1985: 39, 41). Referring to Peter Koch's advice that 'turning Austria inside out is not easy business' and 'to become God's seed

gleichen Religion unter einen Hut zu bringen' (Letter from Peter Koch to Paul Werner [Frankfurt, November 24, 1965]). See also Werner 1985: 39.

^{61 &#}x27;Der Morgen war für mich ein Schicksalsschlag, als wenn ich ein Kind verloren Hätte [sic]. Ich weinte meinen Weg nach Österreich' (Letter from Paul Werner to Peter Koch [Vienna, November 29, 1965]).

^{62 &#}x27;Der Katholizismus ist hier eine Macht [...]' (Extracts of the Diary of Paul Werner [Vienna, May 23, 1965]).

⁶³ The majority of the adherents of the early UM in Korea and the United States had a Protestant background. Peter Koch, for example, laments the widespread intransigence among Catholics: 'They are so thoroughly brain-washed [*sic*] by their church and so stubborn in their clinging to false doctrines that they have only a very faint chance of recognizing the call of the Father'. He then adds, 'In future I will focus my efforts more on Protestants [...]' (NAF14 1963: 7). Paul Werner apparently pursued the same strategy in the beginning of his mission.

^{64 &#}x27;Bete laufend, dass ich noch einen finde, bevor der Meister kommt' (Extracts of the Diary of Paul Werner [Vienna, May 24, 1965]). See also NAF13 1965: 18. Mun Sönmyöng and his entourage, being on a 'world tour' (*segye sunbang*), were to visit Austria in mid-August 1965.

in this country', 65 Werner states ardently, 'I resolved to return Austria to Father faster than any other nation! With His help I will act up to this principle, working day and night and praying for the foundation of the Kingdom we are so much longing for!'66 Witnessing in the streets, in Catholic churches (such as St. Stephen's Cathedral and the Capuchin Church) and among believers of other faiths and worldviews (such as theosophy, Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō, and 'Christiana') yielded no results. Nevertheless, due to his persistent efforts.⁶⁷ he expanded some of the contacts he made in the Protestant community. Gerhard Wurm (b. 1940), a Calvinist organist whom he met in late May was to become his first 'disciple' along with his wife Waltraud Wurm (b. 1942) several months later.⁶⁸ However, upon the arrival of Mun Sŏn-myŏng on August 16, 1965, the Austrian branch of the UM virtually consisted only of Paul Werner. Whilst Peter Koch and Ursula Schumann received Mun and his attendants Kim Yŏng-un, Ch'oe Wŏn-bok⁶⁹ (1916–2006) and Ch'oe Pong-ch'un⁷⁰ (b. 1936) at Tempelhof airport in Berlin on July 26, 1965, Werner⁷¹ left Vienna

^{65 &#}x27;Österreich umzukrempeln ist keine leichte Angelegenheit. [...] Deshalb musst Du wirklich das göttliche Samenkorn in diesem Land werden' (Letter from Peter Koch to Paul Werner [Frankfurt, November 24, 1965]).

^{66 &#}x27;Ich habe mir vorgenommen, Österreich schneller zurückzubringen zum Vater als jede andere Nation! Mit seiner Hilfe werde ich diesem Grundsatz nachgehen, Tag und Nacht arbeiten und Beten [*sic*] für den Aufbau des Reiches nach dem wir uns so seh[n]en!' (Letter from Paul Werner to Peter Koch [Vienna, November 29, 1965]).

^{67 &#}x27;Ich gehe bis in Teufelsküche [*sic*] für unseren Vater um jemanden darauszuholen [...]. Im gegenteil [*sic*] ich laufe Leuten nach, die mich mit Füßen treten! Die Erfolge ist das [*sic*] sie einfach nicht anders können als zu acceptieren, [*sic*] weil sie sagen so wie der Paul ist möchte ich auch sein' (Letter from Paul Werner to Peter Koch [Vienna, November 29, 1965]).

^{68 &#}x27;One evening, my husband came home deeply impressed. He had met Paul Werner. "You must meet this man! He brings us an entirely new interpretation of the Bible, different from what we have known before." [...] My husband and I tried to disprove the Principles through the bible. Our attempt failed' (NAF5 1966: 22).

⁶⁹ Like Kim Yŏng-un, Ch'oe Wŏn-bok was Professor at Ehwa Womans University when she was forced to quit after joining the UM in 1954. Afterwards, she wholeheartedly dedicated herself to the spread of Unification thought for 50 years.

⁷⁰ Ch'oe Pong-ch'un was the first missionary to Japan in 1958. The UM—or *Tōitsu Kyōkai*, as the movement is widely called in Japan—grew into the largest non-Japanese new religious movement in Japan, drawing an estimated 560,000 followers. In English publications, Ch'oe mainly appears under the name 'Ch'oe Sang-ik'. During the Japanese mission, he took the name 'Nishikawa Masaru' (Inoue 1990: 669).

⁷¹ Werner was accompanied by Walter Linder, a middle-aged student whom he met in mid-June 1965. Both men developed a close friendship. Linder, however, finally cut his own path. In a personal interview, Christel Werner confirms that Walter Linder has been Paul Werner's first 'spiritual son'. See also Werner n/a: 16. Paul Werner remembers, 'We became very good friends and he [Walter Linder] accepted the Principle

to meet up with the German family in Frankfurt, awaiting the visit of Mun. On July 28, Werner met Mun for the first time and was requested to 'drive Father and his party through Europe' in his Volkswagen bus (Werner 1985: 44).⁷² After several days in Frankfurt and vicinity, on August 6 Werner and his company including Peter Koch started their journey, visiting Amsterdam, Brussels, Luxembourg, Paris, Geneva, and Vaduz before finally arriving in Vienna on the evening of August 15, 1965. The purpose of Mun's first 'world tour' through 40 countries was to plant Korea's soil and stones (han'gug'ŭi hŭlk'kwa tol) in every major city he visited (Mun 2010: 184), establishing 'Holy Grounds' (sŏngji) all over the globe (Kwak 2011). The Holy Ground in Vienna was blessed on August 16 in the Rathauspark next to city hall, thenceforth signifying God's recaptured territory on Austrian soil. The remainder of the day was spent sightseeing-St. Stephen's Cathedral, the Danube Tower, and Schönbrunn Palace. The next day, the party went on to Italy-to Venice, Rome, Naples, and the Vatican. Mun and his escort left Rome by plane, heading for Athens to continue the tour and reclaim more of God's original lands on August 22, whilst Peter Koch and Paul Werner, deeply inspired by Mun, returned home to resume their mission.⁷³

With the onset of the cold season in September 1965, Werner had to abandon his Volkswagen bus and seek out alternative accommodation. One of his acquaintances from the Calvinist church organised a humble lodging at Donizettiweg 23 in the 22nd district, where Werner was to occupy two small rooms in an old house that became the first centre of the Austrian UM.⁷⁴ Encouraged by his encounter with Mun, Werner ambitiously carried

72 For a brief account, see NAF15 1965: 2-4.

and Father' (Werner 1985: 42). Yet in the long run Linder's role for the Austrian mission was negligible. On the one hand, Paul Werner does not mention the significance of this relationship in any contemporary account. See, for example, NAF17 1965: 8: 'For six months now the truth of God has been taught in this country. Many people have heard it but have not decided either way'. On the other hand, Walter Linder quickly disassociated himself from Werner, signifying a laissez-faire attitude towards the new revelation. In addition, Werner repeatedly calls Gerhard Wurm his 'first disciple'. See, for example, Werner 1985: 60. It is thus plausible to consider Walter Linder as an early sympathetic supporter or short-time 'fellow traveller' who was at no point seriously involved in furthering the Unificationist mission in Austria.

⁷³ Before doing this, Werner visited his family in Wiesbaden for one more week.

⁷⁴ Christel Werner together with her son visited her husband over the holidays in December. She did so again on several other occasions before relocating to Vienna. The first centre was spartan indeed: '[...] we had to enter his "Center" upstairs on an outside staircase, little more than a ladder. There was no running water, not even cold water, no sink, no toilet facilities and no heating system. Every drop of water we used had to be

on his mission with a focus on the Protestant minority, including several ministers.⁷⁵ In order to assure a livelihood, he took employment as a clerk at the 'Lechner' bookstore in the city centre in October.⁷⁶ As mentioned above, one of Werner's first contacts in Vienna was a young Protestant couple, Gerhard and Waltraud Wurm, an engineer and a housewife, respectively. For months, Werner sustained his efforts to win them over, recalling this in his testimony:

I knew, once I succeeded in winning them for True Parents, many new avenues would open up. Therefore I invested all love and spiritual power I had, until they were so moved in their hearts, that they accepted True Parents and the Divine Principle, in Dec. 1965 (Werner 1985: 53-4).

The two became the first serious members of the Austrian family; however, Werner had to go to great lengths to prevail. At times, he worried about Gerhard Wurm, who seemed susceptible to 'Satan's influence', occasionally struggling against his decision to get too involved in the 'new dispensation'.⁷⁷ Having acquired his first disciples after more than half a year of determined efforts supported by constant fasting and prayer, Werner expected the blossoming of the Austrian UM: 'There are many other people who are hopefuls [*sic*]. There will be a chain reaction now, since they are all friends and one waits until the other makes a move' (NAF3 1966: 11). He was to prove right: in February 1966, two sisters, Romana Maierhofer (b. 1937, later Kunkel, teacher) and Hildegard Maierhofer (b. 1940, later Blanchard, milliner), accepted. Soon thereafter, their brother Bernhard Maierhofer (1943–2012, student), a friend, Ingeborg Eisner (b. 1938, later van Winden, teacher),⁷⁸ and one of Werner's co-workers, Marianne Kolup,

carried upstairs from the pump and the dirty water carried in a pale [*sic*] and discarded downstairs' (Werner n/a: 17). Werner moved in on September 22.

⁷⁵ In September 1965, Werner stated fervently, '[at] the moment I am in contact with 16 people who receive individual teaching. It is very hard ground work [*sic*]. Now that our Master has been here I feel more power than ever before. Soon we will see results and widen the kingdom that will last forever' (NAF15 [*sic*] 1965: 11). See also NAF17 1965: 8.

⁷⁶ Werner used every opportunity to spread his message. Unsurprisingly, one of his first 'spiritual children' was a young co-worker—Marianne Kolup.

^{77 &#}x27;Nach 7stündiger Unterhaltung fuhr plötzlich Satan in den Gerhard hinein und raubte alles, was bisher aufgebaut war' (Extracts of the Diary of Paul Werner [Vienna, June 6, 1965]). 'Yet even afterwards [i.e. after his conversion] Gerhard created foundations for Satan many times' (Werner 1985: 57). In early 1967, Gerhard Wurm and his wife left the UM.

⁷⁸ Romana Maierhofer was a friend of Waltraud Wurm. Together they attended a two-year Protestant women's school in Vienna (1960–1962). Having met Werner through

180 LUKAS POKORNY AND SIMON STEINBEISS

joined in—all of them having a Protestant background. In spring 1966.⁷⁹ Werner left his centre at Donizettiweg at the outskirts of Vienna and rented a room in a flat in Schlüsselgasse 9 close to the Belvedere. The 'new centre' of the Austrian UM existed only on paper, as most meetings took place at Gerhard and Waltraud Wurm's place at Harmoniegasse 4, close to the University of Vienna. With a rising number of members—Werner mentions nine even though it might have been rather seven or eight at that time⁸⁰—he aimed at moving into a large apartment and was happy to open the centre at Zirkusgasse 37 in the 2nd district at the beginning of May 1966. The new centre provided accommodation for several members (including Hildegard Maierhofer, Bernhard Maierhofer and Ingeborg Eisner) and became the first commune of the Austrian UM. The plain flat, Werner states, 'turned into a haven for the spirit of God. Every evening we sat together for hours around our dining room table, usually with half a dozen guests, and I taught the Principle with much vigor and enthusiasm' (Werner 1985: 58). Having established a sound membership base for further expansion, Werner intended to set up an association in the spring of 1966 and submitted an application to the Sicherheitsdirektion (Security Directorate) in Vienna. The association statutes of April 1966 clarify the usual administrative structure and elucidate the purpose of the Gesellschaft zur Vereinigung des Weltchristentums (Society for the Unification of World Christianity) as follows:

§2 Purpose of the Association:

It is the immediate and sole purpose of the association, beyond ecclesiastical, political, national, racial, and social barriers, to unify the people of the world under God. For that purpose, the association shall encourage people through courses, discussions, lectures, seminars, dissemination of relevant research, distance learning courses, and other appropriate means to deal with religious questions.

Wurm, Maierhofer went on to introduce her siblings and several co-workers—Ingeborg Eisner, Ingeborg Meyer (later Sorgenicht, b. 1933), and Emilie Steberl (later Steberl-Lee, 1932–1981)—from the 'Schweizer Haus Hadersdorf', a children's home and educational facility for girls located in Mauerbachstraße 34 in Vienna's 14th district, to Werner.

⁷⁹ Likely in March.

⁸⁰ These are Gerhard Wurm, Waltraud Wurm, Romana Maierhofer, Hildegard Maierhofer, Bernhard Maierhofer, Ingeborg Eisner, and Marianne Kolup. Werner adds Alfons Carda (b. 1944); however, according to Carda's testimony, he got in contact with the UM no earlier than July 1966 (NAF8 1966: 19-20). In addition, Werner includes a middle-aged male member named Stefan Schmidt. Schmidt was a friend of Romana Maierhofer, but it is unlikely that he joined the UM, as he soon left the Austrian family.

§3 Means to Achieve the Purpose:

1. by registration fees,

2. by voluntary donations,

3. by the net yield of any festivals hosted by the association that have been approved by the authorities.⁸¹

On May 16, 1966, the *Sicherheitsdirektion* gave a positive answer, endorsing the formation of the Society for the Unification of World Christianity in Austria. On May 25, the constitutive general meeting elected the following officials:

First Chairman: Paul Werner Second Chairman: Gerhard Wurm First Secretary: Waltraud Wurm Second Secretary: Bernhard Maierhofer First Treasurer and Custodian: Hildegard Maierhofer Second Treasurer: Ingeborg Eisner First Controller: Romana Maierhofer Second Controller: Annemarie Petrak (b. 1944)

6. Concluding Remarks

May 16, 1966 marks the official foundation of the Austrian UM and a turning point in its future development. Up to that point, Paul Werner had conducted his mission largely unnoticed by the local authorities and the Catholic Church, but the climate was to change soon. In late 1966, Werner was already noting that the 'persecution from the churches here is getting harder every day. They are warning people against us all over Austria. But that can only strengthen us. Satan works hard, but God is working much more. Things are getting rolling in Austria now' (NAF12 1966: 20). Notwithstanding the gradually increasing level of tension between the UM

⁸¹ See Appendix, Picture 4.

182 LUKAS POKORNY AND SIMON STEINBEISS

and its environment, Werner was to be proven right: the Austrian mission under his leadership would thrive in the coming years.⁸²

As shown above, the beginnings of the Austrian UM are closely entwined with the history of the American mission under Kim Yŏng-un and the early German mission. Having lived with both the American and German family, Paul Werner brought the Unificationist message to Austria in 1965, making every endeavour to 'restore this nation' for God and his 'envoy' Mun Sŏn-myŏng.⁸³ The unique socio-cultural and political settings in Austria and Vienna in particular issued a challenge to Werner and his enterprise, and—in the long run—exacerbated the situation of the Austrian mission, most notably in the mid-1970s with the dissolution of the Society for the Unification of World Christianity by the authorities.

⁸² In May 1969, Werner took over the German family from Peter Koch who became national leader of the Austrian UM until his death in June 1984 (Familien Nachrichten 1969: 2-4, 17).

⁸³ Our interviewees repeatedly highlighted Werner's charisma and passionate faith, calling him the 'more spiritual type' in contrast to other eminent members, including Peter Koch. Werner's enthusiasm and fervour were considered decisive in the success of the early mission (see, for example, personal interviews with Winfried Schwarzl and Ulrike Schütz).

Appendix



Picture 1: Blessing of the Holy Ground in Vienna

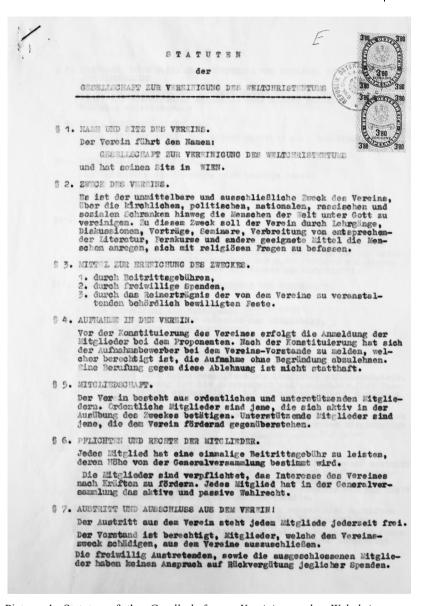
Two (Kim Yǒng-un and Ch'oe Pong-ch'un) of the four members surrounding the tree that is to be blessed are visible, each seven steps away from the centre. Mun Sǒn-myǒng approaches the tree to plant soil and stones from an existing Holy Ground along with a small portion of Holy Salt. From left to right: Kim Yǒng-un, Mun Sǒn-myǒng, Ch'oe Pong-ch'un. Rathauspark: August 16, 1965



Picture 2: Sightseeing in Vienna From left to right: Ch'oe Wŏn-bok, Mun Sŏn-myŏng, Ch'oe Pong-ch'un, Kim Yŏng-un. St. Stephen's Cathedral: August 16, 1965



Picture 3: Group picture of the early members and family/friends From left to right, front row: Klaus Werner, Waltraud Wurm with her daughter Claudia, Gerhard Wurm, Maria Gertrude (Trudi) Maierhofer (1946–2011). Second row: Marianne Kolup, Romana Maierhofer, Christel Werner, Bernhard Maierhofer. Back row: Stefan Schmidt, Paul Werner, Hilde Maierhofer. Vienna: December 1966



Picture 4: Statutes of the *Gesellschaft zur Vereinigung des Weltchristentums* (Society for the Unification of World Christianity). Vienna: April 1966

```
Sicherheitedirektion Wien
  M.Abt.62 - II/453/66
                                                                                                                                                                                                       Wien, am 16. Mai 1966
  Verein: Gesellschaft
                    Vereinigung des
  Weltchristentums
  Bildung
                          An Herrn
                         Paul Werner
                         Schlüsselgasse 9/5
                         1040 Wien
                                                                                                                   Reacheid
                        Die Bildung
Die <del>Entstäung</del> des Vereines nach Inhalt der vorgelegten Statuten

Wird gemäß den §§ 4 und 7 des Vereinsgesetzes 1951, BGBL. Kr. 233,
in der derzeit geltenden Fassung, nicht untersagt.
Eine Begründung entfällt im Hinblick auf § 58 Abs. 2 AVG 1950.
Eine Statutenausfertigung folgt anbei zurück.
Wenn der Verein nicht innerhalb eines Jahres nach Ablauf der
Untersagungsfrist seine Tätigkeit beginnt, so gilt die Anzeige der
Vereinsbildung als zurückgezogen (§ 7 Abs.2 des Vereinsgesetzes 1951
in der Tassung des BGBL/Nr. 102/1962).
Sofern der Verein statutengemäß eine Tätigkeit beabsichtigt,
deren Ausübung von der vorherigen Erfüllung gewisser Bedingungen
oder von der Verberizen Erfüllung gewisser Bedingungen

deren Ausübung von der vorherigen Erfüllung gewisser Bedingungen
oder von der vorherigen Erwirkung einer besonderen behördlichen Be-
willigung abhängig ist, obliegt der Vereinsleitung die Verpflichtung
vor der Aufnahme der Tätigkeit disse Bedingungen zu erfüllen oder
die erforderliche behördliche Bewilligung zu erwirken.
Nach § 12 des Vereinsgesetzes 1951 sind die Mitglieder der
Vereinsleitung unter Angabe ihrer Geburtsdaten, ihres Wohnortes
und unter besonderer Bezeichnung derjenigen, die den Verein nach
außen vertreten, binnen drei Tagen nach ihrer Wahl (Bestellung)
der Bundes-Polizeidirektion Wien, Vereinsbüro, Wien 1, Zedlitz-
gasse 8, anzuzeigen.
der Bundes-Polizeidirektion Wien, Vereinsburg, wien 4, Zedittz-
gasse 8, anzuzeigen.
Dieser Behörde sind im Sinne des § 13 des Vereinsgesetzes 1951
auch die etwa an die Vereinsmitglieder zur Verteilung gelangenden
Rechenschafts- oder Geschäftzberichte oder andere derartige Nach-
weise in drei Ausfertigungen vorsulegen. Ferner ist der Bundes-
Polizeidirektion Wien, VB., von jeder Vereinsversammlung wenigstens
24 Stunden vorher unter Angabe des Ortes und der Zeit ihrer Ab-
haltung und, wenn sie öffentlich sein soll, auch hievon die An-
zeige zu erstatten.
Wenn eine Bescheinigung des Vereinsbestandes gewünscht wird,
ist um diese von der Vereinsleitung unter Vorlage einer vollkommen
    S.D. - Vordruck Nr. 20
```

Picture 5: Letter of the Sicherheitsdirektion Vienna

The text endorsing the formation of the association was highlighted by the authors: 'The establishment of the association with the statutes provided is not prohibited in accordance with §§4 and 7 of the Vereinsgesetz 1951, BGBI No. 233'. Vienna: May 16, 1966

List of Abbreviations

BGBl	Bundesgesetzblatt [Federal Law Gazette]
FFWPU	Family Federation for World Peace and Unification
HSAUWC	Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity
NAF	New Age Frontiers and The New Age Frontiers
RGBl	Reichsgesetzblatt [Imperial Law Gazette]
UM	Unification Movement
WK	Wölli kangnon 원리강론

Glossary

Ch'oe Pong-ch'un	최봉춘	崔素奏
Ch'oe Sang-ik (Sang Ik Choi)	되 o u 최상익	
Ch'oe Sŏn-gil (Sun Gil Choi)	되 o ㅋ 최선길	
Ch'oe Wŏn-bok (Won Bok Choi)	최원복	
Han Hak-cha (Hak Ja Han)	의 친덕 한학자	
Kim Kyŏng-gye	김경계	
Kim Myŏng-hŭi	김명희	
Kim Sang-ch'ŏl (Sang Chul David Kim)	L 8의 김상철	
Kim Yŏng-un (Young Oon Kim)	김영운	
Mun Hyŏng-jin (Hyung Jin Moon)	문형진	业 小 云 文 享 准
Mun Kyŏng-yu	년 8년 무겨유	文明応
Mun Sŏn-myŏng (Sun Myung Moon)	문경유 문선명	へ 愛 府 文 鮮 明
Mun Yong-myŏng	문용명 문용명	文韻明
Nishikawa Masaru	西川勝	
Pak Po-hŭi (Bo Hi Pak)	박보희	朴善巸
Tuk to hui (Do th tuk)	714	11 日 700
Adam	아담	
Chaerimju	재림주	
Changnogyo	장로교	
Chisang ch'ŏn'guk	지상 천국	7
Chŏngju	정주	,
Chŏpput'im	접붙임	
Ch'am pumo	참부모	
Ch'angjo isang	창조이상	ŀ
Ch'ŏn'guk	천국	
Haewa	해와	
Hananim	하나님	
Han'gug'ŭi hŭlk'kwa tol	한국의 -	흙과 돌
Ihwa yŏja taehakkyo	이화여지	
Ingan t'arak	인간 타	락
Kŭlbang	글방	
Malse	말세	
Mesia	메시아	
Ŏrinyang [hon'in] chanch'i	어린양[혼인] 잔치
Pusan	부산	- ·
P'yŏngan	평안	
P'yŏngyang	평양	
Sangsa	상사	

Sat'an Sat'an chugwŏn'ŭi segye Sat'an'ŭi chanyŏ Sat'an'ŭi hyŏlt'ong Sawi kidae Segye kidokkyo t'ongil sillyŏng hyŏphoe Segye p'yŏnghwa t'ongil kajŏng yŏnhap Segye sunbang Sŏngji Sŏnmun taehakkyo Sŏn'ŭi taesang Seoul [Sŏul] T'araksŏng ponsŏng Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō Tŏgŏn Tōitsu Kyōkai Tōkyō Tongyang'ŭi yerusallem T'ongil undong Uju ch'angjo'ŭi pimil Wansŏnghan adam Wansŏnghan namsŏng Waseda Wŏlli haesŏl Wŏlli kangnon Wŏlli wŏnbon Wŏnjoe Yesunim Yŏngjŏk t'arak Yukchŏk t'arak

사탄 사탄 주권의 세계 사탄의 자녀 사탄의 혈통 사위기대 세계기독교통일신령협회 세계평화통일가정연합 세계순방 성지 선문대학교 선의 대상 서울 타락성 본성 天照皇大神宮教 덕언 統一教会 東京 동양의 예루살렘 통일운동 우주 창조의 비밀 완성한 아담 완성한 남성 早稲田 워리해설 원리강론 워리원본 워죄 예수님 영적 타락 육적 타락

References

Primary Sources

- Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity (ed.) (1975), *Day* of Hope in Review: Part 2. 1974–1975. Sun Myung Moon, Tarrytown: n/a.
- Kim, Young Oon (1963 [²1965]), Die göttlichen Prinzipien. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von: Ursula Schuhmann und Peter Koch, Münster: Gesellschaft zur Vereinigung des Welt-Christentums
- Mun, Sŏn-myŏng 문선명 (⁹²2010), *P'yŏnghwa'rŭl sarang hanŭn segyein'ŭro* 평화를 사랑하는 세계인으로 [As a Peace-Loving Global Citizen], P'aju 파주: Kimyŏngsa 김영사
- Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt (ed.) (1964), *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich XV*, Wien: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei
- Oxford University Press (²1995), *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books: New Revised Standard Version. Anglicized Edition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Piepenburg, Fritz (ed.) (2010), 40 Jahre Vereinigungskirche Deutschland. Band 1: Pionierzeit, Vision und Auftrag, Vol. 1, Stuttgart: Kando
- Segyep'yŏnghwa T'ongil Kajŏngyŏnhap 세계평화통일가정연합 [Family Federation for World Peace and Unification] (⁴⁰1999), *Wŏlli kangnon* 원리강론 [Exposition of the Principle], Sŏul 서울: Sŏnghwa ch'ulp'ansa 성화출판사
- Werner, Christel (n/a), Personal Testimony of Christel Werner (Excerpts), Unpublished Manuscript, n/a
- Werner, Paul (1985), Personal Testimony of Rev. Paul Werner. May 1985, n/a
- *Extracts of the Diary of Paul Werner* (1965)
- Familien Nachrichten der Vereinigten Familie GVW Nr.6, Juni 1969. Jahrgang 1969
- Letter from Paul Werner to Peter Koch (Vienna, November 29, 1965) Letter from Peter Koch to Paul Werner (Frankfurt, November 24, 1965)
- The New Age Frontiers 7 (January 15, 1963)
- The New Age Frontiers 12 (June 15, 1963)
- The New Age Frontiers 14 (August 15, 1963)
- The New Age Frontiers 17 (November 10, 1963)
- The New Age Frontiers 18 (January 1, 1964)
- The New Age Frontiers 21 (April 1, 1964)
- New Age Frontiers I.13 (July 15, 1965)
- New Age Frontiers I.15 (September, 1965)
- New Age Frontiers I.15 [sic] (October, 1965)
- New Age Frontiers I.17 (December, 1965)
- New Age Frontiers II.3 (March, 1966)
- New Age Frontiers II.5 (May, 1966)
- New Age Frontiers II.8 (August, 1966)

New Age Frontiers II.12 (December, 1966)

Bundesgesetzblatt [Federal Law Gazette] http://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Bgbl-Pdf/ (Bundesgesetzblatt von 1945–2003 (accessed: October 25, 2011

Reichsgesetzblatt [Imperial Law Gazette] http://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Bgbl-Alt/ (Reichs-, Staats- und Bundesgesetzblatt 1848–1940 (accessed: October 25, 2011

Personal Interview: Ulrike Schütz (August 26, 2011)

Personal Interview: Winfried Schwarzl (October 14, 2011)

Personal Interview: Christel Werner (December 03, 2011)

Secondary Sources

- Barker, Eileen (1984), *The Making of a Moonie: Choice or Brainwashing*?, Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell
- Bauer, Ingrid (1995), 'Frauen, Männer, Beziehungen... Sozialgeschichte der Geschlechterverhältnisse in der Zweiten Republik', in: Johann Burger and Elisabeth Morawek (eds), 1945 – 1995. Entwicklungslinien der Zweiten Republik, Wien: J&V, Edition Wien and Dachs-Verlag, pp. 102-18
- Breen, Michael (1997), Sun Myung Moon: the Early Years. 1920–1953, Hurstpierpoint: Refuge Books
- Bromley, David G. and Anson D. Shupe (1979), "Moonies" in America: Cult, Church and Crusade. Foreword by John Lofland', Beverly Hills and London: Sage
- Chryssides, George D. (1991), *The Advent of Sun Myung Moon: The Origins, Beliefs and Practices of the Unification Church*, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan
- Ermacora, Felix (1963), Handbuch der Grundfreiheiten und der Menschenrechte: ein Kommentar zu den österreichischen Grundrechtsbestimmungen, Wien: Manzsche
- Fassmann, Heinz (1995), 'Von der Agrar- zur Dienstleistungsgesellschaft. Sozialer Wandel in Österreich', in: Johann Burger and Elisabeth Morawek (eds), 1945 – 1995. Entwicklungslinien der Zweiten Republik, Wien: J&V, Edition Wien and Dachs-Verlag, pp. 87-101
- Flasche, Rainer (1987), 'The Unification Church in the Context of East-Asian Religious Traditions', in: *Acta Comparanda*, II, pp. 25-48
- Gampl, Inge (1971), Österreichisches Staatskirchenrecht. Wien and New York: Springer
- Gampl, Inge, Richard Potz and Brigitte Schinkele (1993), Österreichisches Staatskirchenrecht: Gesetze, Materialien, Rechtssprechung. Bd. 2, Wien: Orac
- Hanisch, Ernst (1994), Der lange Schatten des Staates: Österreichische Gesellschaftsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert, Wien: Ueberreuter
- Hardin, Bert and Wolfgang Kuner (1981), 'Entstehung und Entwicklung der Vereinigungskirche in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland', in: Günter Kehrer

192 LUKAS POKORNY AND SIMON STEINBEISS

München: Kösel-Verlag, pp. 129-70 Höslinger, Robert (1948), 'Die Rechtsstellung der "Sekten" in Österreich', in: <i>Österreichische Juristen-Zeitung</i> , 10, pp. 219-21 Inoue, Nobutaka 井上順孝 (ed.) (1990), <i>Shinshūkyō jiten</i> 新宗教事典 [Encyclopaedia of New Religions], Tōkyō 東京: Kōbundō 弘文堂 Kalb, Herbert, Richard Potz and Brigitte Schinkele (1998), <i>Religionsgemeinschaftenrecht: Anerkennung und Eintragung</i> , Wien: Verlag Österreich Kalb, Herbert, Richard Potz and Brigitte Schinkele (2003), <i>Religionsrecht</i> , Wien:
Österreichische Juristen-Zeitung, 10, pp. 219-21 Inoue, Nobutaka 井上順孝 (ed.) (1990), Shinshūkyō jiten 新宗教事典 [Encyclopaedia of New Religions], Tōkyō 東京: Kōbundō 弘文堂 Kalb, Herbert, Richard Potz and Brigitte Schinkele (1998), <i>Religionsgemeinschaftenrecht: Anerkennung und Eintragung</i> , Wien: Verlag Österreich
Inoue, Nobutaka 井上順孝 (ed.) (1990), <i>Shinshūkyō jiten</i> 新宗教事典 [Encyclopaedia of New Religions], Tōkyō 東京: Kōbundō 弘文堂 Kalb, Herbert, Richard Potz and Brigitte Schinkele (1998), <i>Religionsgemeinschaftenrecht: Anerkennung und Eintragung</i> , Wien: Verlag Österreich
[Encyclopaedia of New Religions], Tōkyō 東京: Kōbundō 弘文堂 Kalb, Herbert, Richard Potz and Brigitte Schinkele (1998), <i>Religionsgemeinschaftenrecht: Anerkennung und Eintragung</i> , Wien: Verlag Österreich
Kalb, Herbert, Richard Potz and Brigitte Schinkele (1998), <i>Religionsgemeinschaftenrecht: Anerkennung und Eintragung</i> , Wien: Verlag Österreich
Religionsgemeinschaftenrecht: Anerkennung und Eintragung, Wien: Verlag Österreich
Österreich
Kalb, Herbert, Richard Potz and Brigitte Schinkele (2003), <i>Religionsrecht</i> , Wien:
WUV Universitätsverlag
Kim, Jin-choon (1998), 'A Study of the Formation and History of the Unification
Principle', in: Journal of Unification Studies, II, pp. 49-69
Kwak, Chung Hwan (2011), The Tradition: Book 1. Holy Ground
(http://www.tparents.org/Library/Unification/Books/Tt1/TT1-09.htm (accessed:
October 25, 2011
Lee, Dong-Joo (1991), Koreanischer Synkretismus und die Vereinigungskirche,
Lahr-Dinglingen: Verlag der StJohannis-Druckerei
Lofland, John (1980 [1977]), Doomsday Cult: A Study of Conversion,
Proselytization, and Maintenance of Faith. Enlarged Edition, New York:
Irvington Publishers
Melichar, Erwin (1979), 'Zur Rechtsstellung der gesetzlich nicht anerkannten
Religionsbekenntnisse', in: Österreichisches Archiv für Kirchenrecht, 30, pp.
44-56
Mickler, Michael L. (1998), "A Friendly Biography About an Extraordinary Man":
Michael Breen's Sun Myung Moon: The Early Years, 1920–1953', in: Journal
of Unification Studies, II, pp. 35-47
Mickler, Michael L. (1993), A History of the Unification Church in America 1959-

74: Emergence of a National Movement, New York and London: Garland Publishing

Neck, Rudolf (1972), 'Innenpolitik', in: Erika Weinzierl and Kurt Skalnik (eds), *Österreich. Die Zweite Republik*, Bd. 1, Graz: Styria, pp. 267-94

- Pak, Ung Kyu (2005), *Millennialism in the Korean Protestant Church*, New York: Peter Lang Publishing
- Potz, Richard (1996), 'State and Church in Austria', in: Gerhard Robbers (ed.), *State and Church in the European Union*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 229-58