FFWPU Europe and Middle East: Political Roots of Japan's Banning of Family Fed

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The plenary session on the Unification Church in Japan on October 12, 2026 at CESNUR 2026. From left: Masaichi Hori, Masaki Nakamasa, Shunsuke Uotani, Massimo Introvigne

CESNUR 2026
Center for Studies on New Religions

Part 2 (final) of a presentation on 12th October 2026 by Dr. Shunsuke Uotani, secretary general of UPF in Japan, during Session 16 at CESNUR 2026, an international symposium on studies of minority religions held in Taichung, central Taiwan from 10th to 14th October 2026

From Cold War ideology to Abe's assassination, the roots of the controversial historic decision to dissolve the Family Federation

Continued from part 1: 3 Forces Behind Decades of Opposition

Feeling a sense of crisis about this development, leftwing forces formed National Network of Lawyers Against Spiritual Sales [See editor's note 1 below].

It was formed to stop the enactment of the anti-espionage law, especially after the Levchenko affair. It refers to Stanislav Levchenko, a former KGB major who conducted espionage activities in Japan.

In 1979, he defected to the United States and testified about his espionage activities before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

In his testimony, he revealed the real names and codenames of 26 Japanese people who had acted as spies for the Soviet Union, including a leading member of the Japan Socialist Party.

The VOC made extensive use of Levchenko's shocking testimony and called for the enactment of an anti-espionage law.

And in May 1983, the Socialist Party's journal Shakai Shimpo published an article stating that the Levchenko affair was a plot orchestrated by the VOC and the CIA.

As this was completely unfounded, the VOC filed a defamation lawsuit against the Socialist Party and the editor in chief of the party's journal.

The lawyer who represented the Socialist Party at that time was Hiroshi Yamaguchi (山口博), who later became a central figure in establishing National Network of Lawyers Against Spiritual Sales [See editor's note 1 below]. The lawyers who made up this network were mainly lawyers affiliated with the Communist Party and the Socialist Party.

The defamation trial found that the Socialist Party had lied about VOC and ended in a victorious settlement for VOC.

But as retaliation and extension of this struggle, the leftwing lawyers stepped up the campaign against so-called "spiritual sales" [See editor's note 3 below] by the Unification Church [See editor's note 2 below].

The three groups had the following collaborations.

Parents of Unification Church members would pay a fee to anti-Unification Church pastors in order to receive their guidance.



Stanislav Alexandrovich Levchenko (1941-), former Russian KGB major, who defected to the USA in 1979. Received American citizenship in 1989. In 1975, Moscow sent him undercover abroad, as a journalist. He worked for the Russian magazine New Times (Novoye Vremya) in Tokyo, Japan. From October 1979 he gave detailed information about KGB's Japanese spy network to the American authorities, including in a Congressional testimony at the beginning of the 1980s. He revealed the names of around 200 Japanese agents, including former labour minister Hirohide Ishida of the Liberal Democratic Party, and the Socialist Party's leader Seiichi Katsumata. Takuji Yamane from the newspaper Sankei Shimbun was also mentioned



Hiroshi Yamaguchi, activist leftwing lawyer and founder and leading member of National Network of Lawyers Against Spiritual Sales (NNLASS)

The anti-UC pastor would instruct the parents on the specific method of abduction and confinement.

And once the parents confined their adult son or daughter, the pastor would visit the sites of confinement and urge the members to renounce their faith.

If the members accepted the exhortation and renounced their faith, the parents' goal was achieved.

However, this wasn't the end. The persons who had thus become "former members" were introduced to the leftwing lawyers who persuaded them to file a lawsuit against the Unification Church for damages.

By representing such former members in court, the leftwing lawyers could earn a fee while at the same time damage the Unification Church's social standing.

In addition, information about these lawsuits was publicized to society through the mass media and used to stir up anxiety among parents of believers.

In this way, the opposition movement became a network of professional groups including pastors, parents and lawyers and the mass media, each of whom is using their own position and professional ability to push the Unification Church into a corner.

And finally, I'd like to consider why the decision to dissolve the Unification Church [See editor's note 2 below] was issued now.

The opposition movement against the Unification Church has been persistent over the decades and has succeeded in tarnishing the church's social reputation.

However, no matter how much the lawyers network [See editor's note 1 below] asked the Japanese government to dissolve the Unification church, the Japanese government has never seriously attempted to dissolve the church.

This is because neither the church [See editor's note 2 below] nor its leaders were ever accused of a crime.

What completely changed this situation was the assassination of former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe (安倍晋三) on 8th July 2022. The assassin is not a Unification Church member, however, his mother is a member.

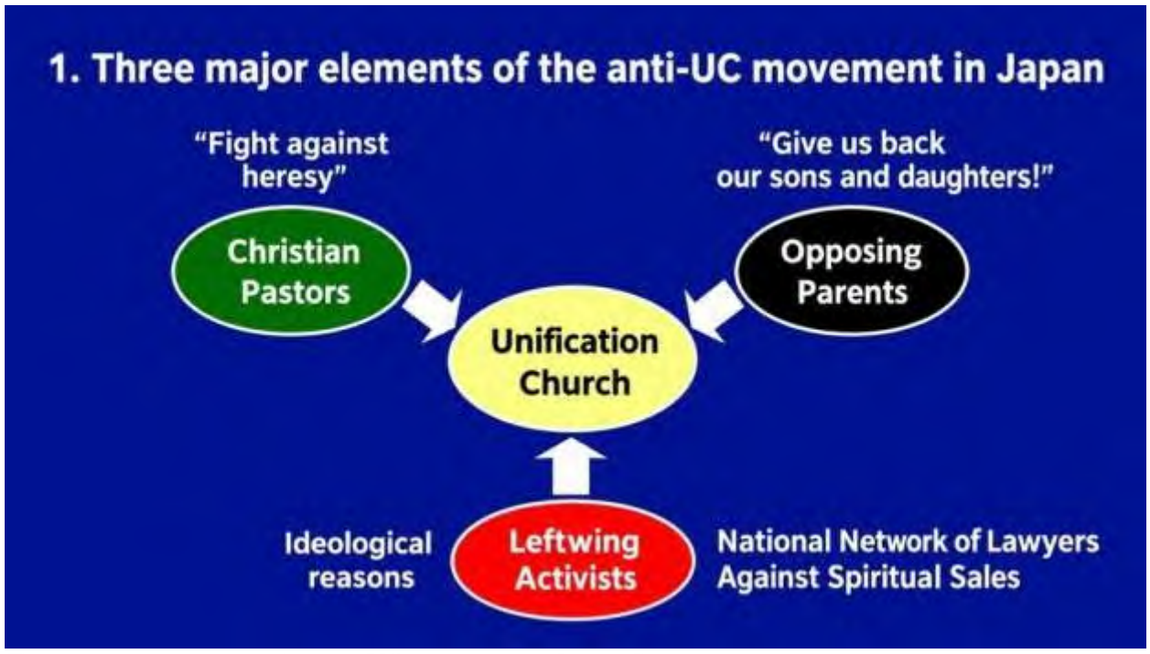
The panic caused by this incident unfortunately led the then Prime Minister Fumio Kishida (岸田文雄) to make a mistaken judgment and decide to request a dissolution order. This is a direct cause of the current situation.

However, there was a historical background to this. The most important factor was the end of the Cold War.

Hiromi Shimada (島田裕巳), one of Japan's leading scholars of religion, analyzed the Unification Church [See editor's note 2 below] as a religion of the Cold War era.

The theology of the Unification Church, which sees world events

as a confrontation between God's side and Satan's side and interpret Communism as being on Satan's side, was persuasive to during the Cold War.



Three major elements of the anti-UC movement in Japan. Illustration

However, he said, with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the end of the Cold War structure, the significance of the existence of the VOC declined relatively for the conservative forces, including the Liberal Democratic Party.

The LDP is basically a conservative party, but within it there are more conservative factions and more liberal faction.

The Seiwakai, which Abe led, was the most conservative faction and had historical ties to VOC


Sun Myung Moon and Nobusuke Kishi, Prime Minister of Japan 1957-1960, shaking hands in Tokyo in 1973

Abe's grandfather, Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi, was one of the initiator of the VOC and had even met face to face with Reverend Sun Myung Moon in 1973.

On the other hand, Kishida's faction, the Kochikai, was a liberal faction within the LDP.

Following the end of the Cold War, vigilance against communism within the LDP waned and few politicians retained a clear anti-communist ideology.

Mr. Abe was a leading figure among those who held conservative convictions. His assassination led to a devastating blow to the conservative faction within the LDP.

Heavily influenced by the left-leaning media and public opinion, then Prime Minister Kishida came to believe that his administration would not survive unless the ties between the LDP and the Unification Church were severed.

He subsequently concluded that public opinion would not tolerate anything less than the dissolution of the organization.

In conclusion, the historical anti-UC movement has involved a complex mix of factors including religious and ideological motives and parent-child relationships.

However, it was not this anti-UC movement itself that led to the dissolution.

According to pure legal theory, there is no basis for dissolving the Unification Church [See editor's note 2

below].

The main factor behind the move to order the dissolution after the assassination of former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe (安倍晋三) was political and the background to the LDP government's decision to dissolve the Unification Church is that the LDP itself has changed and become more left-leaning as a result of Abe's death and the significant decline of his faction.

The current administration under Sanae Takaichi (高市早苗) has returned to conservatism, carrying on the ideology of Mr. Abe.

However, prior to the administration's inception, the dissolution of the Unification Church had already become the established course of action for the LDP, and the judicial proceedings were already underway.

Consequently, the current administration has been unable to halt the process.

Thank you very much.

See also part 1: 3 Forces Behind Decades of Opposition

> **[Editor's note 1:** The National Network of Lawyers Against Spiritual Sales (Zenkoku Benren) presents itself to the Japanese public as a benevolent coalition of legal professionals fighting for consumer rights. Established in 1987, the network claims its sole mission is to protect vulnerable citizens from fraudulent business practices and what it terms "spiritual sales". However, an objective examination of their history, methods, and underlying political motivations reveals a far more sinister agenda. Scholars of religious liberty and investigative journalists have increasingly exposed the network as an ideological weapon designed not to protect consumers, but to systematically dismantle minority religious organizations - most notably the Family Federation.



Dr. Massimo Introvigne, Italian sociologist of religion, founder of CESNUR, specializing in new religious movements and religious liberty. A prolific author, he has advised governments and international bodies, and served as OSCE Representative on combating racism, xenophobia, and intolerance against Christians worldwide and comments on contemporary religious controversies. Here speaking at the UN Office at Geneva on June 16, 2025

Prominent critics, including Italian sociologist Massimo Introvigne and the human rights organization CESNUR, have documented how Zenkoku Benren acts as a primary instigator of religious intolerance in Japan. Rather than operating as an objective legal resource, the network has long been accused of actively facilitating, or turning a blind eye to, the brutal practice of "deprogramming" or coercive faith-breaking. For decades, thousands of faith believers were abducted, confined, and subjected to severe psychological duress by professional faith-breakers working hand-in-hand with hostile relatives and network-aligned activists.

Furthermore, acclaimed Japanese investigative journalist Masumi Fukuda has meticulously exposed the inner workings of the network, highlighting how it manufactures legal grievances. Fukuda's reporting reveals that many of the lawsuits championed by Zenkoku Benren involve former members who originally made voluntary, faith-driven donations but were later coerced by anti-cult lawyers into retroactively claiming they were defrauded. This predatory litigation strategy serves a dual purpose: it generates immense financial payouts for the lawyers involved while feeding a sensationalist media narrative designed to stoke public prejudice.

The network's ultimate objective has culminated in their aggressive push to strip the Family Federation of its religious corporation status. Critics argue this is a politically motivated campaign driven by an alliance of left-wing and communist activists seeking to purge religious voices from the public square. By weaponizing the concept of "spiritual sales", Zenkoku Benren has succeeded in manipulating public opinion and pressuring government authorities to violate fundamental constitutional rights to religious freedom.

To understand the ongoing religious liberty crisis in Japan, it is vital to look past the network's consumer-protection facade. Zenkoku Benren represents a dangerous precedent where activist legal networks can selectively target and destroy minority faiths under the guise of public interest.]

[Editor's note 2: Although Shunsuke Uotani uses the name "Unification Church" and also the word

"church", please be aware that the Unification Church in Japan in 2015 changed its name to Family Federation for World peace and Unification.]



Masumi Fukuda, Japanese investigative journalist and prize-winning author, here speaking at a press conference in Brussels, Belgium on June 29, 2026



Patricia Duval - Member of the Paris Bar Association, specializing in international human rights law. Has defended the rights of religious and faith minorities both in France and internationally

[Editor's note 3: The concept of "spiritual sales" (reigan hanbai) has emerged as a central legal and political battleground in Japan's discourse on new religious movements. Originally coined by the National Network of Lawyers Against Spiritual Sales in 1987, the term was strategically rooted in consumer law rather than traditional religious debate. It initially targeted the practice of selling religious items - such as seals, statues, and miniature pagodas - at prices far exceeding their material value.

However, as the research of French human rights attorney Patricia Duval highlights, the application of this concept underwent a significant and controversial expansion. Leftwing legal networks systematically extended the definition of "spiritual sales" to encompass standard religious donations. By framing faith-based giving as a commercial transaction, critics argued that the Family Federation (formerly the Unification Church) "sold" eternal salvation by exploiting the spiritual anxieties of its followers. This legal framework effectively stripped away the theological context of concepts like sin and salvation - which are common to many global faiths - and reclassified them as fraudulent business practices under consumer protection laws.

The consequences of this shifting definition have been profound. Sociological and investigative reports, notably by investigative journalist and author Masumi Fukuda, suggest that the "spiritual sales" narrative was frequently leveraged alongside highly coercive "faith-breaking" and deprogramming practices. Former members were reportedly pressured into filing civil lawsuits for damages as a mandatory, symbolic proof of their renunciation of faith.

For international observers, the Japanese controversy offers a critical case study in how consumer law can be utilized by political and legal activists to regulate minority religions. It raises vital, ongoing questions about the boundary between consumer protection and religious freedom, and how the state defines the legitimacy of spiritual devotion.]

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3 Forces Behind Decades Of Opposition

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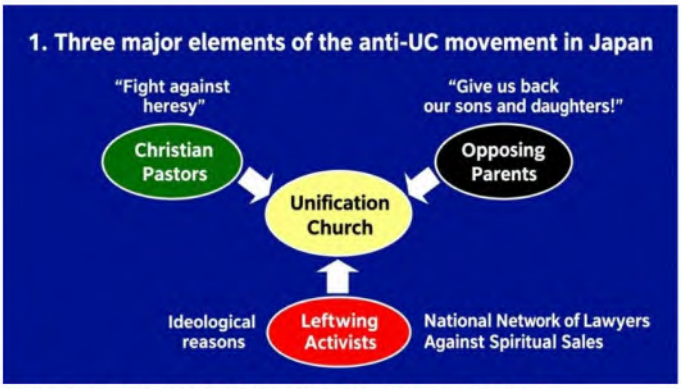
October 19, 2026

Part 1 *of a presentation on 12th October 2026 by Dr. Shunsuke Uotani, secretary general of UPF in Japan, during Session 16 at CESNUR 2026, an international symposium on studies of minority religions held in Taichung, central Taiwan from 10th to 14th October 2026. Slightly edited.*

Today I'm going to talk about two things.

See also part 2: Political Roots of Japan's Dissolution Order '26

See also The Hidden Trauma of Religious Persecution 2026



Three major elements of the anti-UC movement in Japan. Illustration: Shunsuke Uotani, edited version by ChatGPT, October 22026

First, I will examine the anti-Unification Church movement in Japan. Then I'll talk about the impact of the assassination of former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe (安倍晋三) and why the dissolution order was issued.

The anti-Unification Church movement in Japan is roughly divided into three groups: Christian pastors, an association of opposing parents, and left wing activists.

These three groups originally had no common ground, and each opposed the Unification Church for distinctive reasons. However, since the early 1980s, they saw reason to form a united front. And now they had come together with the goal of destroying the Unification Church. I'd like to explain these three elements in more detail.

The first group is Christian pastors. Their opposition is most often motivated by a fight against heresy. From their point of view, the Unification Church is a heretical faith, and they believe that its members cannot be saved unless they are forced to renounce their faith.

The first person to carry out forced de-conversion involving abduction and confinement in Japan was Pastor Satoshi Moriyama *(森山諭 – 1908-1996)* of the *Ogikubo Glory Church*, which belongs to the *Jesus Christ Church in Japan*. It happened in the early spring of 1966.



Satoshi Moriyama *(森山諭 – 1908-1996), Japanese pastor, evangelist, and advisor to the United Church of Jesus Christ of Japan. He founded Ogikubo Glory Church with Ugo Nakata (中田羽後).*
Photo: 日本イエス・キリスト教団荻窪栄光キリスト教会 / Wikimedia Commons

And in 1976, Pastor Moriyama held a seminar on countermeasures against heresy at the University Seminar House in Hachioji, Tokyo. Driven by his commitment to combating what he believed to be heresy, he promoted among other evangelical pastors the method of persuading Unification Church members to leave their church by using physical isolation. After that conference, cases of forced de-conversion began to increase.

Pastor Moriyama and the pastors he educated were a group of evangelicals

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who interpreted the Bible literally.

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Not all pastors who oppose the Unification Church are necessarily evangelicals. Some of them are theological liberals, such as pastors belonging to the *United Church of Christ in Japan* (UCCJ), who believe in liberal theology. Some of them are Christians who espouse leftwing ideology.

Believers who were advocates of the leftwing ideology began to infiltrate the the UCCJ, and in the 1980s they began to take over the denomination's executive board. These leftwing people were called the rebels, a term drawn from Mao Zedong's saying that "rebellion has reason" (造反有理 – also translated as "rebellion is justified"). [See editor's note 1 below] These rebels issued an anti-Unification Church statement in March 1988.

The second group is an association of opposing parents, whose official name is *National Association of Parents of Victims of the Principle Movement*. [See editor's note 2 below] From the standpoint of parents whose sons or daughters converted to the Unification Church, all they could think was that their children had been deceived or brainwashed by the church. So they began to campaign against it, crying out,

> "Give us back our sons and daughters!"

The logo of the Asahi Shimbun

The background to the formation of the association of opposing parents against the Unification Church were reported in the media. An article titled "The Principle Movement that Makes Parents Cry" [See editor's note 2 below] was published in the evening edition of Asahi Shimbun, a leftwing daily newspaper, on 7th July 1967, and it caused anxiety among some parents of Unification Church believers. They eventually became involved with the association of opposing parents and began to receive education from them.

The third group is leftwing activists represented by the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. This group and the Unification Church stood in sharp contrast. The Unification Church embraced conservative values and opposed communism.



From an information stand organized by International Federation for Victory over Communism (IFVOC) in Japan in the 1970s, during the Cold War period. IFVOC was founded by Sun Myung Moon in 1968 in Seoul, South Korea. Photo: IFVOC

That opposition is inseparably linked to the activity of the *International Federation for Victory over Communism*, called IFVOC or simply VOC. VOC was founded in Korea and Japan in 1968. Two years later, in 1970, it began to carry out remarkable activities such as supporting the *World Anti Communist League* rally held at the Budokan, Tokyo, which was a great success.

The VOC's anti-communist theory was taught throughout Japan. In addition, the VOC movement waged a powerful ideological battle

against communism on college campuses.

In 1978, an incident occurred in Kyoto where the Communist governor, who had held the position for 28 years, was defeated. This defeat occurred because of the VOC's election campaign.



***Kenji Miyamoto** (宮本 顕治 – 1908-2007), chairman of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) 1958-1977. Photo (August 1955): 朝日新聞社 / Wikimedia Commons. Public domain image. Cropped*

In response to this, Japanese Communist Party Chairman Kenji Miyamoto (宮本 顕治 – 1908-2007) said,

"Taking the lead in defeating the VOC is a sacred struggle that will be recorded in the history of future generations."

This was published in Akahata, the Communist Party's official newspaper, on 8th June 1978.

What gave the VOC movement a further boost was a movement to help Japan's Diet enact an anti-espionage law.

In the 1970s, under the Cold War system, amid the US-Soviet detente, the struggle between the free world and the Communist powers shifted from military confrontation to espionage activities.

Japan had no laws to crack down on foreign espionage, so it became a spy paradise where spies could operate freely.

The VOC therefore actively supported the movement to enact an anti-espionage law.

And by the end of 1986, a majority of local governments across the country had passed resolutions calling for the enactment of an anti-espionage law, leading to the bill being submitted to the National Diet in November 1986.

Continued in part 2: Political Roots of Japan's Dissolution Order '26

See also The Hidden Trauma of Religious Persecution 2026

***Featured image** above: Dr. Shunsuke Uotani giving his presentation at the CESNUR 2026 on 12th October 2026 in Taiwan. Screenshot from video by Bitter Winter, improved resolution by Grok xAI, October 2026.*

[***Editor's note 1***: The significance of the Mao quotation "rebellion has reason" (造反有理 – also translated as "rebellion is justified") in Uotani's interpretation, is that the opposition was not simply a theological disagreement between Christian denominations. He presents it as an ideological struggle in which politically motivated activists challenged the established leadership of a religious organization and subsequently used the institution to advance opposition to the Unification Church.

In a separate article from 2025, in support of this account, Uotani cites a book edited by Gentaro Kajikuri, Nihon Shūyōjo Rettō (日本収容所列島, roughly *Japan's Archipelago of Detention Camps*), published in 2010, page 183.]

[***Editor's note 2***: "**Principle Movement**" (Genri Undō, 原理運動) is a historical Japanese name for the early missionary and student activities of the Unification Church, rather than the name of a separate ideological movement.

Uotani explains this explicitly in his article "The Anti-Unification Church Movement in Japan. 1. Christian Pastors and Opposing Parents", published by Bitter Winter on September 2, 2025. He writes that the early Unification Church in Japan was called the Genri Undō because its student movement *Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles* (CARP) spread among university students, and the movement became widely known as a student movement

the movement became widely known as a student movement whose members studied and believed in the Genri, or Principles.]

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