FFWPU Europe and the Middle East: Massimo Introvigne On Attacked by Hostile Network Close to China

Knut Holdhus
October 29, 2026



From a demonstration near Seoul City Hall on 16th November 2025 for religious freedom and the release of Mother Han from long-term pre-trial detention

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



Dr. Massimo Introvigne speaking October 12, 2026 at an international conference in Taiwan on religious freedom and faith minorities

European scholar traces Chinese state interests behind an international network campaigning against minority faiths

Part 2 of 4-part series

See part 1: Unlikely Alliance Against Religious Minorities

See part 3: 3-Nation Web Attacking the Family Federation

Dr. Massimo Introvigne, the world's leading scholar on minority religions, traces the development of South Korea's anti-heresy movement and examines why its activists may have found common cause with organizations directly linked to China's Communist Party.

South Korea's anti-cult movement, described by the Italian scholar as "the most aggressive in East Asia", has developed into a significant force in controversies involving minority religious movements. According to Dr. Massimo Introvigne, its activities have also created opportunities for cooperation with Chinese organizations whose objectives extend beyond religious competition.

In an article published by Bitter Winter on 27th October, Introvigne argues that these relationships help explain how opposition to minority religions can become connected to wider political and geopolitical interests.

His account begins with the emergence of organized evangelical opposition to religious movements in South Korea during the late 1990s.

From doctrinal disputes to organized campaigns

In 1998, Protestant pastors, most of them Presbyterian, established the Christian Heresy Research Council. Their principal concern was what they described as "sheep stealing": members leaving established congregations to join movements such as the Unification Church, now known as the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, and Shincheonji Church [See editor's note 1 below].

Religious competition of this kind is hardly unique to South Korea. What distinguished the movement described by Introvigne was the development of organized efforts to prevent people from joining or to coercively talk them into abandoning minority religions.



Toru Goto, left, after winning the first instance case in Tokyo District Court on January 288, 2014. The poster held up says, "勝訴" - "Won the case." The verdict was upheld by Tokyo High Court on 13th November 2014, and finally by the Supreme Court on 29th September 2015

The council subsequently became the Christian Heresy Countermeasures Association, a name reflecting a more active approach. Introvigne identifies deprogramming or faith-breaking [See editor's note 2 below] as one particularly controversial element of this approach.

Deprogramming, as he defines it, involves abducting adult members of a religious movement and confining them until they renounce their beliefs. The practice emerged in the United States and later spread to Japan and South Korea.

In Japan, legal action brought against the captors of Family Federation member Toru Goto, who was confined for more than twelve years, helped bring the practice largely to an end. The Tokyo High Court held his captors liable in 2014, and the Supreme Court confirmed the decision in 2015.

See also Fear of Return of Coercive Faith-Breaking Abuse

South Korea, Introvigne argues, presents a different picture. He maintains that cases of coercive faith-breaking [See editor's note 2 below] have continued into the 2020s, with inconsistent legal consequences. According to his account, those responsible for overt physical violence may be punished, while parents who confine adult sons and daughters can encounter a more tolerant response from law enforcement.



Victim of faith-breaking and strongly persecuted in South Korea due to refusal of military service based on religious beliefs: The Jehovah's Witnesses. Thousands of believers have been imprisoned for conscientious objection to conscription. Here, their pamphlet stand in front of the Daeseongri station in South Korea July 10, 2016

The pattern of religious targeting also differs between the two countries. In Japan, the Family Federation was a principal target of faith-breaking [See editor's note 2 below]. In South Korea, Introvigne reports that the most prominent cases have involved Shincheonji [See editor's note 1 below], the World Mission Society Church of God [See editor's note 3 below], Christian Gospel Mission, also known as Providence [See editor's note 4 below], and Jehovah's Witnesses.

He attributes the difference partly to demographics: many young Family Federation members in South Korea are second-generation believers whose parents share their faith, whereas many Shincheonji members come from evangelical families opposed to the religious choices of their offspring.

An unexpected relationship with China

Introvigne traces contacts between South Korean anti-cult activists and Chinese organizations to at least 2007, when a Korean delegation attended an anti-cult symposium in Shenzhen, a large city close to Hong Kong.

He says that Chinese representatives subsequently participated in South Korean gatherings, Korean activists attended events in China, and Chinese media publicized Korean anti-cult activities.

The most striking aspect of this relationship is the ideological contradiction. South Korean evangelical anti-cult activists may regard communism as a threat to Christianity, while the Chinese Communist Party maintains an officially atheist political system and restricts severely religious movements it classifies as illegal.

Introvigne argues that a common opposition to certain religious groups has nevertheless created a basis

for cooperation.

He identifies four possible reasons for China's interest.

First, Korean churches and new religious movements have conducted missionary activities in China, where many such activities are prohibited. Supporting campaigns against these movements abroad could, in Introvigne's interpretation, help Beijing address perceived challenges beyond its borders.

Second, the Family Federation's anti-communist activities have made it an ideological adversary of the Chinese Communist Party.

Third, China has an interest in the movement of religious refugees. Introvigne describes how Chinese citizens fleeing religious persecution entered South Korea through Jeju Island, where Chinese nationals can enter without a visa under special arrangements. Some subsequently sought asylum, reporting arrests and torture in China.



Church of Almighty God (Eastern Lightning). Author (2023): CAG

According to Introvigne, Korean anti-cult activists participated in demonstrations against these refugees. He argues that the resulting pressure contributed to a stricter South Korean asylum policy and the return of some refugees to China. He particularly highlights members of The Church of Almighty God [See editor's note 3 below], many of whom subsequently dispersed to other countries.

Fourth, Introvigne points to intelligence gathering. He states that court decisions have established that some anti-cult activists acted as agents of Chinese intelligence services. A refugee-protection decision by an Italian court (Court of Rome) on 14th June 2024 identified South Korean O Myung-ok (오명옥) as a Chinese agent. In a separate article Introvigne writes that Religion and Truth, a Chinese-language "anti-cult research" platform led by O Myung-ok, published passport details and other personal information relating to more than 70 members living in South Korea from the Chinese underground Church of Almighty God. Such detailed information could only have come from the Chinese authorities, Introvigne points out.

The people behind the network

Among the Chinese figures identified by Introvigne are Xu Tao (徐弢) of the Hubei Anti-Xie-Jiao Association, Professor Chen Dequan (陈德权) of Northeastern University in Shenyang, and Zhang Chunli (张纯俐) of the Chinese People's Public Security University, who teaches police approaches to what the authorities classify as cults.


World Mission Society Church of God on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C., USA

On the South Korean side, he highlights the above-mentioned O Myung-ok (오명옥), publisher of Religion and Truth and the website churchheresy.com. He alleges that her activities included support for campaigns against religious refugees and demonstrations against the Family Federation and Shincheonji [See editor's note 1 below].

In his article, Introvigne also identifies Pastor Jin Yong-sik (진용식), a professional faith-breaker (deprogrammer) and president of the World Association Against Heresy, as a central figure. He notes that Jin was sentenced to ten months in prison, with two years of probation, in connection with the illegal placement of a member of the South Korean new religious movement World Mission Society Church of God (WMSCOG) [See editor's note 3 below] in a psychiatric institution in 2007. Introvigne also cites a 2012 investigation reporting substantial earnings from faith-breaking [See editor's note 2 below] activities.

The pastor's subsequent international tours and advocacy against several minority religious movements form another part of Introvigne's argument about the network's reach.

Massimo Introvigne also points out how closely connected Jin is to the Chinese authorities. In a 4th September 2025 article, Bitter Winter explains,

"In 2024, he [Jin] traveled to Spain to conduct a seminar and deliver a statement urging the Spanish

government to deport CAG [Church of Almighty God] members. Later, Chinese websites like 'Da Ai Wang', 'Awakener Alliance', and 'China Anti-Xie-Jiao Network' showed unified support, stating that Jin Yong-sik convinced a Spanish lawyer to cease helping CAG members with asylum requests.

Jin Yong-sik also campaigned actively in Germany, Mongolia, and other nations to ask these countries to deport CAG members, denounce various groups as 'cults', and justify their repression in China."

A regional issue, not simply a theological dispute

The relationships described by Introvigne suggest that anti-cult activism can intersect with state interests, refugee policy, and international political networks.

Whether every connection supports the broader thesis remains a matter for careful examination. But the central question is important: when campaigns against minority religions cross national borders, do they remain limited to theological disagreement, or can they become instruments of wider political objectives?

For Introvigne, South Korea's anti-cult movement provides a revealing case study of how such interests may converge - and why the consequences for religious freedom warrant international attention.

Source: Massimo Introvigne, "The Triple Alliance: The Chinese Communist Party, Japanese Anti-Cult Lawyers, and Korean Heresy Hunters", Bitter Winter, 27th October 2026.

The article is part 2 of 4-part series

See part 1: Unlikely Alliance Against Religious Minorities

See part 3: 3-Nation Web Attacking the Family Federation

Text: Knut Holdhus, editor

> **[Editor's note 1:** Shincheonji, officially known as Shincheonji Church of Jesus, the Temple of the Tabernacle of the Testimony, is a new religious movement founded in South Korea in 1984 by Lee Man-hee, who claims to be the promised pastor mentioned in the Bible's Book of Revelation.
>
> Shincheonji teaches that the Book of Revelation is being fulfilled through its church and that Lee Man-hee has received divine revelation to interpret it. He teaches that South Korea is the location where the prophecies of the Book of Revelation are actively playing out in real-time, making it the epicenter of the final harvest. Shincheonji focuses on filling the literal 144,000 slots of the 12 Tribes mentioned in Revelation. Once this number of truly sealed, flawless believers is completed, they believe they will rule as kings and priests over the rest of humanity.]
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> **[Editor's note 2:** Coercive faith-breaking ("deprogramming") in Japan refers to the practice of coercively attempting to separate individuals from their religious affiliations or beliefs, typically through intervention by family members, professional faith-breakers (deprogrammers) or organizations hostile to new religious movements (NRMs). This phenomenon often targets members of such movements, e.g. relatively large faiths like the Family Federation or Jehovah's Witnesses, but also smaller groups like Happy Science (Kōfuku no Kagaku) and other newer religious movements.



Also subject to faith-breaking attempts: Members of Soka Gakkai. Here students belonging to the faith in

However, also Soka Gakkai, a Buddhist-based lay organization with more than 8 million Japanese members, and affiliated with Nichiren Buddhism, has occasionally been subject to faith-breaking attempts.

The practice gained attention in the latter half of the 20th century, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s. Parents or concerned family members often hired faith-breakers who taught them how to abduct and forcibly detain believers. Almost all such cases involved confining the individual believer and cutting him or her off from the religious community. During the confinement, the believer was subjected to intense questioning or indoctrination designed to break his or her faith. The aim was to "rescue" the person from what the family often had been tricked by faith-breakers or lawyers to regard as harmful influence from the religious organization.

Critics of forced de-conversion argue that it violates fundamental human rights, including freedom of thought, religion, and association. Reports of psychological trauma and accusations of unlawful detention have sparked debates over its ethical and legal implications. In response, some religious groups, particularly NRMs, have lobbied for greater protections against such practices.

Japanese courts have been inconsistent in addressing cases of coercive faith-breaking. While some verdicts have condemned the practice as illegal detention, others have been more lenient, citing family concerns about "mental health" or alleged "exploitation" as mitigating factors.]

[Editor's note 3: The World Mission Society Church of God (WMSCOG) is a South Korean Christian movement founded in 1964 by Ahn Sahng-hong (1918 - 1985). Its distinctive teachings include the belief that Ahn Sahng-hong was Christ returned to Earth and that God exists as both God the Father and God the Mother. The church emphasizes the Bible, observance of the Saturday Sabbath and biblical festivals, particularly Passover, which it considers essential to salvation. Headquartered in South Korea, it has expanded internationally, establishing congregations in numerous countries. Its members also participate in volunteer activities, including environmental projects and community service.]

[Editor's note 4: The Christian Gospel Mission (CGM), also known as Providence or JMS (Jesus Morning Star), is a South Korean Christian new religious movement founded by Jung Myung-seok (Jeong Myeong-seok) in the late 1970s. It emphasizes Bible study, personal spiritual development and a distinctive interpretation of Christian scripture, often taught through a series of 30 lessons. Jung has been regarded by followers as a specially chosen messianic figure. The movement has expanded internationally, particularly among young people and university students. It has attracted considerable controversy because of serious sexual abuse allegations against its founder, who was sentenced to 17 years in prison by South Korea's Supreme Court in January 2025.]

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Unlikely Alliance Against Religious Minorities

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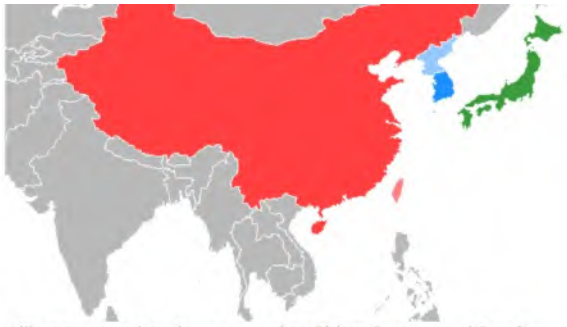

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Massimo Introvigne argues that Korean anti-cult activists, Japanese left-wing lawyers, and Chinese Communist Party-linked organizations have found common ground in campaigns against religious movements.



Alliance spanning three countries: China, Japan, and South Korea. Here with North Korea. Public domain image. Cropped

See also Targeted by Hostile Network Close to China

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

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

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

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

Three countries, one common adversary

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

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

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



***Detained and prosecuted**: Hak Ja Han, aka. Mother Han. Here, in 2023. Photo: FFWPU*

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

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

Why would these groups cooperate?

Introvigne argues that a common adversary can provide sufficient motivation to

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overcome ideological disagreements. In this case, their shared opposition to so-called cults and heretical movements may have created opportunities for cooperation that would otherwise have seemed unlikely.

China's role in the picture



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

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

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

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

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

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

Why religious freedom is at stake

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



***Falun Gong protesters about to be arrested** in Tiananmen Square in Beijing in the early phase of the persecution. Source: Falun Dafa Information Center.*

This does not mean that every criticism of a religious organization is illegitimate, or that concerns about misconduct should be dismissed. The question is

whether opposition to a religious movement can lead to disproportionate restrictions on its members' rights, particularly when allegations become the basis for extensive legal or administrative action.

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

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

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

Source: Massimo Introvigne, "The Triple Alliance: The Chinese Communist Party, Japanese Anti-Cult Lawyers, and Korean Heresy Hunters", Bitter Winter, 27th October 2026.

*The article is **part 1** of 4-part series*

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

***Featured image** above: Dr. Massimo Introvigne speaking at the CESNUR 2026 conference on 12th October 2026 in Taiwan. Screenshot from video by Bitter Winter*

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

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