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Title	Cult Controversy and Anti-Cult Movement in Japan since 1995 : Case Study of a New Religions Cult, the Tenchi-Seikyo, Affiliated with the Unification Church
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Citation	北海道大学文学研究科紀要, 101, 193-226
Issue Date	2000-09-14
Doc URL	https://hdl.handle.net/2115/33974
Type	departmental bulletin paper
File Information	101_PL193-226.pdf



Cult Controversy and Anti-Cult Movement in Japan since 1995: Case Study of a New Religious Cult, the Tenchi-Seikyo, Affiliated with the Unification Church

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1 Cult and Mind-Control Controversy in Japan

There has been very little sociological research on the financing and marketing tactics of new religious cult such as the Unification Church in Japan, except for anti-cult movement literature accumulated by journalists, lawyers, and theologians, who have been deeply involved with the victims of the activities of the Unification Church. Academic researchers have been reluctant to study the Unification Church despite its socially controversial nature—its “mind-control” of adherents and fraudulent fund-raising—, because the Unification Church has kept secret its financial and political lobbying information and has above all, refused to be investigated.

Dr. Eileen Barker made an excellent research model for the Unification Church study in the west [Barker 1984]. However, this could not be applied in the case of Japan. *The Making of A Moonie: Choice or Brainwashing* has been acknowledged as a textbook of the sociology of religion, which researched the British Unification Church in the 1970s. As I formerly introduced this excellent research in another paper [Sakurai Yoshihide 1999], I will just briefly discuss it here.

This book has a long concluding chapter, because, as Dr. Barker mentioned, she could not find determinate factors which made ordinary young people convert to become members of the Unification Church, so that she had to explain various factors that should be considered. She rightly conducted random sampling, borrowing a members' list from the Unification Church, and collected questionnaires from three broken down groups according to duration of membership (members, former members, and those who experienced seminar but did not join) and from a control group consisting of non-members with the same social background as members. She cross-checked the four groups by personal character (suggestibility and susceptibility), motivation, and circumstances on entering the Unification Church, so as to find the reason for conversion. Moreover, she conducted participant observation in seminars and camps, where she could collect personal information from in-depth interviews.

But findings are important but few. First, the seeker model can be applied to the Unification Church members, because the group of the longest duration of membership had significantly high score with the statement, 'searching for something but did not know what,' and the Unification Church joiners were inclined to point out their happier days of childhood and unsatisfying days in early adulthood. Second, the Unification Church welcomed new comers, recruited by various means in public places, with hospitality named 'love-bombing,' which made them unguarded and motivated to continue relationships with members. Religious groups usually use such kinds of inducement so that Dr. Barker could not presume this technique to be mind-control. Third, the fact that members continuing the Unification Church activities for several years are just 4 percent of those participating in a 2 days seminar of the Unification Church, contradicts anti-cult discourse saying that cults practice strong mind-control and members cannot escape from cults

without exit-counseling. She concluded that youths, disappointed with British society at the end of 1960s and seeking for alternatives, happened to be recruited by the Unification Church, and then a few who were contented continued their commitments to the Unification Church.

Though this book has been referred to as a classic among western scholars of new religious movement, Japanese scholars have rarely cited it. Formerly, I considered it to be due to Japanese ignorance of western research. But now I suppose they did not highly regard this sociologically perfect research. Dr. Barker was offered research opportunity by the Unification Church in fact, not the reverse, and built good relationships with the Unification Church to the extent that she could borrow a members list of the British Unification Church. At that time, as the Unification Church was controversial, other scholars researched the Unification Church from outside. What kind of relationship is there between she and the Unification Church, embracing her research program? Despite of the reliability of her data analysis, we have some concerns about research context.

Dr. Barker has demonstrated the invalidity of the theory of mind-control to date, based on her research, however, her research sites, the British Unification Church and the US Unification Church, were considered to be peripheral to the activities of the Unification Church, in contrast to central Japan. The Japan Unification Church had funded most of the expenditures of the Unification Church for propagating and political lobbying in the world. Since the 1980s both fund-raising by fraudulent sales of spiritual goods and forced donation, and tenacious solicitation for new members of the Unification Church had been popular in Japan. This fact had not been cited in western Unification Church studies including that of Dr. Barker. Her research context in terms of time and places has not been any longer suitable to Japanese Unification

Church studies.

Dr. David G. Bromley (1985) wrote, 'Since Unification movement's prominence in the United States is so heavy dependent on economic resources, the American Unification movement is a drain on international movement resources, and the movement is dominated by Japanese and Korean leadership, the long term prognosis for the American branch of the Unification movement is murky.' Most of the deficits in US profit making and propagating organizations had been covered by the transfer of Japanese money. How did the Japanese Unification Church and affiliated organizations raise such a huge amount of funds? Did they do their business with the Japanese properly? This is the reason why Japanese could not access the financing problem of the Unification Church and it has been a subject of concern not only for academics but also for the anti-cult movement. We have to add that the Japanese administrative surveillance offices such as Public Prosecutors Office and the National Tax Administration Agency has not dealt with religious affiliated profit-making organizations. This is due to the trauma experience of the control of religions under military fascism in the past. And, since the Unification Church is able to outmaneuver academics even if they were able to conduct research, many researchers would be afraid of being exploited and inadvertently providing advertising for the cult.

But the situation surrounding researchers of religious cults drastically changed after the indiscriminate terrorism by sarin gas in 1994 and 1995, the disclosure of criminal activities of the Aum Supreme Truth Cult. Antisocial behavior by a new religious organization has attracted public attention. Actions against this situation are being taken by three organizations: 1) the Japanese Government studied application of the anti-subversive law and amendments to the Religious Juridical Person Law, according to the investigations by the Public Security Investigation

Agency; 2) an anti-cult campaign network worked for cult enlightenment and familiarization with mind-control theory, counseling for victims, legal action, and so forth; 3) local communities blocked the religious organization from moving into and inhabit in communities. As the considerable action, such as investigating the circumstances of the crime committed by the Aum Supreme Truth Cult and devising the countermeasures against antisocial religious cult has been taken, the existence of “destructive cults” and their recruitment of adherents and exploitation method, “mind-control,” have been spotlighted by the mass media. The influence of this new terminology since the mid 1990s by anti-cult movement in Japan has increased in strength.

But there are only few researchers who clearly refuted this cult and mind-control theory [Yoshihide Sakurai 1996,1999,2000; Tsuyoshi Nakano 1997; Manabu Watanabe 1998, Susumu Shimazono 1998]. Researchers of religious cult have been arguing, using literatures on sociology of religion in the 1970s and 1980s, that cult and mind-control theory lacks clear explanatory power, and that criticizing antisocial religious organizations through the use of this theory has controversial points. Mind-control theory as a religious conversion theory should be revised and explained in terms of both individual choice and coercion from religious organizations. However, this extreme theory uses only the latter to explain the process of being converted to religion in the result of pressure and intentional psyops by the religious organization. As a result, mind-control theory can not explain adequately that why only a small percentage of people who were persuaded to become members remained members, even though the theory asserts that any individual has a high risk of being trapped by clever mind-control.

As an unintended result of mind-control theory, in which the infringement of individual autonomy is morally criticized, however, it has result-

ed that action oriented responsibility, which is the obligatory dimension of autonomy, may not be endorsed. Devotees and ex-devotees in cult are considered to have completely lost their individual decision-making ability and thus their responsibility for their action as well. Mind-control theory could be utilized firstly for the legitimatization of coercive deprogramming and counseling action of the anti-cult movement, and secondary for the perpetrators of religious crimes to evade their responsibility in the courtroom. In this sense, mind-control theory includes not only religious-sociological and social-psychological controversy but also a political one in civil society. How could we locate the responsibility of believers in cult for true victims of cult crime? These controversial points have been pointed out, however, mind-control theory is accepted widely in Japan due to cults we face. Of course, I do not intend to deny the existence of antisocial religious cult and the necessity to criticize them severely. Rather, I stress that the means for criticism should be reconsidered, which is theoretically and practically better than controversial mind-control theory.

The reason for such strong acceptance of mind-control theory may have social roots, which accepts general opinions regardless of their logical adequacy or its usefulness in courtroom. Digging into that area might open the way for this cult controversy. In today's information and consumption-oriented society, commercialism and information from media, business and Government manipulate us without our consciousness. However, law and ethics do not permit anonymous strangers to do so. Cults work their way into one's consciousness before one is aware of it. This is a sign of cults. The aim of the cult criticism is to restore the order of civil society, which was formed by self-awareness, individual autonomy, and self-development.

Dr. Bromley regards the theory of cult and mind-control as the

ideology of the anti-cult movement [Bromley and Cutchin 1999]. It was not based on objective research, rather socially constructed in the audience of inflammatory newspaper and literature of anti-cult groups. He describes the construction of subversive evil in the countersubversion narratives from six elements: 1) transcendent temporality, evil has existed historically, but is little known; 2) transcendent spatiality, it is located in a secret place, separated from conventional society; 3) transcendent power, which corrupts individual essence; 4) inversion of legitimate organizations; 5) identification of key actors in social drama, innocent victims, evil perpetrators, and heroic defenders; 6) audience mobilization. I have to admit his remarks holds true to the anti-Satanism discourse, but not to all of anti-cult movements, because some cults evidently committed crimes such as homicide, deceit, and sexual abuse. In Japan, both the Aum Supreme Truth Cult and the Unification Church have been focal point of cult controversy wherein religious groups are seen as infringing a human right. We have to separate the cult and mind-control discourse originated by the mass media from the criminal facts and legal realities of cults.

But the anti-cult controversy mentioned above, looked at from the interpretation of contemporary society, is considerably metalogical. Most people reject cults instinctively. The reason for this might be that the activities of specific new religious organizations, such as inducement of new believers, are self-centered and they ignore the implicit social rules of communities and of Japanese society. Criticism of mind-control is an expression of fear and anger which results from a religious organization taking away “our” people from “us” as an imagined community and changing them to alien strangers through mind-control. This is coupled with anger resulting from the religious organization intruding into a community and impairing its unity. By drastically eliminating cults and

getting victims of mind-control into rehabilitation and into society, we maintain a society based upon the values of democracy and affirm our will to protect the community. However, excessive criticism of cults, and recapturing of believers against their will, goes against the values of democracy, such as freedom of religion.

Recently, exit counseling has been discursive in the Journal 'Tsukuru (creating),' in which Tadashi Muroo criticizes the exit counseling practiced by some clergy as infringing on the religious liberty of the Unification Church members. And he impressed Dr. Eileen Barker, who denied the validity of the theory of mind-control, during their talk that was printed in the journal. The Unification Church so far has faced suits filed by former members claiming that it deceived and enforced them to recruit new members and to do fraudulent sales of spiritual goods. They declares they had been mind-controlled. Whether Dr. Barker had the intention of defending the Unification Church or not, it is not so important in this context. And whether the Unification Church impressed Tadashi Muroo as well as Dr. Barker or not, is not significant, either. Their position they took would compelled them to defend the Unification Church and indemnify its anti-social activities.

Keeping a hard-line stance in opposing the existence of cults (denying the right of occupancy of believers) seems incompatible with one of the rules of civil society, freedom of association. Therefore, it is necessary to point out the illogicality of adverse criticism of cults from a religious point of view and to clarify value of civil society. It is the religious toleration that should be applied to esoteric religious cult, unless they violate the law. However, this article recognizes the logic of local conservatism to a certain degree as a safeguard that maintains the social balance and expresses the view that it might be possible to avoid a full-scale confrontation between a religious organization and the rest of

the community by devising public sphere, in which they can contested just in discourse openly.

2 Subject and Methodology

This paper does not directly get into the problems of mind-control theory but sets out a speculation on the cause of a conflict, how the issue developed, and how the conflict was solved in the case of the conflict between a new religious organization and a community. Stating the conclusion first, the new religious organization, which was assumed to be a cult, attempted to use the community by way of their own righteousness. As a result the cult offended the members of the community due to the fact that they ignored the religious tradition and conventional practices of the community. However, since the community was not monolithic unity, it dropped its campaign against the cult by tying the activities of the cult and affirming its unity, rather than taking the risk of trying to eliminate the cult. It showed the flexibility of the members of the community. We are planning to affirm communities' countermeasures against religious organizations through a case example.

The case example used here is that of the Tenchi Seikyo, a religious organization that was certified in 1988 and based in Obihiro City, Hokkaido, Japan. Kayo Kawase, who was a leader of a folk religion in the Tokachi area, and then became the leader of the Tenchi Seikyo.

She encountered the Unification Church in later life and gained an inclusive sense of religion, an overpowering sense of a spirit that transformed her knowledge of life, as well as power received through her practice as a shaman-like psychic. She preached on a Messiah cult, saying that Sun Myung Moon was Miroku (Maitreya). She next became the leader of the Tenchi Seikyo, which was reformed from the Spirit Stone Worship-

pers' Club founded in 1987. However, the Tenchi Seikyo, which had become a nationwide organization through reforms in its precepts and organization, came into conflict with the citizens of Tokachi Shimizu Town over the construction of religious facilities and was rejected by the community in 1995. Today, the Tenchi Seikyo clearly states that the ties they have with the Unification Church are stronger than ever by conducting such rituals as mass weddings, reforms in its organization, and the handing over, by Kayo Kawase, of her authority to executive officers who were sent by the Unification Church.

Thomas H. Perce (1994) pointed out that the Tenchi Seikyo affiliated with the Unification Church due to the strategy of the Unification Church to provide a front for the fraudulent sales of spiritual charms, which was so severely criticized in Japan that the active fund-raising and recruitment of new members were impeded by the name of the Unification Church. However, he could not clarify the life course of the founder of the Tenchi Seikyo and the formation of this religious cult due to the insufficient data at that time.

The sources of information used in this article were publications of the Tenchi Seikyo and the group of townspeople, the minutes of the Town Assembly, and interviews with the group of townspeople and former adherents of Kayo Kawase in the Tenunkyo time, as well as some of adherents of the Tenchi Seikyo. This research was conducted in secret, because the Tenchi Seikyo neglected the request of my research several times for fear that the affiliation with the Unification Church and the conflict in Tokachi Shimizu community would be disclosed. There were a bill on the entrance door of the Tenchi Seikyo headquarters in Obihiro, warning that entry was forbidden to journalists and researchers. Therefore, I had to find informants among members of the Tenchi Seikyo by chance before word of my activities reached them, and participate in their

ceremonies anonymously to collect adherents' profiles. Of course, strictly speaking, these ways goes against the ethics of social research that a researcher must obtain the approval of the subject and publish with their permission. I have, at least, observed the privacy of some cooperative adherents, as well as family of the founder, so sources and personal names will not be revealed in this article. The reporter takes full responsibility for the content of this article.

3 The Tenchi Seikyo and The Unification Church

A prehistory of Kayo becoming a Shaman-like psychic medium is that she had a rough life for a half of her life that is a typical of those who are founders of new religious groups in Japan, experienced being possessed by a god in her critical age and a new sense of religion in a peregrination of the religious group, established rituals, and strengthened her power of spirit by ascetic training (Table 1). She experienced two miserable divorces in her adolescence and left her children behind. A former member told that Kayo took a stern attitude toward non-wedlock relations of the sexes. While being taken sick in her thirties, she approached a religious group specialized in healing ailments and started to attempt to use a magical healing method by her. However, her family, especially her husband, could not understand her conducts such as this. Experienced being possessed by a god at forty-four, she appealed to her husband about her thoughts, expelled pent-up emotions, and had to have an emotional balance. After experienced being possessed by a god, she cut off restraints of her family members and acted freely and then she started establishing her own identity through ascetic training. Like this, she built her charisma but never organized a religious group from a group of believers like founders of demotic religious groups did. She did not

Table 1

Biographical sketch of Kayo Kawase

Age (years)	Events
0-12	Lived relatively well in her childhood. (Family ran a general store in the center of a rural community, which flourished by loaning money and resource to farmers.)
13-18	Her father failed in business. Her schooling was cancelled. (Gave up on pursuing higher education at girls' school and helped with family business, an inn.): Experienced financial ruin.
19-25	Went through two divorces. Parted and lost contact with her children. Felt ashamed of returning home.: Miserable and disastrous married life.
26-32	Got married for the third time. Concentrated on child raising and helping with domestic work.: Made a decent living after much hardship.
33-44	Became seriously ill and threw herself upon the mercy of the gods and Buddha. Realized her fortune telling and healing power that could cure illness and disease.: Developed a strong interest in religion and became acquainted with various religious groups.
45-46	Experienced being possessed by a divine power. Devoted herself to an eccentric form of ascetic training after being released from a mental institution.: Religious awakening.
47-49	Improved her ability as a psychic and organized her first group of believers. Bore half of the living expenses

- needed due to her husband's failure in business.: Came to realize she was a psychic, which provided her with an income.
- 50-61 Became famous as a psychic in Tokachi region. Developed a following of customers and an organization of believers.
- 62-64 Encountered fraudulent sales of spiritual charms in the Unification Church. Revised her religious ideas.
- 65-76 Became a solid believer of the Unification Church. Internalized faith as a mature believer. All her family became believers.: Tenunkyo, the original name of her religious group, was dissolved and believers withdrew.
- 77-83 Became a founder of the Tenchi Seikyo, a nationwide religious organization, most of whose resource were mobilized from the Unification Church.
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make any systematic doctrine and ritual. Instead, she preached on worship to gods and Buddha and a common ethic that told to live straight as a human being. This was the factor that people, who did not want to get involved with any religion but relied on her psychic force, were attracted to Kayo. She, who was a powerful psychic, was now in her declining years.

However, the turning point came to Kayo and her group of believers in 1973 when one of the members brought Mr. S, whom came to Obihiro with a vase. She was about to do a ritual to eliminate an evil spirit and instinctively she decided to use it as a charm against evil. This was the Korean marble vase that was sold by business activities of the Unification Church, which was criticized as fraudulent sales of spiritual charms.

Kayo encountered early fraudulent sales of spiritual charms and got involved with it positively. However, it is improper to see Kayo as a victim of fraudulent sales of spiritual charms for her concerns of future, problems in her family, and her disease, because she attained fame as a psychic and had a stable financial strength. It was not that she fell into a trap of fraudulent sales of spiritual charms, but she would have had allure for the vase, verbal messages of the vase dealer (family pedigree, a memorial service for ancestors, supramundane nouvelle, and so forth), and later descriptions of the Divine Principle (the sacred book, by which the Bible was replaced in the Unification Church) and accepted it as benefit for her religious group. It is necessary to understand that her own child got involved with the Unification Church and her commitments, including her own family trouble, to the Unification Church.

Kayo was enthused about reestablishing the Tenunkyo that she established herself, however, while doing so, many believers left the religion. The reason to it was not that the power of Kayo as a psychic was lost but that circumstances, such as that they advised to buy the vase, to attend a lecture of the Unification Church after an annual celebration, and to take a tour to Korea and that an outsider moved in the management of the religion, were existed. Applying for Religious Corporation was decided at board of directors on October 1st, 1987 a certification was attained from Governor of Hokkaido on November 26th and registration was completed right away. At the first day of the year, with the revelation "thou, change the name to Tenchi Seikyo and fly to the heaven and earth," they submitted a name alteration notification. Like this, on January of 1988 they changed the name to Religious Corporation Tenchi Seikyo.

She became a founder of the Tenchi Seikyo like this and the Tenchi Seikyo grew a nationwide organization that had 27 branches and ashrams

in one year. That is because the Spirit Stone Worshipers' Club changed its name to the Tenchi Seikyo branches and ashrams in 1988. Spirit Stone Worshipers' Club was a religious group that was established after dealers of inspiration products declared voluntary restraint (the Happy World Company, an operational department of the Unification Church, submitted a document, which said that we prohibited related agencies from offering the products that might cause misunderstanding to Ministry of International Trade and Industry and Japan Consumer Information Center). It held appreciation for spirit stone assemblies in various places and sold vases and two-storied pagodas inside ashrams. However, it did not receive a large amount of money as a purchase fee but it received money as contribution. This organization was established nationwide on August of 1987. Earlier of the same year, National Damage Control of Fraudulent Sales of Spiritual Charms Counselor Joint Association was established. It started multidirectional activities, such as to investigate real activities of the Unification Church and reported to the Government and public, to establish a network to help the victims, and to back up people who filed claim for damage (Table 2).

Table 2

**Fraudulent sales of spiritual charms, the Unification Church,
and the Tenchi Seikyou**

Year	Movements of the Unification Church and social criticism
1978	Spiritual stones and vases and beverages of a Korean ginseng kind existed in the Unification Church.
1984-1989	Articles on the Unification Church and criti-

cisms of it appeared in the Asahi Journal four times in 1984, six times in 1985, and twice in 1986. Articles on criticisms of the Unification Church, which conducted fraudulent sales of spiritual charms, appeared in the Asahi Journal two times in 1986, seven times in 1987, twice in 1988, and once in 1989.

February 2, 1987 Liaison Meeting of Counselors in Charge of Relief for Victims of Fraudulent Sales of Spiritual Charms was organized.

May 16, 1987 National Liaison Meeting of Counselors for Damage Control of the Victims of Fraudulent Sales of Spiritual Charms was organized. Civil damage suits, in the regard to fraudulent sales of spiritual charms, were filed frequently.

June 6, 1987 The “Appreciation for spiritual stones, voice of truth, national convention” was held in Tokyo by the Spiritual Stone Worshippers Club.

February 1, 1988 Names of ashrams of the Spiritual Stone Worshippers Club were changed to ashrams of the Tenchi Seikyou.

Year **Details of formal announcements in regard to Sun Myung Moon as Maitreya**

February 3, 1988 The first festival for praying for purification by fire was held. Small pieces of wood called Gomagi were burned in a memorial service.

May 1989 Kayo Kawase, the hierarch, made a journey to Korea to visit birthplace of the Miroku religion.

As of August of 1991, she carried out forty such tours called visiting Korea Miroku training tour.

January 1, 1994 The hierarch announced that she attained revelation from the spirit of **Kobotaishi** (Japanese Buddhist monk 774-837, worshiped in the Tenchi Seikyo) at a temple in the heart of the mountains of Koyasan. It was said that Sun Myung Moon was modern Maitreya as well as Messiah.

February 3, 1995 The picture of the couple, Sun Myung Moon and his wife, was ensconced at the alter.

May 8, 1997 1,589 married couples held a delightful family blessing festivity ministered by Mr. and Mrs. Paku, the top executives of the Unification Church.

February 1998 Kimu a chairman of the World Peace Unification Family Association as a affiliated religion of the Unification Church stepped in Administration Division of the Tenchi Seikyou. Shizue araya, the daughter of Kayo Kawase, was relieved from the position of second hierarch and Takayuki Matunami was sent from the Unification Church to be a new chairman.

The Tenchi Seikyo was just one religious group that had headquarters in Obihiro of Tokachi area when it was the Tenunkyo. It could not be an endogenous progress that it became Religious Corporation, changed its name, and became a nationwide organization. The Tenunkyo was provided asset and work force from the Spirit Stone Worshippers' Club to run the religious organization, and from 1967 it was provided intellectual

resource, especially in doctrine and ritual from the Unification Church.

The Tenchi Seikyo that emerged like this indicated clearly its position in its campaign slogan, which said “expand the circle of national salvation”. (Table 3 shows political stance of the Tenchi Seikyo, which aims at criticizing Japan and supporting Korean nationalism, that is the latent, but essential dogma of the Unification Church.) Memorial services for Korean, Chinese, and Ainu people are suitable for the Tenchi Seikyo locating in Hokkaido to urge Japanese to reflect stains of history seriously. However, it could not be the reason that the Unification Church originated in Korea as Adam country exploits Japan as Eve country, especially in fraudulent sales of spiritual charms.

Present Tenchi Seikyo improved its monthly festivities (Table 5) and annual festivities (Table 4) and new believers can acquire its doctrine and rituals systematically. However, there are various kinds of understandings held by believers. In another word, with the exception of remaining believers from the Tenunkyo, the majority of the believers are new members who got into this religion about when the Tenchi Seikyo was established and there must be not a few members who transferred from the Unification Church in them. One female from S ashram in Tokyo said, “I was transferred from the Unification Church. People were born with original sins. They do wrong deeds unless they purify their sins Adam and Eva committed. To do that, they must promise to love each other at joint matrimonial ceremony”. Judging from their understandings of the religious group, it is assumed that the Tenchi Seikyo worship Sun Myung Moon and the founder was recognized as a witness of Miroku (Maitreya) and respected for that.

Table 3

Memorial services for the war dead by Tenchi Seikyou

Year	An outline of events
January 1988	The name of the religious association was changed to Religious Organization Tenchi Seikyo.
March 1998	A series of memorial services for the war dead started to be held. As of 1996, a total of 5000 services were held at branch ashrams across the country. Memorial services were mainly for South and North Koreans.
March 1988	Memorial services for South and North Korean forced labors were held in Yokohama and various locations.
July 20, 1988	A memorial service for Utari people (the Ainu) was held at the head temple in Obihiro.
February 22, 1989	A memorial service for fallen South and North Korean and Chinese soldiers was held at the head temple in Obihiro.
October 12, 1989	A memorial service for Korean victims of the atomic bombs was held in Hiroshima.
December 13, 1992	A memorial service expressing remorse for the invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi Toyotomi 400 years earlier was held in Fukuoka. Hideyoshi repented in the spiritual world.
November 26, 1993	A convention to honor the war dead in the turmoil of the Jinsinwa war and a memorial service for a returned nose-mound was held in

- Korea.
- October 16, 1993 War memorial for fallen South and North Korean soldiers was dedicated and at the same time a memorial service for fallen South and North Korean soldiers was held in the birthplace of Miroku.
- May 30, 1994 A memorial service for the war dead in defending their nation in the turmoil of the Jinsinwa war and a nose-mound was held in Korea. The enmity of the last 400 years was finally put to an end.
- October 16, 1994 A memorial service for South and North Korean and Chinese was held in the birthplace of Miroku.
- March 19, 1994 A memorial service was held in Obihiro to connect Japan, South Korea, and North Korea and to remember a martyr, Ryukanjun Retushi. Five memorial services, attended by approximately 1,500 people, were held in the same year for a female student who was killed in the independence movement on March 1st.
- June 4, 1995 A memorial service for Utari (the Ainu) people was held in the birthplace of Miroku
- August 11, 1995 A Korean history remorse ceremony was held in Seoul.
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Table 4

Annual Festivals (as of 1995)

January 5

“Keitensai” or a festival for expressing respect to heaven: Praying for the guardianship of god and Miroku(Maitreya), and announcing projects for the New Year

February 11

Festival for prosperity of the nation: Throwing light on the lineage of emperors’ virtue and expressing appreciation for the benign virtue of sages and the son of righteousness

February 27

Supreme saints festival: A prayer for fulfillment of Miroku Jodo(Buddhist paradise of Maitreya) with support of four supreme saints; Buddha, Jesus, Confucius, and Muhammed

Spring Equinox Day

“Higan” or a festival for memorial services in the Equinoctial week: Holding a memorial service for ancestors

April 8

Buddhist festival

The third Sunday of May

Miroku Festival: One of the two big events. The doll figure of Miroku Jodo(Buddhist paradise of Maitreya) will be presented in the birthplace of Miroku

June 25

A festival for praying for the unity and peace of North and South Korea: The anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War; Liquidation of past Japanese ill karma in the division of Korea.

A day in July 13 through 16 or August 13 through 16

A festival for holding memorial services for ancestors

August 15

A festival for prosperity of the nation and holding memorial services for the war dead :Expressing appreciation to the war dead; A prayer for peace in Japan, Asia and the world

Autumnal Equinox Day

“Higan” or Equinoctial week memorial services

October 8

Thanksgiving: Expressing appreciation and giving thanks to god as the Mother and Father in heaven for the blessings of nature

The second Sunday of October

Jouka Kigan Sai A festival for praying for purification by fire: This is one of the two big events. Burning small pieces of wood called Syoushin-komagi, collected from all over the country, on an altar to invoke divine help in the birthplace of Miroku. Fire purification for salvation of the nation and its spirit.

November 12

Encaenia: The day of establishment of the Tenunkyou.

Table 5

Monthly Festival (as of 1995)

4th

Honoring day: Holding memorial services for parents, kin, and ancestors

8th

Thanksgiving: Regular meetings at ashrams

21st

A festival for respecting virtue: Festival for worshipping saints and departed souls of community benefactors at ashrams

4 Communities and Conflicts of the Religious Group

From 1988 to 1989, The Tenchi Seikyou bought 73,000 hectare of forestland located below Tsurugisan shrine with help of Tokachi Shimizu Town Mikage area forestry cooperative and advanced the construction project called the birthplace of Miroku. Memorial services for purification started to be held from 1988 and several thousands of believers stayed at inns and hotels in Tokachi area. The Tenchi Seikyo planed to construct an ashram in this area.

A member of Town Assembly stated, referring to the case of Aum Supreme Truth Cult, in the Town Assembly that some action had to be taken against a construction of a head temple of a religious group that had a rumor to have a connection with the Unification Church. While the town and the Tenchi Seikyou were having a debate on prior consultation, an anti-construction group of town people was established and it developed into citizens' campaign with the involvement of media. As a result, the Town Assembly accepted a complaint of the group of town people, prior consultation became frustrated, and a situation that an application did not go to the Hokkaido Agency remained the same.

There was one person who started this anti-Tenchi Seikyo campaign. S, member of the Town Assembly, who made ambiguous fear toward religion into citizens' campaign, had great skill to use media and to collect information. He had been interested in problems of fraudulent sales of spiritual charms for same time and kept an eye on the Tenchi Seikyo

since he read a feature article on the Akahata (Daily of Japanese Communist Party) about connections among the Unification Church, fraudulent sales of spiritual charms, and the Tenchi Seikyo. However, it was lawful for the Tenchi Seikyo to buy a land, to format it, and to construct facilities. The town became crowded due to festivities held one or two times a year, however, any tangible problem, such as inconvenience for town people, did not occurred because the birthplace of Miroku was far from the downtown.

However, the year of 1995 was the year that the case of Aum shocked Japanese society. Town people, including S, the member of the Town Assembly, imagined Namino village in Kumamoto or Kamikuishiki village in Yamanashi prefecture immediately and the anti-Tenchi Seikyo campaign was developed emotionally first with the thought “do not make this town a head temple of an unknown religious group”. The major point of S who was against the construction was that the local government should protect living area of local residents. As a matter of fact, it was not understood clearly that what degree construction of ashrams would threaten local residents. However, S was concerned that the town might become a place for believers of the Unification Church to be brainwashed. Real attitudes toward religion after the case of Aum were that religion was sick and not the thing to get involved with. That was the reason why approximately 6,000 signatures, that was more than two third of households in Tokachi Shimizu Town, were collected to file a petition. In the deliberative process relevant to adoption of petition at the Town Assembly, one member revealed his opinion that, without the sufficient evidence, rejecting lawful activities of on particular religious group by only information from media and intending hazardous nature of the group was not administrative way to deal with it. This was the opinion concerned with fundamental human rights, such as freedom of

religion and association, guaranteed by the Constitution, and it threw doubt on treating the Tenchi Seikyo and the Aum Supreme Truth Cult in the same manner. The religious group made an assertion that the group of town people, which rejected firmly to have a meeting that was one of the requirements of the development application submitted by Hokkaido Agency to construct an accommodation facility, was the problem. In fact, if freedom of religion and that whether or no anti-social activities of the group existed had been discussed, it would have caused problems for local residents. Tokachi Shimizu Town, which had a prehistory that Town Mayor attended a memorial service for purification, could not have an attitude toward the religious group that religious issues came to town suddenly and had trouble dealing with it.

However, this problem was solved unsurprisingly easy. It was the Tenchi Seikyo's bad reciprocation. What the group of town people was demanding the Tenchi Seikyo was to clarify the connection with the Unification Church. In responding to this demand, M, a representative of the Tenchi Seikyo, admitted that he was once a member of the Unification Church, but withdrew from it, and now became a believer of the Tenchi Seikyo. He stated positively and repeatedly that the Tenchi Seikyo had nothing to do with the Unification Church. However, at special petition inquiry committee, it became appear from an article of the Tenchi Newsletter "Shinsonkeihousai no gi" published on February on the same year that the religious group exhibited the picture of Sun Myung Moon and his wife and specified in the article to dedicate them as Miroku to notify the believers. The Tenchi Seikyo deceived not only the group of town people but also Tokachi Shimizu Town Assembly and lost its creditability. Then, the Tenchi Seikyo requested the Town to be an agency for a meeting with the group of town people, however, the group of town people did not agreed to have the meeting due to a strong distrust

they had toward the Tenchi Seikyo. The development application submitted by the Tenchi Seikyo floated in midair (Table 6).

Table 6

Tenchi Seikyou ("True Heaven and Earth Religion") and negative response of Shimizu Town 1995

June 12, 1995

S, a member of the town assembly, inquired about the project of the Tenchi Seikyou in the fifth regular town assembly meeting of Tokachi Shimizu Town. S said to the town assembly, "the construction of the main building of Miroku temple and a regulating reservoir of the head temple were submitted to a special development act permission board. Is Tenchi Seikyou making an attempt to construct a head temple on the Mount Asahi? There is an opinion that the Tenchi Seikyou is a detached force of the Unification Church. Is the town aware of that? Reflections upon the government's imperfect measures dealing with development in Kamikuishiki village should be considered to deal with this new situation."

August 11, 1995

The Tenchi Seikyou submitted, to the town, a prior consultation document, concerning a change in the special development act for the construction of dormitories.

August 31, 1995

The town of Shimizu informed Tenchi Seikyou that it could not process the prior consultation document right away for two reasons: some townspeople had expressed anxiety over construction of dormitories in their midst and questions concerning this

were to be addressed at the next regular town assembly.

September 26, 1995

A representative of the town of Shimizu visited the Tenchi Seikyou ashram in Obihiro and informed them that the town mayor wanted the Tenchi Seikyou to cease construction of dormitories due to the concerns of the townspeople. On the same day, a citizens' committee was organized to consider the matter. Later, it submitted a request to the town mayor to halt construction of the dormitories.

October 9, 1995

O, a member of Hokkaido prefecture assembly, inquired, at a budget committee meeting of the Hokkaido prefecture assembly, about details of the authenticity of the Tenchi Seikyou religious organization and about the inquiry into the connection between the Tenchi Seikyou and fraudulent sales of spiritual charms.

October 10, 1995

The citizens' committee started circulating a petition to stop construction.

October 19, 1995

M, a representative of the Tenchi Seikyou, handed a letter to the committee chairman to the effect that the Tenchi Seikyou was not a front organization of the Unification Church.

October 27-29, 1995

The Tenchi Seikyou dropped fliers into most mailboxes in the urban areas of Shimizu and Mikage and into mailboxes in a part of the rural area. The flier stated, "Our religious organization has nothing to do with fraudulent sales of spiritual charms. It is not a religious organization associated with the Unification Church. The citizens' committee has a misunderstanding of our

religious organization.”

November 1, 1995

Tenchi Seikyou submitted a document to the town mayor requesting that he act as an intermediary between them and the citizens' committee to talk things over.

November 2, 1995

A meeting of the citizens' committee was held in the Shimizu town culture center and a total of 680 people attended. They made an announcement that the town mayor planned to request that the Tenchi Seikyou to call off construction.

November 4, 1995

The citizens' committee filed a petition with the Shimizu town assembly to stop construction.

November 15, 1995

“Henceforth, if an application for permission, such as forest development act change, is filed by the Tenchi Seikyo, we will deal with this appropriately to reflect local demand,” explained a division chief of Hokkaido forestry division at the second section meeting of the special budget committee of the Hokkaido prefecture assembly.

November

Special petition inquiry committee meetings were held several times. M, the representative of the Tenchi Seikyou, was called upon to as a witness, in addition to the citizens' committee, which filed the petition. On November 28, the same representative mentioned connections between the Tenchi Seikyou and the Unification Church and admitted that he was once a member of the Unification Church.

December 10, 1995

The petition was accepted at the Shimizu town assembly meeting.

This was an easily won victory the group of town people desired. In other words, if they had opposed drastically to the Tenchi Seikyo and attempted to get them out of Tokachi Simizu Town, they would have had to pay for compensation for forced removal of the Tenchi Seikyo, which bought the land lawfully, like the case of Namino Village in Kumamoto (This village paid 9.2 billion yen which was claimed by the Aum in compensation for the land and accommodations. The Aum could get huge merit for land sale). That also would have driven local participants in selling and conciliation into a corner within the community. Nobody wanted this far. If someone had wanted to go this far, it would not have been possible financially. Hence, it is fair to say that this citizens' campaign produced good results if they let the Tenchi Seikyo use the birthplace of Miroku for two festivities in a year as before and can prevent the believers of the Tenchi Seikyo from migrating to Tokachi Simizu Town.

5 The Tenchi Seikyo at Present

The Tenchi Seikyo has been in a no-win situation in Tokachi jurisdiction since then. The Tenchi Seikyo founded by Kayo Kawase was a community religion but became a non-community religion while it was reorganizing to be a nationwide organization. That resulted in this rejection by local residents. 1,589 married couples held a delightful family blessing festivity ministered by Mr. and Mrs. Bo Hi Pak as a part of Miroku festivity on May eighth, 1997. On February 1998 Kimu a chairman of World Peace Unification Family Association as a affiliated

religion of the Unification Church stepped in Administration Division of the Tenchi Seikyo and indicated to collect more money as contribution from the believers. A second leader, daughter of Kayo Kawase, Sizue Araya ordered churches all over Japan not to follow the instruction because doing so would cost its position as a religious corporation and identity of the religious group. However, she was summoned to visit an ashram of the Unification Church in Korea and forced to promise to meet inclination of headquarters of the Unification Church. She was relieved from a chairman and Takayuki Matunami was sent from the Unification Church to be a new chairman. The Chuwa Newspaper (an in-house daily of the Unification Church) published on March 1999 reported that Chairman Matunami paid a courtesy call on headquarters of the Unification Church and requested to have a stronger connection with the Unification Church, and on December there was a seminar for the youth exchange between the Tenchi Seikyo and the Unification Church, wherein a unity of the two religion would be promoted.

6 Conclusion

The Tenchi Seikyo case can be summarized in the following points:

- 1) Kayo Kawase, the founder of a local folk religious group, was involved in the activities of the Unification Church in Japan in her later years. She then developed a comprehensive religious thought system and powers exceeding those possessed in her former career as a shamanistic medium.
- 2) In 1988 she was installed as the founder of the Tenchi-Seikyo, reorganized from Spiritual Stone Worshipers Club established in 1987, and preached Messianism advocating that Rev. Sun Myung Moon is Maitreya.
- 3) However, as a nationwide religious cult, the Tenchi-Seikyo, in innovating and reshuffling its dogma and organization, came into

conflict with residents of Tokachi-Shimizu-Cho, who objected to the construction of accommodations of this cult on the grounds that it wanted to preserve the present character of its community.

We may say that the formation of the Tenchi Seikyo was created as part of the fund-raising process of the Unification Church which aimed at firstly avoiding criticism by the anti-cult movement (National Liaison Meeting of Counselors for Damage Control of the Victims of Fraudulent Sales of Spiritual Charms), and secondly organizing new religious cult, mainly for elders who had bought spiritual charms and would be new customers. Actually the Tenchi Seikyo was composed of the newly recruited elder adherents and old transferred Unification Church ones, which is sharply contrasted with the formation of the Unification Church, most of whose member are young and active in raising funds outside of the cult. This is in keeping with the new policy of the Unification Church that engaged in collecting participants at mass wedding ceremonies conducted by Sun Myung Moon, held several times, with large number of participants, in the past decade. Holy wedding was the last and supreme objective for Unification Church members to save them from original sin, however, it has been sold in bargain price. These small profits and quick returns are the last resort for the Unification Church to raise funds, as it is clear that the Unification Church cannot do it through profit-making organizations in US, Korea, and Japan, and moreover it began to exploit inside members and its dogma simply to raise funds.

This character, that is out-and-out exploitation of member labors and property as well as outside ordinary people, was reflected, firstly, in the Unification Church's exploiting of the shamanistic psychic Kayo Kawase and her religious group, secondly in their attempt to exploit the Tokachi Shimizu community. The Unification Church's world strategy, including fund-raising in which the Unification Church used the religious tradition

of ancestor worship in Japan to make fraudulent sales of spiritual charms on one hand, and its disregard for the local religious tradition and community in the Tokachi region on the other, has been strongly opposed not only by the anti-cult movement in Japan but also by local people, who were angry and feared the religious cult, which preached universal emancipation. However, we must pay attention to the attitude of locals who did not flatly reject the Tenchi Seikyo, but in fact made some concessions indicating a symbiosis between religious cult and secular society. In short, the Tenchi Seikyo was expected not to deceive or exploit others and to behave responsibly in the community if they want to be accepted. Such conventional and communal resistance against outsiders delivered a severe blow to the Unification Church.

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