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African Initiated Churches, Pivotal in Peace-Building

A Case of the Johane Masowe Chishanu

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Abstract

Western culture and ideology have indoctrinated Africans into believing that the West provides the best solutions for any crisis. Africa, a haven for some of the most threatening and destructive conflicts, Zimbabwe included, has failed to realize the power and wisdom of Africans toward solutions and nurturing peace and development. There is an African Initiated Church called Johane Masowe Chishanu (JMC), founded in Salisbury in 1931, which has prescribed, developed, and nurtured some of the best peace-making, "peacekeeping," and peace-building mechanisms for both social and political systems. Some of these prescriptions have laid the foundations for lasting peace, sustainable development, and constructive dialogue in Africa. This paper discusses some of the JMC practices regarding prophecy, confession, hymns, baptism, marriage, and self-employment that have fostered peace in Zimbabwe. JMC works mainly by instilling fear, threatening to foretell secrets, and identifying every church member as a close relative. It has been established that JMC has played an invaluable role in building peace socially, politically, and economically.

Introduction

African Initiated Churches (AIC) have been associated with the general grass-roots population by providing various services related to social, religious, and moral concerns. Some churches have remained focused on their original agenda, but most AICs have deviated over the years from their original agenda to a focus on the gospel of prosperity.

Johane Masowe Chishanu (JMC) is one such African Initiated Churches that has remained faithful to its original agenda.

Church formation in Africa and attracting members has become an easy task in light of widespread poverty and other social ills. One simply needs to understand the prevailing social problems that people face, offer some out-of-this world prophecy that suggests a solution or end to the problems, and the church fills to overflowing. Most of these churches are Pentecostal, have a musical group that plays modern tunes, and can match young men desperately seeking marriage with equally desperate young women. However, there are some churches that are generally believed to be God-inspired. Griffith and Savage state that the Johane Masowe religious group, which was inspired by Shonhiwa Masedza in 1931, who christened himself Johane Masowe, was founded for economic and political reasons. Griffith and Savage also posit that Masedza broke away from the Anglican Church after failing to secure a leadership post, but this claim could not be confirmed through other sources.

The paper looks at the role of the JMC in fostering peace in Zimbabwean society, some of the peace-making mechanisms that have been employed, and makes recommendations for future studies. The paper addresses the JMC from a participant's point of view, supported by other independent views, and is written against the backdrop of ever-emerging and continuing social, economic, and political problems, including unprecedented levels of poverty, high unemployment and under-employment, disease, divorce, and killings for economic and political reasons.

Methodology

This study is based on qualitative research conducted in Zimbabwe in the administrative province of Harare Metropolitan. The following apostolic centers were randomly selected for the administration of both questionnaires and interviews: Coca-Cola, Warren Park, Mabvuku, Kuwadzana Granary, Zengeza 4 Meditens, Zengeza 4 Art Centre, Seke Unit F, Unit N St. John, Hatcliff, and Zengeza 5 Nicodai. The research was conducted between August 2010 and December 2011 and included over 300 respondents. The study was conducted by a team of 5 research assistants who travelled around the centers and participated as church members for over a year. The ethnographic-oriented study gathered data by way of interviews, questionnaires, a literature review, and participant observation. Archival material provided additional and in-depth data. Interviews and questionnaires were conducted in the Shona language. Of the 300 respondents, 100 were interviewed and the other 200 completed questionnaires. From each center, 10 respondents were interviewed (5 male and 5 women) and 20 questionnaires were administered (10 men and 10 women). All participants were selected primarily for their active and strategic placement and knowledge about church activities. Data from the questionnaires was coded, entered, cleaned, and verified before analysis through the Content Analysis method.

All interviews and questionnaires had open-ended questions which focused on the following: 1. The church's understanding of peace; 2. The church's means of conflict resolution; 3. The church's approach to peace-building; and, 4. The church's major projects towards peace-building. Data collected from the interviews, participant observation, questionnaires, archival material, and review of literature was entered into a data analysis matrix and analyzed using SPSS version 16.0. Common strands across the data sets were

established and interpreted in the context of study objectives. Data triangulation was employed to ensure validity and credibility of all collected data; all participants were informed of the nature and potential implications of the study, to which they all consented.

Literature Review: Johane Masowe Chishanu (JMC)

African Initiated Churches (AIC) are believed to have been established for the following reasons: to protest colonialism, to respond to poverty among the Black population, to respond to traditional African cultures, and to provide a somewhat positive response to modernity and modern religion. This position has been generally shared by scholars, supported by members of the JMC, some of whom claim to have first-hand information and others of whom claim to have heard it from church prophets (Evans; Ranger and Kimambo).

Besides the JMC in Africa, Mbiti describes another group called Bayudaya (Jews of Judah), which is found in Uganda. The group came at the start of the 20th century led by a former member of the Anglican Church, called Semei Kakungulu, and is made up of Africans from around the Mbale area. Kakungulu, disappointed that neither the church nor the British had given him a high position following his contribution to the war, joined an independent church called Bamalaki in 1919. By 1926, Bayudaya had fused Jewish and Christian principles, abandoned specifically Christian practices, no longer believed in Jesus Christ and the New Testament, and began to observe Saturday as Holy Sabbath. The group adopted Jewish dress and took Hebrew names. According to Mbiti, Bayudaya does not have strongly defined structures or leadership.

JMC is based on the church's principles commonly called "first pronouncements" (*Tsananguro dzepakutanga*), which are said to have been delivered in 1931 when Masedza first received the Holy Spirit as he was praying in the Marimba hills, which at the time were in Salisbury. To this day the principles serve as guiding norms and a measure of cleanliness and holiness. The church is structured and has clearly defined roles and responsibilities for members, but has no overall or national leadership to run its affairs. Instead, each congregation has a worship place, or *some*, equivalent to a conventional church, which is led by a panel of prophets who receive direction from a council of elders, called the *dare*, composed of elderly, responsible men and their spouses. The *dare* has no specified leader, but each member has a defined responsibility.

Women at *masowe* serve as mothers, advisors, and singers; there are also female prophets, dreamers, and visionaries (*vaporofiti*, *varoti*, and *varatidzwi*, respectively). This concept is based on Joel 2:28, which states ". . . I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your daughters and your sons shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." Boys, too, have responsibilities at *masowe*. They are expected to serve as assistants to prophets (*vasondosi*) and to sing while young (*zvipotera*), considered clean and holy, are used as "tools" to execute special tasks or prayers during healing rituals.

Men generally constitute the *dare* or council of elders. The *dare* is made up of the elderly, wise, and resourceful men who act as advisors, directors and custodians of pronouncements. However, it naturally follows that if a man is appointed to the *dare*, the spouse automatically becomes a *sadare* or female elder and vice-versa. Each appointment to the *dare* is based on

individual merits, such as administrative skills, the ability to mobilize resources, or counseling. An elder at one center automatically becomes an elder for any other center, so much so that even if one transfers to another center, responsibilities are also transferred. Appointment to the *dare* is not by individuals in their human form, but rather by prophets in their spiritual form. This makes confirmation of one's responsibility at any other center by any other prophet easy since prophets are believed to draw their powers from the same stable of angels.

Traditional Religious Responsibilities

Religious groups and churches traditionally play important roles in society, especially around peace-building. Sampson uses four categories of religious intervention: advocates, intermediaries, observers, and educators. Advocates are those who fight to empower the disadvantaged and to restructure relationships and unjust social structures. An example would the Roman Catholic Church, which during the Zimbabwean liberation struggle advocated for truth-telling as a way of healing the wounds that were created during the struggle that ended in 1979. Intermediaries include those in fact-finding, good offices, facilitation, and conciliation. Mediation includes the role played by church leaders who successfully mediated a peace agreement in Sudan in 1972. Observers provide a physical presence that is intended to discourage violence, corruption, and human rights violations. Such observers have been in various countries and situations monitoring and observing elections and any other national activity that could be controversial and attract national or international attention. In Zimbabwe, national elections have been observed by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwe Council of Churches.

Education could be in a variety of forms, ranging from awareness programs, civic education, and training in human rights and other basic social and political matters. A particular example is the Roman Catholic Church in Zimbabwe, which, through its agent Silveira House, offers various training programs to communities free of charge. Other religious denominations also have organizations dedicated to training and community empowerment. Besides these organizations, religious institutions have traditionally provided education to communities through missionary schools (Bhebhe). It is these schools that educated most of the early African scholars, particularly the most prominent ones, by providing a balanced curricula and well-equipped facilities, unlike the few government-run institutions that were influenced by the colonial apartheid system.

Religious leaders also influence society; their public pronouncements and actions matter. The degree of popular credibility, trust, and moral authority vested in religious leaders enables them to direct events on the ground. Retired Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, for example, has often been asked to lead peace-building efforts around the world. Similarly, in Zimbabwe, the Catholic Bishops Conference and the Zimbabwe Council of Churches have championed attempts to quell political crises. During the 1982 to 1987 dissident insurgency that claimed over 18,000 innocent lives at the hands of the then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace tried to use reason to quell the violence, and subsequently documented the tragedy (Dodo). Several missionaries sacrificed their lives and resources for the development of the communities in which they lived. The late Archbishop Patrick Chakaipa provided both material and policy support for

Zimbabwe's struggle for liberation. During the Zimbabwean crisis, the Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front, realizing the influence that religious groups have in the community, utilized the influence of Johane Masowe Chishanu leaders to mobilize their membership for political election campaigns. Notable individuals who were involved include *Madzibaba* Lawrence Katsiru of Marondera, the late *Madzibaba* Pedneck Godfrey Nzira of Seke, and the late *Madzibaba* Border Gezi of Bindura.

Mass exposure of children and youth to abuse and violence, lack of education, poor nutrition, and poor moral standards have long-term implications for governance and peacebuilding. Religious groups, therefore, sponsor youth initiatives in peace-building and development (Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies). Many churches have youth programs that generate income with the goal of keeping youths off the streets and employed. Youth groups also sponsor sporting activities to build relations, especially after protracted violent ethnic or political clashes. Other ways in which youth can contribute towards peacebuilding are through media production, conflict transformation and reconciliation initiatives, psycho-social recovery programs, and programs that address human rights and transitional justice, security issues, and economic recovery (HPCR).

Bhebhe describes the role played by churches in Zimbabwe during the 1966-1979 liberation struggle as church authorities and communities provided financial, moral, and material resources. Some missionaries were killed and others were either deported or incarcerated for their participation during the war. While many religious groups participated, Bhebhe says the most prominent were the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Roman Catholic Church, and that other churches that contributed immensely were two Methodist groups, the Salvation Army, the Anglican Church, and some apostolic sects. Religious groups made use of their mission schools, clinics, and hospitals to make contact with liberation combatants; apostolic groups provided moral and spiritual support. The JMC also played an important role during the liberation struggle by providing prophecy consultancy and religious support to the fighting cadres so that they could endure the battle challenges and be able to evade some of the imminent encounters with their rivals. It became apparent that church institutions were the only places where politics could be discussed and strategized because all other avenues had either been banned or were closely monitored by the colonial regimes. To this day, religious organizations work to bridge social divisions by hosting conferences, interfaith dialogues, and retreats. Universities either affiliated or owned by religious organizations have developed peace programs, and churches are incorporating more explicit peace-building efforts into their outreach and development efforts. Both Africa University, owned by the United Methodist Church, and Solusi University, owned by the Seventh Day Adventist Church, currently offer peace programs in Zimbabwe.

Indigenous religious groups, including the JMC, provide spiritual, emotional, and psychological support to people who have suffered from violent and protracted conflict. They have also set up centers to feed needy victims and to counsel them for possible reintegration into society. Other JMC groups have provided rehabilitation facilities and trauma healing programs, especially after armed conflicts that leave people maimed and disabled. The sick or trauma victims are housed at local prophets' residences or healing shrines for sessions that can last for as much as six months. Typical examples include Micho's Chiweshe shrine, Wimbo's Goora shrine, Nzira's Seke shrine, Lawrence's

Marondera shrine, and Tenzi's Mbare shrine, amongst others. Generally, religious citizens' groups focus on peace, justice, and reconciliation within divided societies (HPCR).

Religious practitioners advocate non-violence, train communities in methods of non-violence, and promote reconciliation based on their religion-based pacifist conviction. They also use rituals, such as peace walks, to build worldviews supportive of peace and justice. Africa University hosts the annual Peace Marathon dedicated to world peace. Religious institutions usually survive war; states collapse, and other social and government structures fall away. According to Pouligny, religious networks, churches, temples, and mosques are usually the first to begin picking up the pieces after violence and remain as part of communities long after humanitarian workers and international aid have moved on. They may be the only remaining institutions with credibility, trust, and moral authority immediately after a war or conflict. This is another reason why they are able to provide services around the promotion of poverty reduction, addressing economic inequality, reintegrating and developing communities, and reuniting families.

Results

After gathering all the data possible and subjecting it to analysis that established and defined common strands across data, information was arranged according to specific themes that could respond to the initial research objectives of this study. The results are presented as follows: church service procedure, confession, prophecy, baptism, marriage, food, and rituals that keep members away from conflict.

Out of the 200 questionnaires that were issued, 46 were not returned, thus giving a response rate of 77%. Of the 154 questionnaire respondents, 100 (65%) indicated that they were clear about what peace means. Of the 100 interview respondents, 70 (70%) indicated that they were aware of what peace means. They even related it to the violence that Zimbabwe usually experiences during election times. Respondents went further indicating that every church service is characterized by a sermon by a male elder on the biblical Ten Commandments as a way of reminding the worshippers of the need to abide by the laws of God as they were delivered to Moses on Mount Sinai. The other 50 (33%) questionnaire respondents indicated that they were not sure about the nature of peace. Four respondents (3%) did not answer the question, and 30 interviewees (30%) showed ignorance about peace.

Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building

51 questionnaire respondents (33%) and 59 interviewees (59%) defined conflict resolution as diverse ways of making peace in conflict situations. The other 98 questionnaires (64%) and 25 interviewees (25%) equated it to measures that are applied during their church services whenever there are disputes; the participants took conflict resolution as cordial relationship-building efforts. The remaining 5 (3%) respondents' answers were not legible. On the church's conception of peace-building, all participants (100%) confirmed that JMC has mechanisms of peace-building that range from prayers to nurturing children toward Christian norms and values. The same respondents also indicated that their church has relationship-binding measures that ensure that there are no conflicts and that harmony is nurtured within their community. The general understanding of peace-building was that it is a long-term process aimed at nurturing harmony and peace with a view to fostering

development in the community. However, responses to the questions and the responses by the interviewees were quite diverse, and the information gathered is given below in themes.

Confession

Participants and conclusions from participant observations revealed that during each service, worshippers are required to confess publicly. Besides expecting forgiveness from God, the concept also helps discourage members from sinning or engaging in immoral activities. If one has been involved in fornication, he or she is required to confess before a congregation for 3 consecutive weeks. At some centers, during the 3-week period of confession, the individual is not allowed to wear the religious uniform, popularly known as garments. This is so embarrassing that potential sinners are discouraged from committing similar sins. If a sinner decides not to confess, prophets have the ability to tell that there is a sinner within the congregation and to expose the sinner. At the end of the day, harmony, oneness, and tranquility are restored in the community. Confession allows the victim of the sin to express anger and forgiveness, thus the possibility of building a new relationship and a new life with a former enemy.

Prophecy

Traditionally, mainline churches and most Pentecostal denominations are not associated with prophecy. The apostolic JMC church is different. The church believes in prophecy, whereby people are told of their future, their plans, their imminent failures and downfalls, and warned of any impending dangers. Because of the social, economic, and political problems bedeviling Zimbabwean society today, most of the people turn to prophecy for guidance and solutions. One respondent (a cross-border truck driver) at the Coca-Cola center indicated that he left a Pentecostal denomination because the church had no mechanism of foretelling what would befall him each time he drove across the border. This is aptly illustrated by the growth of churches with prophecy. For example, the prophets Emmanuel Makandiwa and Wutabwashe were excommunicated from the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) in 2010 after they had introduced prophecy that was contrary to AFM's doctrines. Following their expulsion from AFM, they founded United Family Interdenominational Church (UFIC), but then split when Wutabwashe founded Heartfelt International Ministry (HIM). Both churches strongly emphasized prophecy. These two churches, along with Spirit Embassy founded by Uerbert "Angel" Mudzanire, caused thousands of Christians to leave their traditional denominations and flock to these churches because they promised spiritual deliverance through prophecy. Apparently, according to one prominent prophet at the Coca-cola center, some people were ashamed of attending apostolic JMC churches and spending hours in the open and seated on the grass and so opted to join the contemporary versions of Pentecostal churches, such as the UFIC, HIM, and Spirit Embassy. Prophecy has reconciled broken relations and built bridges between hostile parties as people are being told of their real enemies and how they can overcome future challenges. According to participants from Seke, people plan their future and avert potential hurdles based on prophecy.

Use of Hymns

According to respondents, JMC uses a hymn dubbed "the Great Hosanna," which is believed to be an initiation song, used before or after a prayer session that introduces or bids farewell to the angels in heaven. The three words, "hosanna," "gloria," and "alleluia," are sung in a systematic trinity and repeated fashion. During the period when worshippers sing "the Great Hosanna" hymn, no one is allowed to move since it is considered the holiest of hymns. It is as important to worshippers as the national anthem is to a nation's citizens. It is believed that the hymn cleanses worshippers of bad spirits and bad omens, and that it brings harmony and prosperity in society.

According to some participants, when former enemies sing "the Great Hosanna" as part of their possible solution to their problems, all parties tended to respect and show restraint and tolerance of the other. The hymn could also be recommended to people with marriage problems to reconcile them permanently. In other instances, people could sing the hymn for a specific period of time to maintain peace and social order. This was usually directed to potentially violent people or those prone to engage in destructive or criminal activities. The impact and influence of this hymn on the worshippers is quite immense.

Baptism as a Ritual

The JMC suspended the ritual of baptism, under the watchful eye of prophets and elders, following a prophecy that there were no clean rivers where people could be immersed in flowing water. However, the church's conception of baptism is that once baptized, one is not expected to sin again. Baptism is a process that every Christian has to undergo if he or she is to be considered accepted by Jesus. It is also believed that any sin after baptism condemns one to hell. Therefore, worshippers are forced to stay away from sins. The fact that baptism was banned indefinitely means that worshippers have to be patient, hoping that someday they will be baptized. It is important to realize that the conditions of baptism have long contributed to peace in the apostolic society.

Marriage

On this theme, 70 questionnaire respondents (44.4%) and 38 interviewees (38%) indicated that marriage ceremonies have traditionally been used within the apostolic sect as one important way of controlling behaviors of church youth and reducing cases of adultery in the church and community. According to the participants, it is the way in which marriage ceremonies are structured and the tiresome procedures involved that deters people from breaking the rules. The church policy recommends that whoever wants to marry introduces the partner to the church elders for spiritual advice and guidance. The two are not allowed to meet on their own for fear that they could become sexually intimate before the relationship is solemnized spiritually. The other important aspect is that members of the same center or some are not encouraged to marry for they are considered brothers and sisters. This way, inter-family relations and the general community are maintained peacefully and orderly.

Furthermore, 130 questionnaire respondents (84.4%) and 61 interviewees (61%) talked about the church's policy on polygyny as another way of peace-making and peace-building. Respondents indicated that the church does not encourage or allow polygyny and, therefore, families are kept intact and happy. However, whenever a member eventually gets into a

polygynous marriage, he or she is not allowed to divorce. This way, families are also glued together. The other respondents either had no comment or were not clear.

Employment

Poverty is generally believed and known to be one of the causes of unrest in the world. Eliminating poverty requires employment so that basic needs are met. In Zimbabwe, especially following the devastating economic crisis that started in 1999, prospects of securing employment have become a very difficult. However, JMC, through its prophecy has played a role in helping people secure jobs for decent lives. Over 80% of the interviewees and 140 questionnaire respondents indicated that the majority of people (non-members) who frequent *masowe* seek advice and help in securing jobs. Either they secure a job or some hope is kept alive. Joblessness can also lead to high rates of divorce. JMC has kept families intact by helping people secure jobs for sustenance.

Culture of Peace and Development

On this question, 149 questionnaire respondents (97%) and 85 interviewees (85%) indicated that the apostolic church is probably one of the few institutions in Zimbabwe that effectively conducts peace-building. This was confirmed by the following: peace prayers conducted periodically, support for the ruling government, the existence of *masowe*, the provision allowing individuals to start up their *masowe* and to develop leadership skills, the belief in peace and forgiveness, and respect for social structures. It is taboo for apostolic members to assault, insult, or engage in any form of criminal activity, and members are obligated to maintain peace and order in their neighborhood. According to 54 questionnaire respondents, apostolic members are encouraged to venture into their own businesses or income-generating projects as a way of solving the problem of unemployment, poverty, and over-reliance on other people.

Conservation

The other significant point reported by participants was the issue about community resource management. Over 85 questionnaire respondents indicated that JMC has recently adopted a policy that works towards the conservation of natural resources, especially trees, by encouraging congregants to grow trees at all worshipping centers (masowe). According to respondents, the trees provide shade and beautify the places. This is contrary to the traditional approach by the church whereby congregants used to worship anywhere and, during the process, destroyed natural resources like grass and trees and, in some cases, caused soil erosion. Some prominent centers like Coca-Cola, Warren Park, Meditens, and Marondera (led by Madzibaba Lawrence) have already started planting trees as a form of environment reclamation. The environment can have a long-term influence on conflicts and development and, therefore, its proper management determines how peace prevails.

Discussion

The sample used in this study may not have been large or fully representative because it was hindered by church policy, which does not allow the media or individuals to record anything, to interview anyone, or photograph anyone or anything involved with the church. Instead, the study sought depth rather than breadth of the content. Under these

circumstances, the preceding issues came out prominently in the study. The fact that there was a general positive response of over 77% is testimony of the effort put into the study by the researchers, who were at some point all participating in church business. Also important is the fact that most of the participants in the study were active in the church and well-placed sources of relevant data.

It is clear that about 65% of the sample was knowledgeable about peace and peace building. It was also evident that peace has been experienced in Zimbabwe at various times and places, though the respondents cited the 2008 political crisis as one period when there was no peace in Zimbabwe. Respondents identified methods through which the apostolic church has fostered peace and peace-building in Zimbabwe over the years. While there was really nothing peculiar about these methods, it is important to note that it is the way in which some of these rituals are conducted that makes them more sacred and effective. The use of various artifacts, processions, and prayers instills a sense of duty, responsibility, and fear within the population to the extent that they are afraid to deviate towards anything that can cause conflict or disharmony in society.

The use of confession, hymns, baptism, and prophecy within the church has helped instill discipline among church members and the surrounding community. This is supported by the fact that people believe what prophets say. The research also brought out the fact that peace, oneness, and sacredness that are created by church beliefs have also worked towards the development of the communities. This is seen when church members come together and work on a project, such as gully and forest reclamation. The fact that the unemployed are helped to secure jobs or that their hopes are restored has also fostered peace in communities characterized by unemployment, poverty, crime, and violence. The JMC supports any government in power but no particular political party; its members refrain from political conflicts and activism. It is, however, important to highlight that individuals have ventured into politics and aligned with particular political formations. Respondents state that it is clear that the JMC plays a peace-building role in Zimbabwe, and that it has also contributed towards resolving conflicts and under-development that are not within the scope of this study.

Recommendations

Realizing the role that the Johane Masowe Chishanu church plays in fostering peace and peace-building in Zimbabwe, it becomes prudent that the study comes up with some recommendations and areas for future study. Very little has been written about this church in a formal, academic manner; most available material was probably written through covert programs as it is illegal and unacceptable to document the church's proceedings. (Perhaps government oversight could provide some mechanism that requires churches to report to a regulatory body, which will then monitor and document activities, define church rituals, and record membership figures. The regulatory body could also enforce proper land use and resource management principles as a way of controlling soil erosion and resource abuse and depletion.) Therefore, it is suggested that more formal research should be conducted, especially on the concept and authority of prophecy. Is prophecy real, magic, or fraudulent? How prophets enter the spiritual realm, see beyond earthly eyes, and relate with heavenly personalities should be explored.

This study also recommends that local authorities ensure that all development projects and relief work that the JMC undertakes be noted so that the nation understands how the church operates and, if appropriate, can adopt some of its principles and beliefs for the sake of peace and development. Overall, there is need for more research around this church if its deeper ideology is to be understood.

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