

Chapter 5

INTRODUCTION

This is a case study which critically analyzes the Christians movement from the Mission Churches to the African Initiated Churches due to healing. This shows practically how the movement has affected the Mission Churches in Botswana. This is an evidence that healing ministry in the African Initiated Churches has always presented a serious challenge to the Mission Churches. From 1993-2002, a period of ten years, this movement was unprecedented and this forced the Mission Churches to accept the reality of the situation the country. Therefore, whatever the mission churches do in regard to healing.

Case Study: Analysis of the Movement of Christians from Mission Churches to the Zionist Churches due to the Healing Ministry

In the preceding chapter of this study, I have indicated that healing is one of the most distinctive features, which has placed the African Initiated Churches, particularly the Zionists, on the religious map of the world. Healing has attracted a great number of Christians and non-Christians to the Zionist Churches since their inception. And in the past century the Christians who joined the Zionist Churches for healing came from the Mission Churches (Amanze 1998: 77-88, Daneel 1991: 75-97). This implies that the Mission Churches have been losing members to the Zionist Churches through the in Southern Africa for more than a century. A study of this state of affairs and its implications is presented in the extensive research which was conducted by Rev Solomon S Matsepe and Ministers' Fraternal in Gaborone, Botswana. Therefore the attached graphs illustrating the following forms: numbers, percentages and totals, Figs 1,2 and 3, are intended to shed light on the state of affairs in Gaborone. This situation prevailed in Gaborone, Botswana for many years, as anywhere in Southern Africa. But from 1993 to 2002, a period of ten years, there was an unprecedented movement of Christians from the Mission Churches to the following Zionist Churches: Temothuo Apostolic Church, Bagethwa Apostolic Church, Emmanuel Christian

Church in Zion, Baronwa ba Morena Christian Church and Bethsaida Apostolic Church. This movement of Christians had far-reaching implications for both the losing and gaining churches because it resulted in many initiatives being taken.

For instance, this state of affairs caused the Mission Churches to come into the open and express their concern about such a loss of members to the Zionist Churches. This issue was also raised at the Ministers' Fraternal meeting of the Mission Churches where it was resolved that a special meeting had to be called to deal with the matter in detail. The meeting was scheduled for nine o' clock, 10th July 2001, at Kholagano Theological College. The chairperson, Rev. Segola Keimetswe, explained the purpose of the meeting and led the discussion. He said, "*Colleagues, we have gathered here today because of the concern raised on a number of occasions about our members who are leaving us in such great numbers for the Zionist Churches*". He remarked, "*The statistics of such members are so alarming that we can no longer ignore it and pretend that it does not happen*". He added, "*What are we doing with the status quo*"? He reiterated: "*Before we can do anything or jump to conclusions we need to genuinely ask ourselves a number of questions which will need a genuine response for the sake of progress and direction. What is it that we, Mission Churches are doing or not doing that makes our people to leave us this way? If this has happened for a long time why are we only concerned now? Why did our predecessors not challenge the status quo? What needs to be done to correct the situation?*" These thought provoking questions and other utterances by the chairperson made the participants aware that the Mission Churches also needed to do some introspection, and that the Zionists could not solely be blamed for the state of affairs, which implied that the Mission Churches shared the blame. It is evident from this analysis that he was somewhat objective about the situation and that he wanted his colleagues to share the same objectivity, especially those who were emotional about the matter. Thereafter, the meeting resolved that the fraternal should arrange a meeting with the above-mentioned Zionist Churches for a discussion of the afore-said movement of Christians, and drew up terms of reference for the envisaged meeting.

The leadership of these said Zionist Churches accepted the request for the meeting which was scheduled for nine o' clock, 29th August 2001, at the same venue. The meeting initially progressed well on both sides, showing some sense of maturity,

tolerance and co-operation, but emotions began to run a little higher when some ministers from the Mission churches wanted to insist that the Zionist Churches should accept members from the Mission Churches only on the grounds that they produced a letter of transfer, visitor's note, or any form of document as a proof that they were allowed to join or visit other churches. This is a normal practice amongst the Mission Churches. This practice in most instances prevents members to move from one church to another without honouring their financial obligations. This was vehemently rejected by the Zionists, on the grounds that the regulations or practices of the Mission Churches did not apply to them. Archbishop Keabetswe Gabanamong responded this way: *"It would be preposterous for us as the leaders of the Zionist Churches to ask somebody who is terribly sick or in pain to produce a transfer letter, visitor's note or any document"* He maintained that their responsibility was to help the people of God in need, not to ask for documents. The Bishop added that in some instances, they healed people without any payment because caring for the sick was their prerogative and responsibility, therefore on these grounds they would not want anyone to dictate terms for them. The implication here, in essence, is that the needs of patients override the demands of documents and money. The leader of Bagethwa Apostolic Church, Bishop Kenneth Bogatsu said: *"Brothers, we must be honest to God and ourselves, the problem of the 'Exodus' of Christians from Mission Churches to Zionist Churches which has brought us here today emanates from the former"*. He elaborated, *"Firstly, the Mission Churches in Botswana still operate as if they are in Europe in the sense that they do not address the needs of the African people hence they leave"* He maintained that the Missionaries were not prepared to listen to or know the needs of their African converts; they only imposed their Western culture on them. He maintained that even long after the Missionaries had left the African soil for Europe the Mission Churches still operated in the same fashion under the leadership of the African people". The implication here was that even the generations of African people who took over the leadership of the Mission Churches had so far, so to speak, not yet changed their perceptions in regard to the needs of their fellow Africans. Bogatsu insisted that the Mission Churches should take the needs of the African people seriously, especially healing, because it is a reality in the African societies. He challenged the Mission Churches to broaden their theological horizon and begin to see healing as intrinsic to the ministry of the church, as the early church did anyway.

Broadly speaking, Bogatsu challenged the Mission Churches not to separate worship and healing as they did, but to perceive healing as part of the liturgy of the church. He further told the leadership of the Mission Churches that their staunch Christian members often visited the Zionists and traditional healers secretly for healing or healing related reasons. This confirms what Bourdillion (1990: 354) has observed: that Christians from the Mission Churches continue to resort to traditional healing, often against the official rules of their churches, and often in contradiction of their stated beliefs.

At the end of the meeting it was apparent that the reasons advanced by the Zionists outweighed the Fraternal's case because the members of the latter agreed with them on a number of issues. In fact, looking at the proceedings of the meeting, it was more like a workshop organized by the Zionists to teach the leadership of the Mission Churches about the healing ministry. However, this meeting provided the Mission Churches with a golden opportunity of knowing exactly the challenges they would face if they were not prepared to change their perception in regard to the healing ministry. One can justifiably say that the situation confronted them as the losing churches to look seriously in the mirror of the truth and to admit it. On the basis of this introspection and reflection their perceptions changed considerably. But I must acknowledge that some members of the fraternal came to the meeting, in my view, having already changed their perception because of their personal experiences of losing a great number of members some of whom played a significant role in their churches. I also had the opportunity of interviewing some ministers and members who left for the Zionist Churches prior to and after the said meeting at which the Mission Churches were advised to practise healing.

Interviews with some Ministers and Members of the Mission Churches who left for

Zionist Churches

Rev. James Sejakgombo (Personal interview, 18/01/01), of the Dutch Reformed Church, whose church was greatly affected by this movement of members to the

Zionist Churches, (see Figs 1,2, 3, attached), had this to say to me. “*Yes, my brother Solomon, I would tell you my experience of the situation in this way: I had a staunch member who played a significant role in the life of this church. Moruti, Mrs Onkabetse Meremeentse was such a dedicated Christian endowed with spiritual gifts for the development and enrichment of this church. She suddenly got ill and was diagnosed with flatulence which caused enlargement of the stomach and resulted in a serious stomach-ache. The doctor referred her to the hospital without any waste of time where she was also diagnosed with hiccups caused by the said flatulence. She would be hospitalized for a couple of weeks and discharged. This condition was not completely cured or healed, because after a couple of months she was admitted at the hospital again for the same condition with more serious consequences than ever before, and she was treated and discharged after two and half months. It happened for the third time and she nearly died. As usual she was hospitalized but this time for nine months and three weeks. After she was discharged her husband and his relatives approached me, Rev. James Sejakgomo, requesting permission to see the Zionists for help, as it is normally said: ‘Moruti, re tlie go kopa tetla ya go mo kopela dithapelo ko Masioneng gongwe re ka bona thuso’.*” Rev. Sejakgomo responded, having visited Mrs Onkabetse Meremeentse with the congregation during the three times that she was hospitalized, *I fully agree with your request for the sake of her life, and they happily left*”. farewell who prayed and visited her while she was hospitalized. On Sunday, she Rev. Sejakgomo said, “*My brother, you won’t believe me, after three years Mrs Meremeentse and her husband paid me a visit and told me how she was healed by the Zionists. She further told me that she had made up her mind that she would like to join the Bagethwa Apostolic Church, whose leader managed to heal her; however, she would come to church on Sunday for the last time to bid her fellow brothers and sisters came to the church for the service as she promised but she left with her husband, children and extended family for the Bagethwa Apostolic Church*” Rev. Sejakgomo said, “*Moruti, this meant that we lost thirteen members at one go hence the statistics of the people who leave the Mission Churches is high*” He reiterated that the departure of Mrs Meremeentse and her family was a very emotionally and spiritually devastating experience for him as a priest, and for the congregation. He said, “*Moruti, this is the implication of not practising healing ministry in the Mission Churches*”. He continued, “*Nonetheless, I was grateful to the Meremeentse family who approached me and told me everything, even when they left,*

unlike others who disappear like vapour when they join the Zionist Churches for healing purposes". He finally said, "Moruti, my colleagues from the Mission Churches would tell you exactly the same story and perhaps add their individual experience".

Rev. Alpheus Moleko of the Anglican Church, the deputy secretary of the Botswana Council of Churches (personal interview, 21/02/01), spoke as if he had been present when I interviewed Rev. Sejakgomo. However, he added that his personal experience why the majority of people do not inform their ministers when they join the Zionists for healing is owing to the respect the Africans accord to their ministers and the position of their churches in regard to non-Western methods of healing. He maintained that it is only a few members who have the audacity to approach their Minister to discuss their departure with them. Rev. Solomon Sello Magashule (Personal interview, 01/04/01), of the Methodist Church and a Chaplain in the Botswana Defence Force, expressed the same sentiments. He further said that once the Methodist members leave they never return when they are healed. He maintained that it was one out of a hundred members who do come back. In the context of Rev. Magashule's statement it is clear that the return of the healed members from the Zionist Churches is completely insignificant in terms of numbers. It can only be described as a drop in an ocean, whilst, practically speaking, the movement of Christians from the Mission Churches to the Zionist Churches can be described as one way traffic and nothing else. The other minister of the Mission Churches whom I interviewed expressed the same sentiments as their colleagues mentioned above. It is on the basis of these interviews that one can justifiably reiterate the fact that the majority of them from the Mission Churches went to the said meeting with the Zionists having already changed their perceptions regarding the healing ministry because of loss of a great number of members.

Likewise, my interview with Mrs Meremeentse and other Christians who had similar experiences is reflective of this state of affairs. Mrs Onkabetse Meremeentse (Personal interview, 09/04/01), told me her story as Rev. Sejakgomo did, but further gave me a detailed account of how the Zionists, in this case the Bagethwa Apostolic Church, healed her. Surprisingly, she never related to Rev. Sejakgomo how she was healed as she did to me. While she did so tears were running down her face,

emphasizing the fact that had she not gone to the Zionists for healing she would have long died and been forgotten. She said that after she had completed her healing sessions, which were accompanied by enemas and emetics, she was given the freedom to go back to her church by the Bishop who had healed her. Instead, she excitedly announced that she would die a member of the Bagethwa Apostolic Church. She further announced that she would go back to make arrangements for members of her family to join her, as she had found a new home. She was joined by her extended family, in fact, this justifies the claim that once people are healed, they encourage members of their families or relatives to join the AICs for security in terms of healing during sickness (Vilakazi et al 1986:43). A number of staunch members of the Zionist Churches whom I interviewed did exactly the same thing; for instance, Mr Karabo Moseki (Personal interview 18/06/2001), not only left with his relatives, but also with his friends from the United Congregational Church. From this it is evident that people want to be where they will receive help whenever the need arises, hence the shocking statistics as reflected by Figs 1,2, and 3. It is in this context that one is justified in saying that indeed healing has become a powerful, and effective recruitment technique for the Zionist Churches (Anderson 1993: 27, Daneel 1971: 192). It is on the basis of this analysis and statistical data presented in the figures that one maintains that the appropriation of the African traditional healing by the Zionists presents a serious challenge to the Mission Churches. This was confirmed by the Zionist ministers whom I interviewed for the purpose of this study.

Interviews with some Ministers of the Zionist Churches Regarding their Healing Ministry

Archbishop Keabetswe Gabanamong (Personal interview, 24/04/01), of Temothuo Apostolic Church and a well-known herbalist in Botswana, confirmed the statistics, based on the way people flock to his church because of his healing Ministry. He was even not at all hesitant to show me the large number of Christians from the Mission Churches who joined his church for healing and healing related reasons during the Easter church service which I attended for the purpose of this study. In fact, in my view, such a number constitutes 49% of his congregation, the majority coming from

the Dutch Reformed Church, the Lutheran Church, the Roman Catholic Church and so on. Looking at such a large number, any person, would ask himself/herself the question: what about other people who joined other Zionist Churches? Hence I arrived at the point of accepting the reality of the statistics. The bishop further added, “*I am honest to God and myself about what I am doing; once a person is completely healed I normally announce that he/she is free to go back to his/her church and the majority choose to stay as members of this church*”. For me, this was confirmation of what Mrs Onkabetse Meremeentse had said to Rev. Sejakgomo and to myself, during the interview. The leader of Bagethwa Apostolic Church, Bishop Kenneth Bogatsu (Personal interview, 16/06/01), said to me “*Moruti, the Zionist Churches preach the good news of Jesus Christ by healing the sick and it is their prerogative and responsibility, as the early church did*”. He emphasized the fact that healing was intrinsic to the earthly Ministry of Christ, and to the early church, hence, it attracted multitudes of people. He maintained that this is exactly what the Zionists are doing; hence, they have a large following. He further said that in the Zionists’s view, healing cannot be separated from religion. He maintained that, for them, healing is part and parcel of worship. He reiterated that they would continue to serve God by healing His people, sometimes without being paid, as often happened with the poorest of the poor in society. Here again, it was made clear that once people are healed they are given freedom of choice as to whether they want to go back to their original churches or stay, but in most cases the majority become members. They often make arrangements for their family members to join them in their new home of worship. In my view, members of the Mission Churches who joined this church constitutes 49% of the congregation. The statistics bear witness to the fact that the healing ministry of the Zionists poses a serious challenge to the Mission Churches. The other ministers whom I interviewed basically expressed the same sentiments as these two leaders. One may therefore conclude that the members of the Ministers’ Fraternal went to their meeting with the Zionists having already changed their views, as indicated earlier in this chapter.

Healing Ministry as a new development in the Mission Churches

Since the meeting of the Mission Churches and Zionist Churches held at KgoLAGANO Theological College on 29 August 2001, attitudes have challenged considerably in the Mission Churches. The Mission Churches have, as was suggested at this meeting, begun to broaden their theological horizon in terms of realizing the needs of the African people whom the church is called to serve. It is precisely in the light of this understanding that some individual churches are, in my view, moving towards the ministry of healing. For instance, the United Congregational Church recently began an “altar call” programme which some prefer to call “*Rolang Merwalo*”. This altar call is basically focused on the healing ministry. The Minister invites all the members who need prayer, regarding any problem or trouble, to come to the altar. While the respondents are moving towards the altar the Minister recites the words from Scripture: “come to me, all you that are weary and are carrying heavy burdens, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me, for I am gentle and humble in heart, and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light” (Matthew 11: 28-30). Then, the respondents are instructed to light their candles while the Minister is attending to them individually to learn their problems, illnesses, misfortunes, etc. While individuals relate their problems to the Minister the congregation softly sings this hymn; “Ngaka e kgolo ke Jesu” (Jesus the Physician) from the congregational hymn book. Once the Minister has heard all their problems he prays for them individually while laying his hands on them. In the case where a Minister claims not to be spiritually endowed with the gift of healing, the services of men and women who are gifted in this regard are used by the church. These people were tried and tested and the church has become convinced that they are endowed with spiritual gifts of healing for the good of God’s people. But, in all instances, the Minister in charge is actively involved because of his vocation. In other instances, members are requested to write their problems, troubles, misfortunes, etc, on a piece of paper which is prayed for, by the healers. At the end of the healing session the respondents are instructed and encouraged to continue to use these candles on a daily basis while praying for their own problems in their homes. After two to three weeks have elapsed, those who were prayed for, are given the chance to give testimonies.

In hearing these testimonies, one realizes the importance of the “altar call” in terms of healing. For instance, I listened attentively to all testimonies of healing. What surprised me were the testimonies of people who claimed that they had nothing organically wrong but complained about palpitations, pains all over the body, headaches, tremblings, giddiness and darkness in front of their eyes. These conditions emanated from stress, depression and anxiety. One respondent said, when she gave her testimony, that since the minister had prayed for her she was no longer suffering from palpitations, headache etc. I realized that the person was healed because she had faith in the minister as the representative of Jesus Christ. Again, because the minister listened attentively and sympathetically to her while she was relating her problems, she could rest assured of his support, and this is therapeutic in itself; hence, she was completely healed. She was assured of the support of her fellow members and the everlasting presence of God. From my observation of the “alter call” and testimonies given thereafter, this is how healing is obtained in the Congregational Church. While people were giving testimonies about how they were healed someone remarked that, “if this is how our church is going to operate from now, onwards, then there is no reason of going to the Zionists for healing.” This shows clearly that the people are beginning to accept the reality of the healing ministry in the Mission Churches.

The Methodist Church is also doing likewise, it has recently introduced the programme “Letsha la Phodiso”¹ which is basically concerned with healing. According to Revs Magashule and J Mabidikama (Personal interview, 27\08\2001), this healing is taken so seriously that it is part and parcel of their Easter service programme. According to Rev Mabidikama, the service of the last supper is combined with this healing service. He said that as a church leader who is not endowed with spiritual gifts of healing he used to work with members, both men and women who were perceived to possess such gifts by the congregation. He said that the healing session would begin by inviting all those who need prayer for matter to gather near the altar. While people were gathering near the altar the congregation would be softly singing the appropriate hymn for the occasion. Thereafter, the healers whom

¹ “Letsha La Phodiso” A pool at which patients are baptized for the purpose of healing. In the Zionist Churches, it is related to the biblical story of healing at the Pool – John 5: 1 – 18.

some are accredited preachers of the Methodist Church would ask the respondents to relate their problems, troubles, misfortunes, etc, to them. Sometimes the respondents were requested to write all their troubles, on and piece of paper, to fold it so that it could not be read by anyone and to throw it in a basket. The healers then lay their hands on the individual respondents while praying for them. Thereafter, the healers would talk to individual respondents, telling them what God had revealed to them while they were praying. Sometimes the basket is also prayed over. Thereafter, respondents are given the assurance that God has heard their prayers. Again, they can rest assured of God's everlasting presence and the support of their fellow members in trying times. The papers on which the people's problems were written are normally burnt immediately after the church service. This healing method has produced results in the sense that a great number of people who were prayed for, have voluntarily gone to the healers and Rev Madikama to tell them about changes and improvements in their lives, since the introduction of '*Letsha La Podiso*' in their Church. In the context of this statement healing, as it is also understood in African societies, it only means curing diseases or conditions, as is the case in Western societies, but is a broad concept, which includes change and improvements in many areas of one's life; hence the congregants will indicate this to their healers and minister. And it is on the basis of this profound and dynamic understanding of healing in the African context that a staunch member of the church remarked, during the introduction of '*Letsha La Podiso*', that since there is healing in the Methodist Church, there is no reason for seeking help outside. This in itself is a clear indication of the fact that members are enthusiastic about the new programme on healing. The healers, likewise, are glad that, after showing the church that they are endowed with spiritual gifts of healing, the congregation has accepted them, and that those gifts are used for the good of God's people and His glory. It is also worth mentioning here, that these healers sacrifice much of time and money for the well being of their fellow congregants. For instance, they spend much time visiting the homes of the sick who need their healing service. At the same time they, in most instances, use their own vehicles without any payment. This is a clear indication of the seriousness with which they engage in the healing ministry. Mr Goitseone Seleka, who is perceived to be the most gifted of them all in healing (Personal interview, 18/09/01), asserted that their gifts of healing are used for spiritual enrichment, development, growth and so forth within the Methodist Church .Mr Seleka's success in this regard has caused him to contemplate writing a booklet

on healing within the Methodist Church, especially in the Lobatse circuit. He has already received approval from his minister Rev Joseph Mabidikama, and circuit executive committee, and if all goes according to plan the booklet will be published by Botswana Pula Press shortly. This, in essence, reflects the progress which has been made by the Methodist Church in regard to healing.

The Dutch Reformed Church is also following in the footsteps of the United Congregational Church and Methodist Church in this regard. Its members are glad that something has begun in their Church in terms of healing. Rev Sejakgomo (Personal interview, 25/09/01) asserted that healing in his church was not a matter of choice but a necessity considering the fact that the Dutch Reformed Church had been harder hit by the departure of its members than any other Mission Church in Botswana, as reflected by Figs 1,2 and 3. The Lutherans and Anglicans are seriously contemplating following suite; it is just a matter of time. Only the Roman Catholic Church has not yet decided whether to follow suit or not. But from the look of things, it has no choice but to do so otherwise it will face an "exodus" of its members to the Zionist Churches, even more than ever previously. It is in this context that one maintains that changes are inevitable for those Mission Churches which have not yet started with a healing ministry. The Botswana Christian Council too, is quite aware of this new development in the Mission Churches and the reasons for it. In fact, it accepts and supports this development, which it broadly perceives in terms of the enculturation of the gospel of Christ in Botswana. This view is supported by the Anglican priest and deputy secretary of the Christian Council, Rev Alpheus Moleko, who at its annual conference remarked "*I am happy to announce that the Church of Christ has come of age in the African continent particularly in Botswana because it has recently began to make healing inherent to worship liturgy, as the early Church did. This is a clear indication that the Christian Church has begun to address the needs of the people whom it is called to serve, the Africans, in our case Batswana. We are therefore grateful to God that his Church has begun to be contextual in its mission particularly in Botswana since the introduction of Christianity in African continent.*" This, in essence, is a clear acknowledgement and reflection of a paradigm shift in the history of the Mission Churches, in the sense that the Missionaries who brought Christianity to Africa never thought of healing as intrinsic to worship. They perceived healing or medical work as a specialized field, so that an ordinary priest or

congregation could not take much part in the healing of the sick. The perception was that the priest and congregation had no expertise or training in medical field therefore they could not look after the sick, hence in most Mission congregations healing and worship became quite separate (West 1975:91-92). However, broadly speaking, the role of the Mission Churches in the Western scientific methods of healing should not at all be downplayed or overlooked, considering the fact that they established hospitals and other health centers wherever they did their mission work. These hospitals and clinics produce remarkable results in respect of some diseases and sickness such as smallpox, malaria, tuberculosis, etc (Boudillon 1997:356). Nonetheless, this perception of the demarcation between healing and worship was a missionary attitude, so to speak, and the Church operated in this fashion for centuries in Africa. Because this has only changed recently, as indicated above. One may justifiably claim that there is a paradigm shift in the history of the Mission Churches.

However, whatever happens in the Mission Churches' circles in regard to healing should be understood within the broader context of healing in the Zionist Churches. For instance, the Mission Churches were not initially willing to practise the healing ministry but this came about as a reaction to the great loss of members to the Zionists, as reflected in Figs1, 2 and 3. Therefore, there is no way in which healing in the Mission Churches can be seen as the voluntary initiative of these Churches, but it will always be perceived only as a reaction, as indicated above It is in the light of this profound understanding of the state of affairs that Rev James Sejakgombo indicated with a strong sense of sadness and seriousness that engaging in the healing ministry in the Dutch Reformed Church was essential, not a choice. He indicated clearly that the departure of Mrs Onkabetse Meremeentse, her family and her extended family, all at once, was emotionally and spiritually devastating for him and the congregation. Rev Magashule asserted that in order to avoid this situation of "*creating the Methodists by the day and Zionists by night we finally had to accept healing ministry in the Church.*" He added, "*Moruti, we broaden our theological horizon and perceived it as one of the contemporary issues such as homosexuality, AIDS, sexuality, which present a serious challenge to the Church today.*" Other ministers of the Mission Churches indeed expressed the same sentiments as their colleagues but simply in different words. The leadership of the Zionist Churches similarly perceives this new practice of the healing

ministry in the Mission Churches in terms of the Zionists' serious challenge to the latter.