



All Party Parliamentary Group on
the Great Lakes Region of Africa

REPORT OF THE JOINT APPG/FCO
MISSION TO BURUNDI

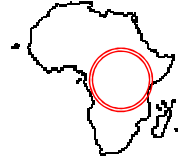
8-14 March 2009

► Content

Background	2
Introduction	2
Selected key points	2
Parliament: Round-table seminars	3
Elections	3
Constituency role of MPs	4
Parliamentary accountability	4
Opposition	5
Conclusions	6
Politics and elections	6
Elections	7
Human rights and governance	8
Violence against women	9
Media	10
Governance and corruption	10
The Batwa	11
Development	11
Overall assessment of the mission	12



ALL PARTY PARLIAMENTARY GROUP ON THE GREAT LAKES REGION OF AFRICA



Report of the APPG/FCO mission to Burundi March 8-14, 2009

► Background

A delegation of two UK parliamentarians from the All Party Parliamentary Group on the Great Lakes Region of Africa (APPG) visited Burundi from March 8-14, 2009 as part of joint mission with the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (whose support included funding the visit). On the delegation were Mary Creagh MP, an APPG vice-chair, and David Chaytor MP; APPG coordinator Stephen Carter also accompanied them. The mission focused on seminar sessions with Burundian parliamentarians, aimed at reinforcing ties between the two parliaments and building capacity and understanding equally on both sides. In addition to the seminars the visit included meetings on a range of other issues including political tensions and the elections, efforts to reach a final agreement with the FNL rebels, human rights and governance, violence against women, the situation of the BaTwa, and issues of development.

The APPG, and in particular the members of the Burundi delegation, would like to record their thanks to the FCO, and in particular to HMA Nick Cannon, Sue Hogwood, Anne Aichroth and Paul Waller for their initiative in proposing the mission, and for their very considerable efforts to ensure it was a success.

► Introduction

Burundi is in many ways a success story – but a fragile and incomplete one. Relatively neglected among the countries of the Great Lakes region, the country has gone through a remarkable peace process that has largely marginalised the ethnic basis of politics underlying the civil conflict (punctuated by genocidal massacres) that has marked its history since independence. But huge challenges of under-development and demographic pressure remain, and the possibility of renewed crisis is very real – not least amid the heightened political tensions that will surround next year's elections. Burundi will be a test of post-conflict reconstruction, but also an opportunity: it is clear that well-targeted support can have a positive impact, but if the progress since 2003 is not to be ephemeral continued and strengthened international engagement is essential.

► Selected key points

- The UK should maintain and strengthen its political and material engagement with Burundi, particularly around the elections and their aftermath, but also over the longer term. A number of

specific suggestions are set out in the main text below. The issue of a final peace deal and the successful integration of the FNL in particular demands continued engagement.

- On the basis of the seminar sessions further UK government investment in supporting the Burundian parliament is justified. Some detailed comments and suggestions are included in the main text.
- A particular focus on human rights and political space is also worthwhile given ongoing abuses. The case of Juvenal Rududura should be one immediate priority, and continued engagement on the Independent National Human Rights Commission (CNIDH) is needed, but lower-profile problems such as attacks on political activists should not be ignored. In general, significant support for the development of both civil society and media is justified.
- Specific issues relating to voter registration, youth groups, and campaigning need further attention before the elections. The UK and EU should support a properly manned EU long-term observation mission to work closely with BINUB to monitor the electoral process.
- Further efforts to improve coordination among Burundi's funders are worthwhile.
- Consideration should be given to how development efforts could have a greater impact on unemployment, and DFID should examine whether the limits of overall UK support could be expanded.

► Parliament: Round-table seminars

The first focus of the mission was the Burundian parliament. The APPG met with the Presidents of the Senate and National Assembly, and with more than twenty parliamentarians from the full range of represented parties. The in-depth exchanges included seminar discussions as well as meetings with parliamentarians in their party roles and more informal exchanges.

The round-table seminars were the centre-piece of the visit. They took place over two days in four separate sessions at the Burundian parliament, with wide-ranging discussions grouped under the headings of elections; the constituency role of MPs; parliamentary accountability and the role of select committees; and the role and practice of opposition in parliament. The agenda topics covered broad issues of principle and practice rather than specific contextual developments in Burundi or the UK, although these were touched on in the time dedicated to open discussion.

The discussions were characterised by a genuinely positive debate and a two-way exchange of views, and the members of the UK delegation considered them to have been the most productive aspect of the visit: mutual peer education of this kind can be a powerful political tool. They certainly had a substantial impact in building a sense of relationship between the two parliaments and individual MPs. Some of the key points to emerge from the sessions follow below, followed by general conclusions.

Elections

There was great interest among Burundian colleagues on issues related to the proper conduct of elections (and strategies to win them). The APPG delegation spoke at length about both measures to

prevent abuses and the methods used by UK political parties to maximise their vote, including media campaigning, manifestos and measures to get the vote out on Election Day.

A number of the Burundian parliamentarians highlighted access to the media as a key concern. In 1993 there had been a single national radio and television station – now there were many private outlets which could influence the political mood. Radio especially was seen as important, as one might expect in a country with a low literacy rate. The parliamentarians stressed the importance of regulating not just content (to guarantee fairness and prevent ethnically or politically inflammatory material being aired) but also access (especially to radio) to ensure that candidates and parties received equal treatment and to prevent those with greater means to pay for airtime from dominating the debate. There was unanimous agreement on the need for media regulation: this was seen as a key job for the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI). Further work with the MPs on electoral and campaigning issues and techniques would clearly be especially welcome, and work with the CENI and Burundian authorities on ensuring there is a solution to the problems of media access in particular would seem worthwhile.

The UK delegation raised the role of policy formulation as one element of political campaigning (i.e. in addition to presentation), particularly through the production of party manifestos. Burundian colleagues reported that security was the one issue of concern to the population above all others; access to health and education were also mentioned. The detail of policy proposals was less important as a way of differentiating between the parties.

Constituency role of MPs

The section of the seminar dedicated to the constituency role of MPs covered the detail of UK parliamentary practice and questions of how parliamentarians could represent all constituents regardless of party affiliation. Particular stress was put on the accessibility of MPs and the routine work of representing constituents in their dealings with government.

The Burundian participants for their part highlighted that parliamentarians were expected to bring practical benefits to their areas. They particularly raised the question of how campaign promises could be fulfilled when a candidate might win a seat but see his party limited to the fringes of power. This was seen as a distorting influence on politics, in that it would encourage voters to support a candidate based on whether his party had a realistic chance of dominating at the centre, rather than other factors.

The example of Kenya, where all MPs had access to a dedicated development fund for their constituency, was mentioned as a potential way to deal with this. The risk of misuse of funds is clear, and was acknowledged, but the argument was made that in Kenya that risk had been contained.

Parliamentary accountability

Discussion of the role of parliament in holding the government to account focused on the role of parliamentary commissions and select committees. The Burundian MPs, a number of which were members of the bureaux of key commissions themselves, reacted with some interest to footage of select committee proceedings in the UK (including Home Secretary Jacqui Smith being grilled over detention limits). Concern was expressed over the relative lack of responsiveness of the Burundian

government: ministers and others could be called to answer questions but often declined to appear. The delegation was left with a sense that the Burundian commissions had the potential to play a stronger role but needed to be reinforced. This is a matter of ensuring they have the powers and rights they need but equally that these are respected: the delegation felt this could perhaps be given more importance as a benchmark of democratic progress in discussions between the UK and other partners and the Burundian government. More could also be done on improving capacity. Burundian MPs mentioned the need to be able to properly scrutinise documents, and the problems caused by lack of adequate support staff. One issue that was particularly raised was that the most senior parliamentary staff on the committees (and elsewhere) were usually political (and often family or friend) appointees, which was felt to have reduced effectiveness.

The issue of oversight of the security services was also raised by the delegation. There was interest in the UK model of the Intelligence and Security Committee, and the methods it used to avoid security problems while allowing accountability. The delegation is of the view that gradually extending parliamentary scrutiny of the security services should be an important part of an effort to increase their accountability generally.

Opposition

The role of the opposition was a theme that surfaced throughout the seminar sessions – unsurprisingly given the controversy over the expulsion of 22 MPs in 2008. There was some discussion of UK rules on MPs changing parties.

The participants discussed at some length the position and rights of opposition, with the delegation contributing on UK practice using video of a particularly fractious Prime Minister's Questions as an illustration, as well as covering other opposition techniques. Stress was put on the balance between the rights of the opposition and the convention of it playing a basically constructive role. The delegation made the point that too large a majority was sometimes a disadvantage for a party in government – a smaller majority could provide a better environment in which to function in the long term.

There was significant interest in the video, and a Burundian MP noted the relative lack of exposure of ministers and President to sustained opposition scrutiny of this sort. But there was a general concern among some participants about opposition in the current dispensation. One MP said that "We don't yet have a democratic culture". The power-sharing structure of the constitution meant that most parties were represented in government, even if there were frictions about the real degree of power their ministers enjoyed. This meant that one could not really say they were in opposition, even if they were referred to as and in some sense considered themselves to be opposition parties. This is clearly one of the points of tension resulting from constitutional compromises designed to prevent conflict.

A law on the opposition could clearly be an important development – for better or for worse. While the process obviously needs to be decided by the Burundians, there may be a role for the UK and others to play to support the discussion and find a compromise that might enhance accountability while preventing either legislative gridlock or conflict.

Conclusions

The delegation believes there is substantial potential for the Burundian parliament to play a strong, positive, and increasingly effective, role. Based on the limited (if intense) experience of the trip, the UK should continue to support the work of parliament. Some specific forms that investment might take have been suggested above. Other efforts could also include:

- A particular focus on building the link to UK (and in particular the UK parliament). If funds and interest can be found, a visit by Burundian parliamentarians to the UK might be one obvious way of doing this.
- Support for the parliamentary civil and support services, especially the capacity of committee staff.
- Neutral, appropriate support to all parliamentarians and parties on policy formulation, media, funding, and engagement with voters.
- Support for greater codification of the role and rights of the opposition, and of the parliamentary commissions.
- Dedicated capacity-building support on specific technical issues – for example scrutiny of the budget.
- Specific efforts to encourage the constructive function of parliament and favour conflict resolution – for example by extending leadership programmes like those used during the transition period, designed to foster collaboration between MPs from different factions.

► Politics and elections

The delegation was impressed by the progress that had been made since 2003. There was much political activity and substantial progress seems to have been made under the principles of the Arusha accords in moving away from conflict and in the de-ethnicisation of politics. In this respect Burundi provides an interesting contrast with the path followed by neighbouring Rwanda. There was also an encouraging if indefinable sense from several sources of an underlying openness to compromise and a sense of basic common identity that would help forestall a major crisis.

The progress made so far is very positive, but it must by no means be taken for granted. The fragility of the peace process was underlined by the FNL attacks on Bujumbura in April 2008. Although negotiations with the rebel movement have thankfully advanced considerably since then, the delegation was told the movement has yet to seriously disarm; while the movement of FNL fighters to barracks has begun, much more progress needs to be made. Meanwhile small arms are worryingly prevalent among the general population, creating an easy potential for renewed violence. Regardless of the future of the FNL, there are many factors which could drive conflict, including the return of thousands of refugees and disputes over land in an environment of under-development and major demographic pressure.

Elections

The 2010 elections, the first to take place outside the immediate context of the transition, were widely seen as a critical milestone and a test of political normalisation. But there were specific concerns about what would happen during the campaign and after the polls. Human rights organisations and NGOs, media representatives and several of the political parties raised concerns which included political killings, attacks on party workers, obstruction of political campaigning, use of state resources for political ends, and other threats. Others were worried that the FNL, who had yet to concentrate their forces in barracks, had a half-hearted commitment to peace and could seek to use their forces to influence the election, or if they lost.

Not long before the APPG visit there was much concern in certain quarters over the membership of the electoral commission. These concerns led to a welcome and statesmanlike compromise in the government position and the individual members of CENI now appear to command widespread confidence. However, as of summer 2009 the enabling legislation for the elections has still to be finalised – a matter of increasing urgency – and may present further challenges.

Several people mentioned what they saw as the dangers posed by the growth of the party youth wings. The former President of Burundi (and current FRODEBU Presidential candidate) Domitien Ndayizeye particularly raised concerns about the youth wing of the CNDD-FDD. Ndayizeye added that FRODEBU was committed to non-violence but that his own youth wing were increasingly pressing him to react, saying “we won’t accept to be killed”. While the problem is still contained, the potential for spontaneous violence as the elections approach is worrying. Later CNDD-FDD party president Jeremie Ngendakumana explained to the delegation his view that engaging the youth through sports and the youth wing was legitimate and necessary way of mobilising them for the party. The delegation also raised the issue with the President of the National Assembly, who while seeing the FNL as a greater threat suggested that it should be possible to resolve concerns over the youth groups through discussion and compromise between the parties.

More technical issues of concern were also raised in relation to arrangements for the eventual ballot, voter registration and the issuing of identity cards. A coalition of women’s NGOs said plans to issue separate ballots at polling stations for each party risked leaving women vulnerable to husbands who would demand to see the unused slips as evidence their wives had voted the ‘right way’ – something that could be used by political parties against other voters as well. This could easily be rectified. A delegation of the co-opted BaTwa parliamentarians also mentioned the difficulty members of their community had often faced in obtaining identity cards, necessary to register to vote. The cost of obtaining photographs for the document (about FBU 3,000) posed a real obstacle to people who were among the most marginalised in the country, with very little access to cash. A completely free process to register voters and provide ID cards like that implemented for the elections in the Congo would surely be both advisable and feasible in the smaller-scale context of Burundi.

Several organisations stressed the need to act quickly on these problems. The elections are due in summer of 2010, and campaigning in some respects has already started. The delegation shares the view that it is essential to act now to ensure a solid framework for the vote – and crucially, to put in place a

serious long-term international observation mission. However, the delegation was greatly pleased to hear President Nkurunziza say he would do everything to ensure the success of the election.

Notwithstanding these issues, there was a clear tendency among those the APPG met (including 'opposition' parties) towards the view that real danger was from the post-election period rather than the elections themselves. Finding a workable balance among the different parties and between parliament and government (as conspicuously proved a major challenge through much of the period since the last elections), integrating the FNL without a return to violence, and handling a shift in power or even a transfer of national leadership all offer ample opportunities for crisis. In particular, a revision of the principles of the Arusha accords through changes to the constitution may be attractive for a government with the legitimacy of an electoral win under its belt, but it was quite clear that such a process would need to be handled with great delicacy. Several interlocutors stressed the danger of any attempt at a revision before the elections. The delegation was pleased to be told by President Nkurunziza that he had no intention to force through changes to the Arusha principles before or after the votes. There seems a clear risk moves of this sort could be seriously destabilising if they are not handled in a careful and consensual manner: from what the delegation saw, evolution may be necessary over time, but despite the progress so far it would take very little to bring Burundi's conflict to the surface again. This clearly needs to be a key focus for international attention.

One question worth consideration is whether the UK would benefit from a stronger representation in Burundi. The delegation felt the establishment of a full UK embassy would clearly be desirable in principle, but recognised the financial and practical considerations which militate against this: HMG should nonetheless monitor whether a reinforced diplomatic presence would be useful, especially in the run-up to elections. An FCO ministerial visit would be particularly welcome and indicated soon after the polls, or if there is any imminent threat to stability.

► Human rights and governance

The APPG members met with human rights NGOs, media organisations, and several political prisoners. Arbitrary detention and the non-independence of the judiciary were seen as key issues by many of these people – what one organisation called 'instrumentalised injustice'. They also mentioned the regular politically-motivated killings in the country. This is a real issue. Not long after the APPG visit, the vice-president of an organisation the APPG met (the anti-corruption NGO OLUCOME) was stabbed to death. The killer has not been caught, but OLUCOME believes the attack was motivated by their work on corruption cases.

There are a significant number of other political prisoners. Many of these are accused of association with the FNL, but (in addition to Hussein Radjabu) human rights organisations mentioned three who are not, the trade union leader Juvenal Rududura, journalist Jean-Claude Kavumbagu (director of the NetPress online news service), and politician Alexis Sinduhije (a prominent former radio journalist). The delegation raised these cases with the President of the Senate. Later the delegation was able to meet Kavumbagu, Sinduhije, and Rududura at Mpimba Central Prison in Bujumbura towards the end of the

mission – a facility designed for 800 prisoners but which actually held over 2,000. In the event Sinduhije's acquittal was announced the day before, and he was on the point of leaving the prison. The delegation was able to speak with him for 15 or 20 minutes. Kavumbagu was released not long after the APPG delegation left the country, though to what extent the visit played a role in his release is difficult to tell. Rududura has also been released, but continues to suffer judicial restrictions on his movements. The international community should make it a priority to raise his case both publicly and privately. In general, care must be taken to raise abuses (such as attacks on local party workers) which are widespread but relatively low profile.

Two other major unresolved issues relating to human rights deserve attention. The first is the future of the Independent National Human Rights Commission (CNIDH). An effective and active CNIDH is of real long-term importance, but its proposed powers and independence have been so curtailed as to make it unlikely it will be able to function as it should, and it is unclear whether this will be remedied. The second issue is transitional justice, where National Consultations are still at the preparation stage, and even this is progressing slowly. The President of Senate said that 'we are very attached' to transitional justice, while stressing the importance of avoiding destabilisation, particularly before the elections. The two elements of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission with a Special Tribunal for the extreme cases, were clear, and everyone knew who had done what: reconciliation 'was possible'. But it is to be hoped that an agreement on a mechanism (although not perhaps a start to proceedings) will be possible before the elections: for the FNL especially once the integration and electoral process is over, there will be less leverage.

Persuading the FNL to cooperate with justice is of course particularly relevant to the case of Charlotte Wilson, the UK citizen killed by the rebels in a massacre of bus passengers in 2000. The APPG raised the issue with the President of the Senate and in a number of other meetings. Little progress had been made with the investigation – and would agree the suggestion made that now is the time to bring pressure to bear on the FNL.

A final issue that attracted the delegation's attention was the treatment of albinos, a number of which had been murdered in the period preceding the visit. Apparently the motive was the export of body parts for use in rituals in Tanzania, although there were some reports these practices were spreading to Burundi with returning refugees. It is a situation which requires close monitoring. In response to the killings the government has gathered albinos together for safety, a solution which may have helped their security but which must inevitably disrupt families and is far from ideal as a consequence.

Violence against women

The APPG has pursued the issue of violence against women extensively in recent years, most notably with a major report from Lord Jonathan Mance, an appeal court judge and member of the APPG. During the Burundi mission the delegation visited the MSF-supported SERUKA clinic for survivors of sexual violence. They had noted an increase in cases of rape, although reliable statistics were not available, and part of the increase may be due to improved reporting rates. But anecdotally they said the situation felt like the approach to the elections in 2005, which saw an increase in both political tensions and sexual violence. Whatever the truth, it seems that violence against women has not returned to pre-war levels:

rather it remains among the more urgent challenges the country faces. According to SERUKA, the key problem was not the law, which was strict, but its non-implementation, which leads to impunity for crimes of sexual violence.

One of the most striking aspects of the issue is the scale of abuses perpetrated against children: half of the victims treated at SERUKA were girls under 18; a third were under 12; and a shocking 15% were under 5. Redoubled efforts from donors in this area are clearly sorely needed. In general, child protection efforts – perhaps including support for dedicated child protection units – are important and could be strengthened.

Media

Burundi has a vigorous independent media, with a significant number of outlets and outspoken and critical material produced on a regular basis. (Again, this was a contrast with the more controlled circumstances in Rwanda.) However, journalists who met the delegation warned that under the surface there were many problems in face of which the media as whole were struggling. The first was funding: one journalist said bluntly that “Burundian media are not viable. We depend on certain NGOs. We can’t depend on the population... The Burundian media would die very quickly without support.” (This was particularly true of the written press.) Advertising receipts were simply not enough, and support for the media envisaged under the 2003 electoral law had not adequately materialised.

Lack of funds was a major factor in the poor quality of much output, although the lack of any training schools in the country since the only one in existence closed some years ago was also a problem. Many experienced journalists had left the profession, and the majority of practitioners were now “very young” and correspondingly easy to buy, manipulate or intimidate. Some of the Burundian MPs were critical of ‘poor journalism’. However, there is a danger of genuine (or at least easily correctible) mistakes being used as an excuse by government and others for a disproportionate response. Overall the press is vulnerable to pressure: there had thankfully been no killings of journalists recently, but there had been arrests. The imprisonments of Kavumbagu and Sinduhije were seen as intended to send a clear message of warning.

The delegation agreed with the journalists’ assessment that a free and active media is essential for democracy and accountability, something which should be reflected in UK and wider international engagement with Burundi. Targeted support for training of journalists should be considered. Similarly civil society more broadly should also be supported, as an important factor in good governance and healthy politics.

Governance and corruption

The delegation also met a number of organisations specifically concerned with issues of governance and corruption (of which OLUCOME was one). They described corruption as generalised, and rising. Low salaries were part of the problem, but also the fact that (as they described it) everyone in administration was a politician: there was a lack of professional, technocratic civil servants. The APPG noticed this in relation to the parliament, where most high-level administrative posts seemed to be political appointments. Parliamentary oversight was seen as weak by these organisations, partly as a result of the

fact that most parties were in government in some capacity, and hence had less interest in being critical. The failure of parliament to strongly follow up the controversial sale of the presidential plane was presented as a prime example.

Building up and reforming the civil administration is difficult but essential: NGOs saw moves towards increased administrative decentralisation as positive but stressed the need for DFID to build on its good work to build capacity both in the central ministries and at local level. This particularly applies to the revenue collection bodies. In its meeting with President Nkurunziza, and on several other occasions, the delegation raised the proposal made by DFID to put in place a programme of reform of the tax authorities similar to the one successfully implemented in Rwanda. The response was broadly positive, but implementation remains a challenge to be met.

► The BaTwa

The delegation met with several BaTwa parliamentarians. The BaTwa make up around 1% of the population, but deserve some attention given the extreme marginalisation from which they suffer. They are represented by co-opted MPs and Senators, but had no-one in government or any real power. While the constitution stipulated a 60% Hutu and 40% Tutsi division in the government and an equal split in the armed forces, there was no quota for the BaTwa. The MPs said there was little specifically-targeted development support for their community – given just how marginalised they are, this is something the UK and other donors should seek to address, although the dispersal of the community among non-BaTwa villages adds to the challenge.

► Development

While politics rather than development was the major theme of the visit, a number of significant issues arose from the delegation's meetings. Coordination was among the most important – regrettably, almost as much as it had been when the APPG last visited in 2007. Significant efforts have been made – and coordination is never an easy task – but while there has been commendable unity on some key issues (on education, for example) these appear inadequate: the World Bank and the UN Peace-Building Commission for example were reported to have designed similar governance programmes with little reference to each other's work. The APPG sympathised with the EU representative, who pointed out that there was often a lack of will to be coordinated among member states who called for coordination. The UK does not seem to be among the worst offenders, having by all accounts played a positive and active role in coordination efforts to date, but could perhaps still do more to encourage a more coherent international engagement on issues of development and governance.

Another key issue was the degree to which development aid was designed in a way which had a direct positive impact on the grass-roots population, particularly in relation to conflict prevention. Several NGOs called for programmes to more effectively target subsistence farmers and employment generation. Given the demographic pressures the country faces, the massive preponderance of people

involved in agriculture, and the dangers posed by a pool of unemployed youths and demobilised soldiers ready to join militias or stir up trouble in party youth wings, this would seem worth pursuing. A youth service corps was one idea that was floated.

A number of NGO and political contacts mentioned the issue of natural resources. With the possibility of oil around Lake Tanganyika, this issue may become a real one soon. There is an opportunity to bolster Burundian government capacity now – not least with assistance to strengthen their hand in negotiations with companies wanting to exploit the finds and ensure any contracts signed are on terms that will truly benefit the country.

ActionAid specifically raised the issue of education: the push for free education was welcome but there were issues about quality. They pointed out the contradiction between pressure from the World Bank on the size of the public sector and the need for more and better-trained teachers.

Finally, the APPG covered in its last report on Burundi the question of an increase in UK aid to the country. Funding is roughly the same now as it was two years ago, at £10m a year. Many of the arguments about absorptive capacity that were raised then doubtless still apply, and Burundi is far from the only demand on DFID funding and manpower. Nonetheless, the scale of the need in Burundi – one of the very poorest countries on the planet – is exceptional, and it is important that the limits to progress be pushed. This may necessitate an increasing in staffing levels in Bujumbura.

► Overall assessment of the mission

Overall the mission was felt to be a considerable success. It achieved its central objectives – to strengthen ties between the UK and Burundian parliaments, to build awareness of practices and issues on both sides, to deliver a message of general UK interest as well as some specific messages of concern on key issues, and to allow the APPG to improve its understanding of key challenges in the country. Further follow-up is also needed to ensure the benefits of the mission are not lost.