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Chronicle Eight

Flooding in B&H – Natural disaster that could have been avoided, or their consequences reduced!

Introduction:

During May 2014 Bosnia and Herzegovina has faced biggest natural disaster in its modern history, during which 30 people has lost their lives, tens of thousands of people has been dislocated, thousands of them have lost roof over their heads. Unprecedented rescue operations were launched, as water is returning in its river bends whole country along with diaspora is on its feet trying to help those in need and gather aid as soon as possible to repair what has been damaged.

Although these elementary disasters have caused catastrophe and have endangered safety of the large number of people in B&H, in our chronicle we will be addressing questions if it was possible to avoid this, or reduce it on a greater scale. Our opinion is that because of the inadequate response of responsible institutions, all level of authorities, corruption, lack of preparations, and even because the fact that this is the election year (In October this year will be general elections in B&H), consequences of this natural disaster are far greater.



Let's start with facts about the floods and landslides that have struck our country in May:

1. **Victims** - Official number of those who have lost their lives in the flooding is still unknown. Preliminary data are saying **more than 30 dead people**. It is known with certainty that most of dead people is in Doboje – nine. Final number will be known later on, but it is expected to be more than 30.

2. **Houses – 10.000 families** in B&H has permanently lost roof over their heads. Biggest damages to houses were inflicted by gigantic landslides around Zenica and Tuzla. Whole settlements have been either wiped out or have become unconditional to live in. Large number of houses from river valleys has been totally damaged. Nobody is counting houses which have been partially damaged and almost forever contaminated with moisture and houses whose foundations have been shocked up. Scale of the damage is best shown in the fact that to rebuild 10.000 new houses 500 million of convertible marks is needed.

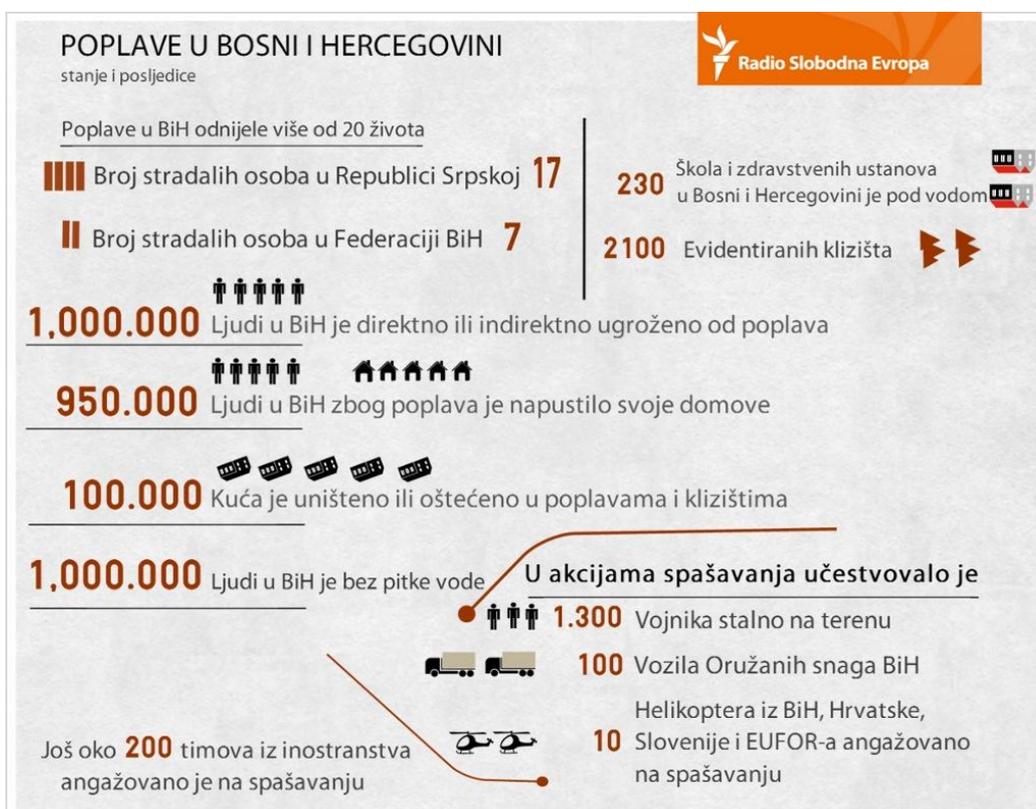
3. **Flooding** – It is the estimate of the B&H ministry of security that between **one million and a half and two million people** in B&H have been directly or indirectly struck with the elementary disaster – flooding which lasts for full seven days.

4. **Paralysis** – Seven day paralysis of almost whole country will bring massive loss to already weak economy. In areas directly struck with flooding **tens of thousands of work places have been lost**, mostly affected were small and medium business in Bosna valley. Call mine Sikulje in Lukavac will not be operational for more than three months, and question is in what kind of state is Natron or other factories in this part of B&H. This economic blow will be felt in weeks to come in whole country and in region.

5. **Infrastructure** – For years, renovated and built infrastructure in B&H **has been demoted for ten years at least**. Hundred kilometers of highways and local roads in B&H have been destroyed or severely damaged. Bridges taken away, power lines destroyed, water supply interrupted.

6. **Balance** – damages will be measured in **billions of marks**. Federal minister for dislocated persons **Adil Osmanovic** got up courage this morning and estimated that it will be needed more than five billion marks.

7. **Worst** – Almost third of the country was flooded, but without any doubt worst was for the cities of **Doboj and Maglaj**. These are populated areas which were entirely flooded. In these cities water rise in several hours and like a tsunami has shocked citizens, unaccustomed to these situations. Large flooding was in Posavina as well, but people there are more prepared for these situations.



Picture 1: graphic consequences of flooding in B&H¹

8. **State** – Rescuing efforts and reaction of the authorities have confirmed that **B&H entities still have the final say**. It is not a question of jurisdiction and authority, but the fact that B&H council of ministries has not seen fit to declare a state of natural disaster in the country. We must say that entity and local authorities have reacted more active and vigorously.

This could have been for the state and the council of ministry to impose as a true government and to coordinate from the top rescuing efforts since natural disaster has not respected entity lines. But unfortunately, that has not happened.

¹ Radio Free Europe

9. **Solidarity** – If they can't count on state, citizens have seen that **they can count on each other**. Thousands, then of thousands of people have been literally from the first day available for the helping actions. There is no number in actions and initiatives for gathering emergency assistance and this is fortune in misfortune. People are better than the state.

10. **Prognosis** – Now we guess everybody understands **the importance of weather alarm**, since there days before the catastrophe orange warning on potential dangerous weather was announced. In future when you hear this kind of warning look through the window and tread with care.

11. **Aircrafts**- Our country urgently needs a functional fleet. B&H faces fires each year, and flooding's as well, but this time we have seen **that solution is not to beg our neighbors for each flight**. B&H has to have helicopters, and a state plane for emergency transports.

12. **Europa** – Now it is clear that approaching EU membership is not some "ghost story". If we had solved issue of **Sejdic-Finci** on time maybe today like Serbia is, we would look up to European solidarity funds which are around one billion Euros. This way, Brussels is gathering crumbs and finding ways how to send part of help to B&H.



What were authorities doing while water was claiming lives?

Unprecedented flooding that have struck our country have brought to light all weaknesses of responsible services, which failed to provide adequate protections, or even on time warning to citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Sure, all these flaws are tightly connected with the complete lack of the coordinating system of civil protection, as well as investment in systems for flooding protection, which in both entities in last few year were miserable. Traumatized people, those directly struck with floods, and those outside critical areas which have been self-organizing and daily were helping endangered people, have felt for themselves what means lack of organized and prepared system of civil protection. None of them these days didn't had the time to follow statements of domestic politicians, and they had no reason to do so, since there was nothing to be heard from any of them which would be useful to people in order to survive and overcome the disaster that has befallen on them. And not only that public appearances of politicians did not serve to inform people and organize a defense against the flooding and everything that followed, but officials of all levels of authority in B&H have managed, even at the time of unprecedented disaster, to publicly express inappropriate statements, showing total lack of elementary humanity at the time when hundreds of thousands of people are facing humanitarian crisis.

How much entity and state authorities have done to prepare for natural disasters, how did they reacted on them and what has been the highlight of the official representatives appearances in the last ten days of general horror, panic and suffering, we will try, at least partly, to show in this chronicle.

Federation B&H

In FB&H, civil protection system has again demonstrated lack of mechanisms for the protection of citizens even in biggest cities in our country which were not struck so hard with flooding, while in rural and difficult to approach places has happened real cataclysm, in which people waited for help for days. True scale of disaster were evident after rain has stopped, and in flooded areas as well in those struck with landslides after the flooding large number of citizens has lost their property.

About how much civil protection was ineffective witness numerous cases recorded in the first days of catastrophe. For example Sarajevo settlement Doglodi in which around 50 houses were flooded for two days was totally denied with any help whatsoever, while Maglaj during precipitation was totally cut off from any communication with the rest of the world, citizens of this town were on the roof tops of their homes waiting for help that didn't arrived.

Authorities and responsible services as can be concluded from their late reactions, have learned about the conditions at the field and had reacted on it too late.

*"Condition in Maglaj is extremely difficult. More than 200 citizens have been rescued, but many of them are still on the roof tops. Armed forces are at our disposal and we are placing them where we think they are needed the most",*² said federal minister of agriculture, water management and forests Jerko Ivankovic Lijanovic on 16th May when flooding was at its maximum, and he added that bags with sand have been sent to numerous municipalities which had the need for them in order to fight the floods.

What Lijanovic didn't say is that the number of people who have spent the night on the roof tops would be significantly lower, if the council of ministries has responded on time to the offer from Slovenia, instead they have remained silent for ten hours and at 22.00 hours have responded that they accept offer helicopter. In the meantime, Armed forces have decided that they will not fly over night to Maglaj "because unfavorable weather conditions", so the silence of the council of ministries has directly contributed the fact that countless of Maglaj citizens have spent the night on the roof tops of flooded houses, although they could have been pulled out – if only B&H accepted the rescue crew and the helicopter from Slovenia. At the same time, during this day and evening was impossible to reach ministry of safety B&H through "crisis" phone established for these purposes, and it was practically impossible to report to the armed forces B&H were critically endangered people are and are in need of rescue. The situation with the phone numbers of the Federal civil protection was the same, and the phone lines of the local civil protection in Maglaj was cut off for a long time now.



According to the assistant director of federal civil protection HQ Mirsad Teskeredjic, at the field was around 179 members of civil protection, to the endangered areas was sent around 50.000 bags with sand. These numbers are proof of the real impotence of the civil protection even in the case of minor flooding, and to talk about coping with the disaster of

² Source – Federation B&H television

this magnitude was ridiculous. By comparison, in neighboring Serbia, only in Sabac around one million of sand bags were posted for the defense of the city from the swollen river Sava.

Number of bags that federal HQ of civil protection had sent to the endangered areas was not sufficient for the defense of smaller suburban settlement, let alone all endangered areas which covered almost one third of the country. Of course, sending bags to endangered areas at that time didn't have any meaning, since up on the moment the bags were sent all areas near to rivers were already under water. Additionally, even that this material was sent on time and in larger number, it is clear that small number of the civil protection members at the field with pitiful means couldn't do anything to stop, or to alleviate upcoming disaster.

Same day Friday 16th May federal Prime Minister Nermin Niksic has been visiting endangered areas and this occasion he said:

*„We are trying to get to Zivinice, we will see how far we will get. I have just spoken with the president of Republic of Srpska Milorad Dodik and situation in RS is also alarming. Evacuation started in Banja Luka. Condition is as it is, we don't have a magic wand to change it, but is very important and I want to emphasize several times that I am thankful to people from the civil protection and defense ministry, police, life saviors that really make superhuman efforts to save all human lives“.*³

It is clear that there is no government in the world who has a “magic wand” to stop rains and rivers, but is evident that FB&H government in past years hasn't invested a minimum of effort to try and stop worst case scenario which took place.

That almost nothing was done to prevent flooding was determined by the revision department FB&H in their report on the efficiency revision “Prevention from flooding in B&H” which was announced at the beginning of 2013.

In this report, among other things, is said that 71,9 million KM total funds has been gathered from the water charges from the 2009 till 2011, only 255 or 18,4 million KM has been spent for the protection from flooding. This way as it is said in the report, with current dynamic of investment would be necessary more than 40 years for the establishment of the protection system against floods, instead 23 years as it was foreseen with the draft of the main preventive plan for defense against floods. In addition, in the report is said that agencies for the water areas of Sava and Adriatic see for the investment and current maintenance of made water protection facilities have spent only 8, 3% from total money at their disposal, and funds which were given to cantons for the protection from flooding were mainly spent to build and reconstruct networks for water supply and sewer systems.

Beside this, FB&H has on 5th February this year reach an decision to approve the transfer of funds from the special dedicated transaction accounts to the account of the Federal ministry of finance. With this decision were also covered funds for protection and rescuing in the amount of 20.000.000 KM. According to this decision funds were treated as a loan which will be returned in six months, in August this year.

So, the FB&H government in the time when it is expected now to melt, rivers to rise and massive rain to fall, in lac of budget funds has “withdrawn” funds dedicated for the protection of citizens who have filled this fund with their money. What could civil protection to do when they were lacking this kind of funds, we don't have to presume - we have unfortunately witness it in a worst possible way.

After the urgent assembly of the FB&H government on 17th May on which floods were the only topic, it was agreed that ministries in Federal government in their own departments will seek out possibilities of reducing transfers, regarding certain budget positions, in order to redirect funds to aid endangered persons.

So the government on the emergency assembly that took place on 21st May has adopted the budget rebalance and has made the decision to redirect from other sources 10 million

³ Source – BHTV News

marks for emergency help to those struck with floods and sanitation of damages. So, instead of 20 million KM, which were supposed to be invested in prevention and protection, citizens have received half of that amount as aid when the damage was made already.

Regarding lack of preparation and unpreparedness of the FB&H government for the flooding of this magnitude, as well as about none what so ever established system earlier, we can speak from the angle of series of decisions and recommendations which were brought up “ad hoc” from 15th May till today, instead they should have been defined long ago and activated after the declaration of the state of elementary disaster, state of the emergency.

In days after the flooding, when all damage came to light and when numerous accounts have been activated for the aid to endangered persons, statement of Jerko Ivankovic-Lijanovic was at least shocking when he said that there was no need for the intervention from the commodity reserves since “citizens have activated themselves and have gathered enough food for endangered regions”.

“Why we didn’t activate commodity reserves sooner? They have been the whole time at disposal to the Federal management of civil protection... Meaning, there was no need for the intervention of commodity reserves, since there was enough food by the cantonal and municipality civil protection. Now we have heard in the news, there was enough food thanks to our citizens! From the municipality and canton civil protection we have received list of their needs... There is no need to send something that is not required. It will go bad. So that was the reason. And commodity reserves will be activated according to needs since we don’t want to ruin anything” said Lijanovic.⁴

It is even hard to comment on this kind of statement, given in the moment when citizens, lacking in the any kind of the reaction from responsible institutions, were forced to self-organize and help each other since it has momentarily become clear that nobody else will do it. Ten days after the disaster has struck tens of villages and towns, there are still appeals of misfortunate people who have lost everything and to which help didn’t came – food, water, basic toiletries... at this moment are still un- available to many people struck with floods, and they are still relaying on the help from their fellow citizens in order to survive. At the moment when the commanding officer of the federal civil protection has nonchalantly saying that he don’t want to “ruin” federal commodity reserves, when biggest natural disaster unprecedented in this region was happening, situation was far worse, mostly because of the total absence of the state, entities, cantons or any other level of authority which was supposed to protect and take care of its citizens. Level of arrogance manifested with this kind of public statements is rarely found even in our country, accustomed to politicians who are standardly not showing any kind of respect for its citizens from whose taxes they live.

⁴ FTV – political magazine



One similar statement was given by the member of the B&H Presidency Bakir Izetbegovic, who during visit to one of the flooded areas said that there were not many human casualties considering scope of the floods, mentioning three killed women casually, as well as the fact which is not of great significance:

“We will overcome this first blow. There were not too many human casualties, in Maglaj three women drowned. These numbers could have been greater, considering the disaster. During the night and tomorrow we will do everything in order to avoid new casualties, and then solidarity in B&H will be tested” said Izetbegovic.⁵



Republic of Srpska

Officials in RS were no better than their colleagues in Federation B&H. Lack of the timely reaction for the upcoming floods has not sidestepped citizens in this entity in which like in FB&H whole cities were flooded.

From the high level of entity, from the mouth of the RS Prime Minister Zeljka Cvijanovic, we have heard maybe to most horrifying statement since the disaster has struck B&H. Cvijanovic said, that authorities new long before the flooding that they will come, and without hesitation has blamed local level of authorities, accusing cities themselves for the lack of defense plans against the floods. Responsibility of the RS government was not mentioned at any given moment.

⁵ BH TV News

„Everybody at local level since Monday, two weeks earlier, new how thing will unfold, but unfortunately in place were was supposed to be plans what should be done if the flooding struck, nobody sent any plans to the higher levels of authority for consideration and approval.⁶

I ask you how much man power since Monday till Thursday was engaged, how many mechanization was used, how many plans were made what will be done, and who many persons sent those plans to higher level of authority for consideration and consultation, how many request were sent regarding their needs”. Said Cvijanovic, who four days after the disaster in white boots has visited Bijeljina.

This statement, beside the fact that is totally hypocrite, can be served as a proof that authorities in this entity have done absolutely nothing to inform their citizens about possible danger. If Prime Minister Cvijanovic new two-three weeks “how things are going to unfold”, question is raised why the government didn't on time inform the public about it, why didn't sirens go off not even at the moment when water in Doboj was rising 20 cm in one minute, why civil protection services weren't put in a state of alert and why state of emergency in RS was declared only when it has become unequivocally and obviously what is the scale of the disaster caused by flooding. RS president Milorad Dodik has said on 16th May, at the time when Doboj and other cities were completely flooded, that there is no need to introduce state of emergency on the whole RS territory.

Total irresponsibility toward protection of citizens from natural disasters RS government has manifested earlier also. If we look at the funds which are intended in this entity for the Civil protection services it is clear that the situation in this entity is even worse than it is in FB&H.

In the RS budget for the year 2014 for the Republic civil protection HQ planed funds are 4.702.000 Km, but most of these funds goes to salaries of the employees as well for the costs, while for three items that can be considered as an acquiring of the equipment was spent 110.000KM.

On the other hand, it is interesting how the RS government has adopted the decision on accepting loan of RS from the European investment bank within the project of emergency help and protection from floods in the amount of 55.000.000 Euros on 23rd September 2011, contract with construction companies wasn't signed until two years after, and the project realization has started recently, only few days before the floods.

According to the action plan of this project, by the end of 2012 and 2013 series of steps should be completed as are: Evaluation of the existing defense systems against floods; making map of flood risks, evaluation of the possibility of future floods, and many other activities.



That disaster could happen there were warnings in February this year from Gradiska, wandering why the realization of earlier mentioned project still hasn't started. From the civil protection service from this town they have warned on the poor state of the defense system

⁶ RTRS

against floods, and they have said, that additional problem represents the fact that water management company, who had jurisdiction for years to maintain the objects for the defense against floods and protection against harmful influence of water in this city is not anymore doing these activities.

RS government made a catastrophic move when she ordered that all money for helping endangered people must go over the RS government account, and not over the accounts of local communities, and it was also ordered that humanitarian aid can't be distributed directly to endangered areas, but everything must go to Banja Luka, from where it is going to be forwarded. Off course this decision has had some severe reactions from municipality majors. Beside these lapses, there was no lack in arrogance from the RS officials.

Most vivid example came from the president of this entity Milorad Dodik, when he during the visit to Bijeljina on 18th May, practically physically assaulted journalist of the BN television because of the question she had asked him, accusing her that she is "crating dissension among the RS authorities" and that she is "favoring only one political party". So, at the time when RS was facing disaster of unprecedented scale, Dodik has managed to find time for the continuation of inter party conflicts on relation SDS-SNSD, while vice president of Republic of Srpska Emil Vlajki used the situation and in his own style and unprovoked tried again to tighten the relations inside B&H saying that these floods have shown that "B&H is impossible state".⁷

The fact is that coordination between state and entity authorities in his case didn't happen, but is also the fact that officials in RS behaved as the flooding are happening only in Republic of Srpska, and Vlajki himself didn't tried to change the situation he himself has criticized. It is the fact also, that in the situation of natural disaster state wasn't the only one who failed, all other levels of authority, including entities. Above mentioned statements of Jerko Ivaankovic-Lijanovic and Zeljka Cvijanovic are more than vivid illustration of that. Government, president and vice president of Republic of Srpska have invested more energy in "clearing" their own name and accusing the state and local municipalities for all oversights, than in any kind of effort to coordinate with other levels of authority and establish the system which was desperately needed to protect the citizens.

A little bit about media in B&H:

BHT	federalnaTV	PTPC
14:15 Zdravlje u 15:10 Vanredne vijesti	14:10 Sedmica	12:20 POPLAVE U REPUBLICI
15:15 Crta	15:15 Vijesti	15:05 U FOKUSU
16:00 Terminal 26	15:20 Luda kuća	16:30 SRPSKA DANAS
16:30 BiH danas	15:55 MasterChef	18:03 RAČUNICA
17:00 BH gastro kutak	17:00 Federacija danas	18:36 MEĐUNARODNI SAJAM KNJIGA U SOLUNU
17:30 Konačno	17:25 Partizanska eskadrila	19:00 ZORA
19:00 Dnevnik 2	18:20 Naša mala klinika	19:30 DNEVNIK 2
20:05 Jedan oblak na krovu svijeta	19:30 Dnevnik 2	20:15 POPLAVE U REPUBLICI SRPSKOJ
20:55 Fudbalski buntovnici: Didier.	20:10 TV Bingo Show	23:00 DNEVNIK 3

SRAMITE SE !

⁷ Source – TV BN – news

Disgraceful behavior of BHRT and FTV

While whole country is in a panic and is fighting to save lives, while life saviors are risking their lives in order to put all citizen on a solid ground, at that time on the TV programs in Federation B&H you could see shows on health and beauty, culinary shows, music shows, series, movies and etc. They didn't think that they should change and adopt their program to the extreme situation. This kind of mistake can't be forgiven to public services: BHRT and FTV.

Sprouted rivers which are for days swallowing city after city in Bosnia and Herzegovina are leaving behind them wastelands, taking lives, leaving distraught, grief, cold and hungry people who have lost in one minute everything they have been building their whole lives. Situation is a catastrophe, from all sides' **horrible pictures** of complete villages destroyed, people fighting with water, asking for help, asking for rescuers to get them out from water. People are self-organizing and **are gathering help** to people from endangered areas.

While whole country is in **panic and a struggle is ongoing to save lives**, while rescuers are risking their lives in order to put all citizens on firm soil, for that time on the program of TV houses in B&H federation you could have seen shows about health and beauty, **culinary show programs, music show**, series, movies and etc. TV and radio shows which are in private property are deciding for themselves about priority and content which will be broadcasted. To them we can only express our deprecation.

However, this kind of mistake and arrogance can't be forgiven to public services: **BHRT and FTV**. Obligation of "public services" as their name is stating, informing public, especially in crisis situations as was the case in previous days, when on time and true information has saved lives and property. Public services had from minute to minute to provide needed information. And they haven't. **They have failed the people** and they have shown **that they are not up to the task** which was entrusted to them.

How it was supposed to be done was shown to them by the colleagues from **RTSR** who have made **emergency program dedicated to floods** and have been constantly informing public about the movement of the tide wave and have brought images and footage from the field and had given all necessary and useful information.

But is not so easily surrendering, if it is ignored by TV networks, it is gaining more space on **social networks**, which have been also pointing out on incapability of TV services. In these hard and critical moments only uninterrupted and inexhaustible source of information were social networks, which had to **take over that task from FTV and BHRT**.

The question arises will somebody answer for this kind of cheap political, unprofessional behavior and denying information from the public services of BHRT and FTV which maybe could have save lives and reduce the damage of the property?⁸

A little bit about international community: "UN sends high energy bars to the region"

General Secretary of the United Nations Ban Ki-moon has expressed his concern because of the catastrophic floods in B&H, Serbia and Croatia, and has pointed out to the desperate need for clean water, medicine and other supplies, reports NAP. – More than 70.000 people have been evacuated, and more than 50 has lost lives in those three countries – it has been said in yesterday statement



⁸ Facebook.com – Disgraceful behaviour BiH media

from Ki-moon office.

Ban has mentioned that United Nations, along with partners, are working with governments and are helping coordination and assessing the need for assistance, including equipment delivery. – General Secretary is thankful to the members of UN and their swift reactions, and is expressing that he is ready to mobilize additional help if it is asked – it has been stated from the Ki-moon office.

UN organization for food (WFP) has stated that they can very quickly deliver food in endangered areas. As they have stated, from the UN warehouse in Dubai a plane is ready to take off with 75 tons of high energy cookies, which could be very important for the endangered population that has nothing to eat.⁹

Although, what is a bright point in this darkness was **solidarity of B&H citizens** among themselves, and **solidary of citizens from region** (Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Monte Negro, Macedonia, Kosovo).



From the very beginning of the disaster all entity borders in B&H were “flooded”. Citizens have wholeheartedly and with solidarity helped each other, regardless on national or ethnic and entity background. Citizens of Tesanj have helped Dobo, citizens of Gradacac helped Samac, and citizens of Tuzla helped Bijeljina, citizens of Bihac helped Banja Luka and vice versa. There wasn't lack of the help from rescuing units, military and police from Croatia and Serbia, although they were also struck with floods. There wasn't lack of humanitarian and expert aid from Slovenia, Monte Negro, Kosovo and Macedonia... It has been shown that misfortune unites people on Balkan and that solidarity among citizens didn't vanish.

Question instead of the conclusion – for what good are you to us?

When we sum up everything said, it is clear that governments in FB&H and RS, beside the fact that they haven't invested minimum effort to try and somewhat prevent to happen what had happened, they haven't made an effort to show at least some dignity in this gigantic misfortune which had befallen on the B&H citizens. Instead of that, all of the tried to use the situation, whether they have sent corny political messages at the time when millions of people have only been thinking how to survive and help others in need, or that they have taken pictures near flooded areas, advertising their “humanity” behind which there was a lack of any system for which they were responsible. It is clear that nobody could influence on the rain, but is also clear that the scale of the disaster could have been a lot smaller if in the past years were repaired all flawless in the protection systems. Finally, when citizens have seen that there was no help from the state, entities, cantons or any other level of authority, they themselves have established a parallel system and have started helping each other, authorities didn't been there for them even to make that process easier for them, or at least protect them. From the field we were receiving stories about thievery and misuse of humanitarian aid, aid which was sent unselfishly by thousands of citizens same citizens who are fighting themselves to survive. But, still there is no reaction from the institutions.

⁹ <http://tuzla.danas.info/2014/05/21/ban-ki-moon-zabrinut-un-salje-visoko-energetski-keks-u-region/>

Although examples of unconcern, arrogance, politicizing catastrophe and letting people to take care for themselves could go on, we are going to stop here and will finish this text with a question which could be heard these days from tens thousands of lips – if we alone have gathered help, communicating to each other were help is needed, self-organized humanitarian convoys and volunteers, on our own cleaned flooded house and yards – for what do we need 14 governments and hundreds of ministries, countless departments and agencies as well as gigantic administration compared to the number of citizens, which we are paying from our taxes?

ORC / hCa Tuzla

Tuzla, May-June 2014.

