CORRUPTION ALMANAC

Integrity Watch (IWa)

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INTEGRITY WATCH

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Editorial Board

Let's tame corruption once and for all this year

IN this edition of Corruption Almanac, we have focused on areas that need to be seriously addressed if the problem of corruption is to be tamed in our country. The country's founding President Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere warned against the vice on several occasions particularly in 1995 prior to the general elections.

Mwl . Nyerere said that corruption which was widespread during the Second Phase government of President Ally Hassan Mwinyi was a crime that denied the majority poor access to justice, social services and eroded government revenue.

Much of what the late Mwl. Nyerere warned against especially relating to public officials embracing corruption has come to pass since his death in 1999. The man that he touted to succeed President Mwinyi, Mr. Benjamin William Mkapaalso led a government that was routinely attacked for embracing grand corruption that denied the majority poor justice, vital social services such as education, health, clean water and good roads just to mention a few.

When President Mkapa retired in 2005, corruption had become endemic and till today things are getting worse although President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete's administration is taking measures including prosecuting corrupt suspects.

In this edition, it is clear that corruption has spared no sector of our country as it is now very much present in politics especially during elections, in sports especially top flight premier league, in hospitals, at schools, in courts of law but even worrying is that the vice has found a place in religion.

In order to seek a political position of authority today, one needs to have money which will enable them to bribe voters or party members to become national executive committee (NEC) members , Regional Party Chairman and other positions of influence in political parties.

The ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi(CCM) goes to the polls later this year and it is envisaged that some well off personalities including businesspersons or veteran politicians who have been accused of corrupt practices in the past, will use their financial muscles to convince party members elect them.

President Kikwete who is also the party's National Chairman has already warned that party members should vote for people with integrity, commitment and wisdom to the party's top position to guide it successfully into 2015 general elections.

It is very clear that if CCM elects clean, focused and committed leaders, then the country will get better leaders in government as this is the party in power hence almost all of its members are in government.

Loss of billions of shillings annually at the hands of government officials most of whom get away with it with impunity, is a bad sign of irresponsibility because development projects and poor social services are direct victims of such malpractices.

Corruption Almanac hopes that CCM members will heed President Kikwete's advice not to elect people with questionable integrity but instead weigh candidates based on integrity, commitment and wisdom to lead.

If the ruling party gets clean leaders at its top hierarchy, it is likely that the problem of corruption in the country will be reduced significantly because this team will help the government weed out corrupt elements that have embezzled development projects money, denied taxpayers good social services and poor infrastructure all of which have contributed to prevailing poverty among the majority of our people.

CORRUPTION HOT SPOTS FOR 2012

By Ezekiel Kamwaga

LAST year was a distinctive period as there was a lot of stories were published relating to corruption in the country and to a certain extend shook the nation by affecting our economy and society.

As usual, Kurunzi la Ufisadi was in the forefront of unveiling and investigating in detail the problem of corruption in the country.

In this first edition of 2012 publication of the magazine, we have investigated and listed areas which state organs need to work on thoroughly and urgently to ensure that corruption loopholes are sealed and avoided.

The bottom line of our investigative work is not only that we publish reports on corruption activities which have occurred but also to identify areas which if counter measures are taken, the problem can be tamed.

Below are some of corruption potential prone areas identified for 2012;

Ruling CCM National Elections

This is an election year for the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). Experience has past elections in political parties were dominated by acts of corruption but the ruling party's elections have been exceptional cases of notoriety.
A point to be kept in mind is that this year's CCM elections are unique in that they will indicate a clear direction as to who will be the party's flag bearers in the 2015 general elections.

This year's ruling party elections will involve election of National Executive Committee (NEC) members and delegates to the general congress. Both of these faculties of the party have an important role of in decisions made by the party relating to political developments in the country.

During a similar immediate previous election, there were allegations of corruptions which surfaced among g contestants of the elective positions which forced the party's national leaders to order Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) to intervene and investigate the allegations.

During 2010 general elections, three popular party members who were contesting for parliamentary nominations who included former cabinet minister in the Third and Fourth Phase governments, Joseph Mungai, were arraigned in court facing charges of corruption during elections.

An important observation worth pointing out is that those who were arraigned in court during 2010 general elections were only CCM aspirants and not candidates of opposition parties in who took part in the race.

This however does not mean that contestants from the opposition did not involve themselves in election malpractices such as bribery but rather exposed the magnitude of the problem within the ruling party.

Influential business people and private companies which have an interest in the survival of the current leadership follow the election process closely and are ready to assist or intervene in some cases financial including contributing money to rescue their favourite candidates who in turn promise to protect their business interests once they defend or win their positions successfully.

Although political dynamics change regularly, many analysts believe that the ruling CCM's presidential candidate is likely to win the country's toppublic office during 2015 general elections and this relates to members who are elected to NEC and general party congress and their relationship with leading candidates being touted by mainstream media at present.

In a country where the problem of money laundering is serious, narcotics big business people, bogus contracts signed in the energy and minerals sector and an opportunity to mint money by politicians, CCM's elections have every conducive feature to warrant widespread corruption this year.



Nation Executive Council (NEC) for CCM

We hope to hear a lot relating to the subject this year. Kurunzu la Ufisadi hopes that relevant state organs will make a close follow up of developments relating to the process and seal all loopholes of corruption and potential acts of the vice in order to ensure that the party gets clean leaders.

IPTL Contract

One of the worst contracts on record ever to be signed by the government of Tanzania is that of Independent Power Tanzania Limited of 1995. The Malaysian energy company enter the contract of electricity generation with Tanzania government for 20 years amidst opposition from lawmakers and international institutions such as Transparency International (TI) because of a number of identified shortfalls during early days.

First was the fact that the IPTL plant was using fuel to generate electricity which meant that its production of power costs were likely to be high and was likely to be a burden to the Tanzanian government due to the high price of fuel.

There was also a problem of hiked capacity charges which required government through Tanzania Electric Supply Company (Taneco) to pay four billion shillings (Tshs 4bn) monthly despite not utilising any electricity's from the company's plant in Dar es Salaam.

Until the last five years, the government had paid an estimated Tshs 160bn In capacity charges only apart from the additional hiked costs of actual power tariffs. Despite such loss of government revenue, it was also discovered recently that the government had actually lost US$ 54 million or Tshs 86bn through inflated prices of fuel as presented by crooked public officials.

One senior Minisry of Energy and Minerals official who requested not to be identified told this magazine that the fuel purchasing deal involves a network of public officials who will be found liable for criminal offences.

"There is a wider network of public officials both within the ministry and outside who benefit immensely from the purchasing of fuel. If investigations are done thoroughly, a number of senior officials will be caught. Just wait and you will hear soon," said the source.

The source told the magazine that although there has been a public outcry against the IPTL contract for sometime now, it has been impossible to investigate the matter thoroughly and take necessary action because several people have been benefiting from the controversial contract.

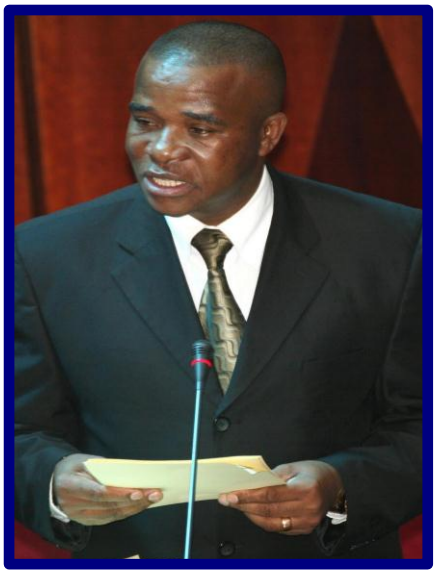
It's this magazine's hope that once such an investigation is concluded by the ministry, Tanzanians will get details of what actually transpired over the years.

Embezzlement of public funds by district councils

Regular visits of Deputy Minister for Local Governments and Regional Administration, Aggrey Mwanri, have been reported by the media negatively with district, municipal and city councils reported to have lost public monies through embezzlement.

Public schools being built have no quality corresponding to their real value, hundreds of ghost civil servants are on the payroll, roads are substandard and not reflective of their monetary value as public funds are being misused with disregard to laws and regulations governing public procurement in the country.

Minister Mwanri has already promised in parliament that he will hold accountable all civil servants who have been involved in embezzlement of public funds. It's clear that more bad news relating to management of public funds will come out in 2012 so let's stick our heads out.



Minister for Energy and Minerals
Hon. William Ngeleja

Tsh 1.7trn of emergency power supply funds.

In the 2011/12 budget, the government has allocated Tshs 1.7 trillion as emergency budget to address the problem of shortage of power supply in the country blamed on prolonged droughts.

However, experience has shown that the energy sector has been dominated by grand corruption especially when it comes to siging emergency power suply contracts with independent power producers.

Many people including Kigoma North MP, Zitto Kabwe have questioned the huge sums of money being allocated for such purposes. Value for money for such services has been wanting as services delivered don't seem to match the sums paid.

For example, Mr. Zitto has been quoted by the media questioning the huge sums of money used which would otherwise be used to construct a gas pipeline from Mnazi Bay in Mtwara region of south east Tanzania which has proven reserves huge reserves of natural gas, to Dar es Salaam where electricity is being generated and an estimated over 3,000 megawatts of electricity could be fed into the national grid. Due to this country's experience in the energy sector, it is clear that there is going to be more news coming out relating to use of such huge sums of money in this sector this year.

End.

Has Corruption penetrated into the most sacred of places?

By Ezekiel Kamwaga

AS the race for 2015 elections gears up, fears are ripe that grand corruption is now extending its tentacles into what is considered holy places.

Since the last months of 2011, politicians whose names have been associated with the 2015 presidential race, have been criss-crossing country –giving donations and fundraise for various religious groups especially of Christian and Moslem denominations.

Sources have told the magazine that some high profile politicians have been darling of churches such that they are fully booked by invitations extending to mid this year such that they cannot accommodate new invitations.

Although at first such contributions were considered innocent, things took a twist after public statements made such politicians which raised eyebrows even from congregations relating to politicians who are associated with such contributions and fund raising events.

For example, Anglican ArchBishop for Dar es Salaam dioces, Dr Valentino Mokiwa was once quoted as asking former Prime Minister, Edward Lowassa to remember him in his kingdom.

So far, Mr. Lowassa has no senior government position except being lawmaker and Chairman of Parliamentary Defence, Security and Foreign Relations Committee. However, his name is among leading candidates being mentioned in public domains as being contestants for the 2015 presidential constituency elections through the ruling CCM.

Lowassa was one of the leading contributors to the Anglican church's fund raising events last year and Mokiwa's public utterances which requested that he and the Anglican church be remembered by the ex-premier means that many people know that he will contest the presidency.

Apart from Lowassa, other high profile political names

presidential constituency elections through the ruling CCM.
Lowassa was one of the leading contributors to the Anglican church's fund raising events last year and Mokiwa's public utterances which requested that he and the Anglican church be remembered by the ex-premier means that many people know that he will contest the presidency.

Apart from Lowassa, other high profile political names riding the same religious caravan to seek the highest public office are Minister for East African Cooperation, Samuel Sitta, retired Prime Minister, Frederick Sumaye and Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Minister, Bernard Membe.

Although the country's constitution is silent of religious denomination of a presidential candidate, it is common knowledge that the next ruling party candidate for the top most public job will be a Christian as current President is Moslem.

Political analysts argue that such an arrangement is what has prompted many CCM potential presidential candidates criss-crossing church functions to seek clergy endorsement as such will boost their chances of winning the presidency.

But Chief Sheikh, Mufti Issa bin Shaaban Simba has dismissed arguments that politicians who are courting religious gatherings with financial of material support are likely seeking endorsement prior to the 2015 general elections.

"Politicians don't need churches or mosques to win elections. For the elderly like us, we have witnessed Christians participating in mosque construction work some years back. The problem that I see now is that we have too many media outlets such that any minor event taking place is covered by print and electronic media. Things were not like this several years ago," the Chief Sheikh argued.

Sheikh Simba dismissed arguments that a politician can be elected by Tanzanians because of their charity work in support of the church of mosques and they know that themselves.

"I individually, when election-day comes, I will never vote someone into office because he built more mosques, never. I will vote for someone who has capacity and wisdom to lead the country or a constituency," he argued.
But a member of Full Gospel Bible Fellowship (FGBF), Terevaeli Kanuya said most support from politicians to religious institutions is associated with bribing such institutions for political gains.

"If you can observe this closely, major beneficiaries of such support are big churches like Catholics, Lutherans and Anglicans who get the bulk of contributions unlike Pentecostal churches. This is because these churches have big followings and have formal established means of effective communication," she pointed out.

In addition, feelings of corrupting the church are also reflected in the politicians' attacking of each other.

Speaking while in Arusha recently, Mr Sitta accused some dishonest politicians who are well known for their corrupt practices have decided to use churches and mosques to cleanse their names through financial contributions to meet their political goals.

This statement was understood to have targeted some political personalities although he is also accused by his rivals of using generous contributions to religious institutions to meet political ambitions.

However, Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) Public Relations Officer, Doreen Kapwani said that it is difficult to associate such contributions to religious institutions done by politicians with corruption.

Ms Kapwani said naturally, corruption is a highly secret action which very few people know exactly what has happened which makes it difficult to associate contributions made in public with the vice.

“If you do some investigations, you will find out that these politicians are invited by churches and mosques to such events. I am not defending these actions outright but if such an action is reported to our offices as constituting a possible crime then we will work on it,” she pointed out.

But a lecturer with Saint Augustine University of Tanzania based in Dar es Salaam, Frank Sanga said it is important for state organs to investigate such contributions which are considered to be abnormal.

“There are a number of questions to ask ourselves relating to these developments. Why has this tendency gathered momentum now? And why is it that those involved are same faces everyday. Where have these politicians raised the money which they are able to contribute in millions of shillings weekly?” wondered Mr. Sanga.

But a patron of Kijiji Catholic church, John Kamala argued that it is only proper for affluent Tanzanians with financial muscles to be left alone and contribute generously to the church because such actions help to flourish religious work.

He said until recently, Whites were main sponsors of the church but because of the financial crisis in their countries which has necessitated local churches to seek domestic donors to enable continuation of its activities.

“Now if our new donors are politicians then let it be because we can’t stop them because there is no point in rejecting these people’s money while accepting contributions from homosexuals, drug and arms dealers. Let’s allow these people strengthen our institutions,” argued Mr. Kamala.

Kinondoni: Health services deteriorate amidst abundant wealth

By Emanuel Adamson

Kinondoni Municipality of Dar es Salaam leads the other two municipalities in the region in revenue collection. This is an area where the rich and people occupying senior positions in government live.

But regardless of such financial prowess, the municipality has one of the worst health services among Dar es Salaam region’s three municipalities according to Corruption Almanac investigations.

Poor health services in the municipality are present at all levels starting from public dispensaries, clinics and hospitals. A very good example of such appaling health service delivery outlets is Manzese ward. Kurunzi ya Ufisadi investigations established that the ward which has seven sublocations



The patients in Mwananyamala Hospital

with the largest population density not only in Kinondoni municipality but also Dar es Salaam city, has neither a dispensary nor public hospital.

Because of its big population, Manzese ward is endemic to disease outbreaks and that’s why it is amazing that the government has not seen the importance of establishing a dispensary in the area.

Researchers and ordinary people who spoke the magazine, expressed their dismay over conditions which force the government to establish a dispensary or hospital.

The magazine has also established that the importance of public health services to Manzese ward is crucial because the majority are low income earners who can't afford to pay private health bills hence need subsidised government health services.

The magazine has also established that this situation has fueled corrupt practices, harassment and constitute a nuisance to the public wherever public health services are unavailable.

In researching state of health services in Kinondoni municipality, the magazine also look int the situation at Goba and Mwananyamala wards.

The prevailing situation casts a dark shadow on the government's commitment to contain the problem of martenal and under five deaths.

Unlike in Manzese ward, Goba and Mwananyamala wards have a public dispensary and hospital but the problem is quality of services being offered.

For example, Goba residents compare services that they get at their dispensary and public hospitals to those which were being offered by traditional herbalists which include examining patients by simply looking at them physically.

The residents said they don't get orthodox medical examination rather simply being looked at by a medical doctor who then proceeds to write prescription and dispense combination artemisnin based drugs if it is malaria.

Residents of Goba also complained against medical personnel's lack of ethical behaviour in dealing with patients at the dispensary. One young man who prefered not to be identified, said that he had lost a baby at the dispensary because of negligence and lack of professionalism by the medical doctor-in-charge on the day.

"My wife went there to deliver at night, we knocked the door for several hours at the nurse on duty but she never opened the door. My wife delivered on the door steps of the nurse on duty and I became a midwife," he pointed out.

"After she had delivered, the nurse woke up and dragged herself to open the door and took the baby without covering it as required. I thank heavens because my wife survived but the baby died the same day," he lamented.

Many interviewed residents shared similar horrible stories of poor treatment, lack of medical equipment for examination and lack of professionalism among medics. The residents failed to differentiate modern medical services and traditional herbalist services and said, "The government is emphasizing that we abandon attending services of traditional healers and flock to modern health services where there are buildings and medical personnel only, which is not the way that it should be. Why is it that when we go to the dispensary, the doctor simply looks at your face, puts his hand by the patient's neck and ends up saying you are suffering from malaria and prescribes artemesenin combination therapy," they said.

While such is the case prevailing at Goba, the situation is not better at Mwananyamala hospital which has a bad history of treating patients who seek medical services.

When the magazine interviewed patients who attend the hospital's services and especially residents of Mwananyamala, they expressed frustrations at the silence of relevant government institutions in-charge of the hospital which have remained silent despite media reports unveiling poor health services.

The residents wondered why there has been no improvement of the services despite numerous complaints by patients from many parts of Dar es Salaam through the media.

One of the Msiriri sublocation local government committee in Mwananyamala ward, she started by saying, " What is being said by the media regarding Mwananyamala hospital is very little compared to dastardly acts that transpire on the ground if one can witness them because corruption, disregard of patients and abusive language are normal among nurses."

"When you enter the hospital's labour ward, if you are in labour the sight of blood spread all over the beds with some coagulating on sheet is disturbing. Sometimes you find that one pregnant mother has just delivered and no cleanliness has been done within half an hour and you are told place your khanga on top of the blood stained bed and lay down so that we can attend to you," they said.

"These are people who are in charge of our health and often stress cleanliness, where is cleanliness here at such sensitive places? What about infectious diseases spread through blood?" inquired the young lady emotionally. Most residents wondered where the health budget which rakes in billions of shillings annually is utilized.
Responding to critics of health services being delivered by the public hospital, Health Services Coordinator for Kinondoni municipality, Dr Zainab Majapa acknowledged that the sector is facing many challenges as stated by the public but blamed them for colluding with medical personnel who solicite bribes from them to get good services.

Dr Majapa gave his experience after working at different hospitals of the municipality at different capacities including head of units, saying he tried his best to address the problem of corruption relating to health service delivery but patients never supported him.

Ends…

Integrity Watch launches health project

Integrity Watch which also publishes Corruption Almanac magazine, has launched a project to improve provision of medical services at three wards of Kinondoni municipality.

The launching ceremony was held on February 25 this year at Top Life hotel in Dar es Salaam with Ndugumbi ward councillor, Lucas Mgonja who represented Kinondoni municipal mayor.

The objective of the project is to sensitize the public on their rights and responsibilities in ensuring that they get better health services from all public centers.

Speaking during the launch, Executive Director of Integrity Watch, Mr. John Jingu underlined the need of empowering the public as the main stakeholder in health sector to know and understand its responsibility as per policies which govern the management of this sector because if the public gets such knowledge corruption and bribery will be eradicated.

FROM THE PRESS

Lawmakers order disaster expenditure to be audited

Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee (PAC) has said use of voluntary contributions which were donated through Disaster Management Unit is not transparent and ordered immediate audit of the accounts from last year Gongo la Mboto bomb explosions to this year's floods which devastated Dar es Salaam (Nipashe, Mtanzania, Mwananchi of 16 February 2012).

Magu councilors disturbed by theft of public drugs

Councillors from Magu district council in Mwanza region, were disturbed by reports of theft of public medicines at Magu hospital which involved Igalukilo health center medical doctor, Dr Kija Makwani.

The councilors said during a meeting to debate theft of the artemesinin combination therapy recently that the theft is unacceptable (Mtanzania February 16, 2012).

PAC observes financial irregularities at Natural Resources

Accounting irregularities have continued at Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism which has maintained receiving a poor audit report from Controller and Auditor General for the past three years now.

The irregularities which include failure by the ministry to have a permanent register of foreign tourists visiting the country and tourist hunters has frustrated the CAG from undertaking audit of books of accounts because of lack of reliable statistics. The CAG has hence failed to find out how much is earned by the government from such activities.

The Ministry has also been found to contravene government financial regulations which require that all income be remitted to Treasury for accounting and budgeting purposes before part of the earnings can be allocated to their sources.(Nipashe, Mwananchi February 17, 2012).

Senior TRA officials at Sirari suspended from duties

Three senior Tanzania Revenue Authority officials at Sirali border post in Mara have been suspended from duties for various reasons including colluding with businessmen to cheat amounts of tax payments.

Mara Regional TRA Manager, Mrasoni Msangi said the three officials have been suspended because of contravening professional ethics by assisting business people avoid tax payment to the government.

The suspended officials had recruited pirate clearing and forwarding agents who colluded with importers of goods from Dubai, China and Kenya to cheat on import duty. (Nipashe February 20, 2012).

Fisheries officer in court over bribery

Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) in Kagera region has arraigned in court Fisheries, Administraton and Patrolling Officer in the region, Billal Banal for soliciting and receiving bribes from Lake Victoria fishermen.
A PCCB officials said in the first count, the accused solicited bribes worth 600,000/- from Bazil Juma Thadeo to avoid his fishing boat and gear from being detained while in the second count, the accused received 500,000/- from PCCB set payment. (Tanzania Daima).

ATCL's Mataka faces more charges

Prosecutors in abuse of public office case and causing loss to the government facing facing former Air Tanzania Company Limited, Managing Director, David Mataka and others have changed and added some charges against the culprits.

State Attorney Kimaro said in the first count which all three culprits face is to collude contrary to section 32 of the Anti Corrption Act No. 11 of 2007 whereby Mataka and his peers at different times between March and July 2007 in Dar es Salaam, committed the crime with some other unknown people to abuse of public office and exercise their powers abusively by endorsing the purchasing of 26 used cars contrary to 2008 Public Procurement Act No 21 section 31 and its regulations. In the third count, the accused are facing charges of abuse of office by importing the second hand cars

office by importing the second hand cars worth USD 809,000 from Dubai based 3 In Dalimouk Motors without floating an open tender contrary to the public procurement law. (Tanzania Daima, Nipashe, Mwananchi of March 17, 2012).

Radar's billions final come home

Preparations to receive 29.5bn pounds which is an equivalent of 80bn/.- being part of compensation paid by British defence and security company in the purchase of a radar are done after Tanzania and United Kingdom signed an agreement to that effect.

According to the agreement which was concluded yesterday in the UK, the money will be transfered to Bank of Tanzania at any time and will be used to buy school desks and books for primary schools in the country. PCCB Director General, has been quoted as saying no Tanzanian is a suspect in the radar deal which was embroiled in corruption allegations.

CORRUPTION STATISTICS FROM PCCB BETWEEN 1995 -2011

YEARS	Allegations received	Cases Investigated	Completed Investigation files	Administrative actions taken	Files transferred to other agencies	New cases into courts	Total cases Prosecuted	Conviction cases	Acquittal cases	Saved Money/ Asset recovered
1995	261	261	145	-	-	8	16	1	7	2,706,800,000/=
1996	513	513	245	-	-	21	34	2	9	1,900,651,000/=
1997	510	510	289	-	-	9	18	1	4	6,932,950,000/=
1998	545	545	200	-	95	15	31	2	6	9,300,478,000/=
1999	1,116	1,116	304	-	209	62	47	9	25	14,795,169,650/=
2000	1,244	1,244	276	-	234	49	42	6	3	11,100,000,000/=
2001	1,354	1,354	285	1	154	57	53	-	-	2,500,000,000/=
2002	1,383	1,383	732	42	222	52	191	12	12	2,714,199,000/=
2003	2,285	1,796	540	21	36	51	178	9	28	3,800,266,000/=
2004	2,223	1,149	458	126	25	60	202	6	8	4,000,216,000/=
2005	3,121	677	540	111	2	50	218	6	10	2,500,600,000/=
2006	6,320	1,528	1,688	209	496	71	251	18	28	1,301,492,528/=
2007	8,235	1,266	2,015	280	460	196	352	35	45	1,580,099,081/=
2008	6,137	928	936	74	184	147	416	37	71	13,203,459,357/=
2009	5,930	884	1,175	40	152	222	463	46	73	436,132,336/=
2010	5,685	870	924	29	135	224	587	64	98	10,123,258,300/=
2011	4,765	819	773	30	84	193	466	52	61	4,638,939,558/=
TOTAL	51,627	16,843	11,525	963	2,488	1,487	3,565	306	488	93,534,710,810

Source: PCCB HQ, January 2012.

IWa Corruption Watch

Reported corruption incidences -65

Executed cases -2

Non executed cases -62

ORRUPTION ALMANAC

Stamp Out Corruption, Be a Part of the Battle

Hanns Seidel Foundation

IWa

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