The Center for Investigative Reporting

10 Years
Impresum

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It has been 10 years since the Center for Investigative Reporting (CIN) started working in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. These have been great years marked by many good stories and exciting investigations. But it has not been easy. Over the course of its existence CIN has dealt with sleazy politicians, criminals, and shady businessmen, with bad laws and inept bureaucracy. Always and through all of that, CIN kept sight of this goal: to explain to the Bosnian people what was really happening with their money in their country. CIN has always tried to give hope that things could change in this country. Its reporters and editors have been ridiculed, laughed at, criticized, threatened, disregarded and diminished by those they wrote about. But the goal of bringing the truth to thousands of good, honest people always seemed worth it. And they responded almost from the start, agreeing to talk with us, eager to end corruption and to punish arrogant politicians and public officials.

Journalism is the court of last resorts and CIN has provided at least moral justice by broadcasting the stories of these people. An old adage is that journalism comforts the afflicted and afflicts the comfortable. Journalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the war was so widely influenced by political parties that the basic business idea behind CIN could not have been more basic: to create an independent source of news and information free of commentary, political rhetoric and ulterior motives. Investigative reporting at internationally accepted standards of truth, accuracy and fairness is hard to publish in this country. But CIN journalists have proven consistently their dedication to reporting that can change lives – and countries.

CIN is unique in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the first organization in Balkans dedicated to investigative reporting, that gives unbiased information based on solid proof, for citizens who need to make educated decisions. CIN has focused on organized crime and corruption and on the negative effect that has had on the lives of regular people. In a decade, CIN projects and stories have touched on education, health, sports, employment, politics, illegal trading in tobacco and drugs, illegal drugs and documents, and financial fraud.

CIN has taken seriously the task of a free press anywhere to build democratic action by exploring the failures of government, police and court and urging reforms.

CIN was started in 2004 with a USAID grant and with technical assistance and support from the New York University School of Journalism and the Journalism Development Group. But it is now locally operated and it has grown to become one of Bosnia’s most respected news organizations. It remains a rare, truly independent media voice fighting for accountability and transparency in government.

The country’s biggest regional media outlets regularly publish CIN projects. They have appeared in Blic, Večernji list, Oslobodjenje, Dnevni Avaz and many others. Stories are published on web portals including www.klix.ba, www.6yka.com, www.kapital.ba, etc. while traffic on CIN’s web page has grown to an average of 30,000 individual visitors per month. CIN cooperates with Radio Free Europe / TV Liberty, with Al Jazeera Balkans and with CNN.

CIN stories have resulted in the removal of a number of judges and ministers from offices, in the arrest of law enforcement officers, in the closing...
of a fraudulent American university, and the exposing of government officials for wrong doings. Former Prime Minister Nedžad Branković was indicted based on the findings that CIN published in 2007.

CIN is a regional leader in journalistic cooperation across borders. It is a founding member of a network of investigative centers and freelance reporters called the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP) that operates in the region and in the provinces of the former Soviet Union.

CIN currently produces at least three documentaries and other video materials in support of its investigative articles a year. These are broadcasted through public and independent TV stations in BiH and internationally.

The Center has been legally harassed and its reporters physically threatened since almost its first days of operation. Security and reporter safety is taken seriously at CIN and those are the reasons you see no bylines on CIN stories. Works are simply signed “By The Center for Investigative Reporting.”

Eighteen people compose the current CIN team. They come from all parts of BiH with experience in different media. Two international editors serve as advisors to local editors who are charged with maintaining international standards in work and with continuous staff training. The CIN Board of Directors consists of seven distinguished individuals from BiH and internationally.

CIN relies only on donor assistance to operate and has built a broad donor base. The intention is to develop a sustainable news product that attracts revenues to cover a part of organizational expenses.
In the spring of 2000, future Prime Minister Nedžad Branković got some bad news. The apartment in Ciglane where he was living had to be returned to its former owner. That started a chain of events that led to the government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) buying an apartment for a political insider.

Seven years later, Prime Minister Branković owns an apartment currently worth nearly 500,000 KM in one of the most sought-after locations in Sarajevo. What did it cost him? The equivalent of 900 KM.

In other countries, a revelation like that might destroy a politician’s career. But not in BiH.

The Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) wanted to know how it happened. While some participants in the deal withheld records, CIN was able to track down dozens of land records, contracts, payment records and government decisions from multiple sources to put together a detailed look at the agreement.

Ultimately, it will be officials in the Department for Organized Crime, Economic Crime and Corruption in the Prosecutor’s Office of BiH who will determine if the transaction was legal. They are looking at former FBiH Prime Minister Edhem Bičakčić and his Deputy Prime Minister Dragan Čović, who are accused of giving away apartments—including this one—to selected high-ranking politicians.

In May of 2000, Nada Ludvig Pećar was living in a beautiful 132-square meter apartment in Ciglane, but needed to go to the United States for medical treatment. She said that when she showed Branković her apartment, he told her he preferred it to the others in Ciglane he had looked at. Branković refutes her account.

Still, that same month the board of directors of Energoinvest decided that Branković was a valuable enough executive that he deserved an apartment. Energoinvest did not provide documentation why this was the case. Rather than giving him an apartment that the firm, unprofitable at the time, already owned, it decided to buy him a new one.

At the same time, the FBiH government also determined that Branković was a valuable enough member of parliament that he deserved an apartment. Records do not say exactly why. Energoinvest and the government agreed to jointly buy an apartment and on May 22 signed a deal. That same day, Pećar sold her apartment to the government.

This story raised questions about the assignment of state apartments. After CIN broke a series of stories on Branković and his alleged illegal activities with his apartment and investments, activists started a campaign to force him to resign. One of the most popular alternative bands – Dubioza Kolektiv – published a song titled “Šuti i trpi” (Shut up and Suffer) about politicians who lie. It used a portion of a video interview CIN did with Branković. In 2008, vandals painted graffiti on his apartment building demanding that he “give back the apartment…” Branković complained to police and sought protection claiming he feared for his family’s safety. As a result, activists started a Facebook page called “I am the hooligan who wrote the graffiti.” The page called for more graffiti and the group rented billboard space in Sarajevo, advertising “Apartment in Sarajevo for 920 KM”, referring to the CIN story about how much Branković paid for the apartment. Authorities took down the billboards, proper paperwork had not been completed, even though the billboards had been there for years before they carried the anti-Branković slogan. The media loudly proclaimed an attack on free speech. In spring of 2009, the Prosecutor’s Office of the Sarajevo Cantonal Court brought an indictment against Branković for fraudulent purchase and privatization of the apartment. The indictment quoted the CIN story from September 2007 line by line, listing CIN findings as evidence of wrong doings. Based on the indictment and pending trial at the Cantonal Court of Sarajevo, and pressed by political pressure within his Party of SDA, Branković resigned as prime minister in May 2009. In 2010 court dismissed the case against Braković and others on technicalities after prosecutors failed to submit proper documentation as evidence.
The document the government and Energoinvest signed is interesting. First, the representative for Energoinvest was Branković himself, an apparent conflict of interest, although the document never says that the apartment is for him. It is not clear who actually signed the document because no name is given except Branković’s. Second, the document lists the price of the apartment as ‘about 150,000 KM’ an imprecise value for a legally binding document, which was to cover Energoinvest’s 50 percent share.

During the seven years he was at the top of Indirect Taxation Authority, Kemal Čaušević bought nine apartments and offices plus 20,000 square meters of land. His income during that time does not come close to the cost of the investment, but he told reports that he's been making money since 1986.

Kemal Čaušević, a former director of the Indirect Taxation Authority (UIO) of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), bought assets worth one million and 80,000 KM in less than seven years.

However, his combined income since 2004 is not nearly sufficient to account for the investments he’s made.

The reporters from the Center for Investigative Reporting (CIN) in Sarajevo found that Čaušević bought five apartments, four offices and more than 20,000 square meters of land between 2006 and the end of 2012. These properties are located in downtown Sarajevo and at other attractive locations in the city.

The land records do not show that he had mortgaged assets for loans. The bills of sale show that he paid owners either through his bank account or in cash.

According to the UIO records, Čaušević received nearly 576,000 KM in salaries and benefits from December 2003 to March 2012. On average, it comes down to 72,000 KM a year without taking per diems into account. He reported with the Federation of BiH (FBIH) Tax Administration nearly 53,000 KM of additional income from renting of apartments and business premises in Sarajevo, as well as the living costs of his family of which he is the sole breadwinner.

Čaušević met with CIN reporters three times, but he refused to disclose his income. In a written statement he said that his earnings since 1986 have surpassed the value of his assets by a factor of 2. Even though he promised to document his income, he failed to do it.
Since 2010, the BiH Council of Ministers has given out over half million KM from emergency/unanticipated event reserve account to individuals including party colleagues, cousins and neighbors.

The renovation of a house belonging to Nikola Špirić, deputy prime minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), at the family estate in the village of Brda near Drvar is ongoing. During the week a neighbor Zdravko Petković and a Banja Luka-based handyman Borislav Vještica work on it.

Petković and Vještica received several thousands KM in grants that Špirić had approved from the budget reserve.

The reserve represents the state budget funds allocated for emergencies and unanticipated events; funds to shoulder the costs of international arbitration or financing new agencies and non-profit organizations. The BiH Council of Ministers approves the liquid reserve while its chairman and his two deputies have discretion to spend 4 percent of the reserve on “immediate assistance” that requires no call for applications and the grantees are not held accountable for the way they’ve spent the funds.

According to an investigation conducted by the Center for Investigative Reporting (CIN) in Sarajevo, nearly 1.8 million KM of immediate assistance money was spent in the past four years. Around half million KM went to 230 individuals, even though the rulebooks give no guidelines on this type of spending. Neighbors and party colleagues also received grants.

Špirić signed off on nearly 410,000 KM for 138 individuals and one third of the amount went to Drvar residents. Two years ago Špirić was the chairman of the BiH Council of Ministers, while he currently holds the post of a deputy chairman and is the BiH Minister of Finances and Treasury. Špirić’s colleagues during the current and previous terms—Vjekoslav Bevanda, Sadik Ahmetović and Zlatko Lagumdžija—mainly gave out money to associations.

Špirić Gave Money from the State Budget to a Handyman

Nikola Špirić, BiH deputy prime minister, said that citizens know that they can get money from the budget reserve, because a notice was published in a government newspaper. (PHOTO: CIN)

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Evidence Missing from Čović and Lijanović file

Several original documents from the prosecutor’s case against Čović and the Lijanović family are missing from the official court file, according to correspondence between the Prosecutor’s Office and the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and information the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) has obtained from the Prosecutor’s Office of Sarajevo.

Cantonal prosecutors discovered last June that 40 documents were gone, including records from the obsolete Customs Administration of the Federation BiH (FBiH), and the BiH Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations, minutes from the defendants’ hearing and witness testimonies. Copies of some of these documents have been found, but BiH courts do not recognize copies as evidence. Eight months after discovery of the loss, leading members of judiciary refuse to speak about exactly what has vanished.

Nives Kanevčev, the canton’s chief prosecutor, said she had been passed ‘a hot potato’ and that ‘key evidence’ was missing. Her opposite number in the state prosecutor’s office: Chief Prosecutor Milorad Barašin, said that these were not important documents but supposedly, these three customs documents in question were easy to find ‘should someone wish to find them.’

Most of the documents now missing were used before the Court of BiH in November 2006, when Dragan Čović was sentenced to five years in prison pending appeal, because he had in his capacity as the FBiH finance minister of finances helped the Lijanović family from Široki Brijeg evade more than 1.8 million KM in custom tax.

However, following appeal of that abuse of office sentence, the Court of BiH decided it did not have jurisdiction to rule in the case in June 2008 and turned the case over to the Sarajevo Cantonal prosecutor. No trial or new indictment has resulted so far.

Kanevčev said the case is again in the pre-trial phase and her office is trying to reconstruct it by screening hundreds of hours of trial footage from the Court of BiH and requesting original documents from all the relevant government bodies. She said she could not tell if lost evidence would delay or stop a trial.

Buying Votes to Lijanović’s Betterment

Jerko Ivanković Lijanović signed off on 3 million KM from the Federation budget for agricultural subsidies. Most of that went to voters who helped his party join the government in the 2010 elections.

Staja Aukst from Zavidovići voted for Jerko Ivanković Lijanović and other candidates of the People’s Party Through Work to Betterment (NSRZB) at the general elections four years ago. She did this on the promise that she would receive money for her vote. She didn’t think at all about how those she voted into power would benefit.

The election results helped Lijanović get the posts of Minister of Agriculture, Waterworks and Forestry and Deputy Prime Minister of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH). That made it possible for him to help pass laws that effect the lives of millions and to dispose of a budget that annually averages 70 million KM.

The Federation Police Authority (FUP) alleges that Lijanović received votes by promising to pay for them and he fulfilled that promise with the money from the FBiH budget. Once in office, Lijanović amended the Program for Agricultural Incentives by introducing one-time subsidies without checks and balances. In this way, almost 3 million KM was dispensed to people who were supposed to vote or agitate for Lijanović’s party.

The police filed a criminal report against him and 56 collaborators charging organized crime and abuse of office. Evidence consists of testimonies from at least 400 persons from FBiH and material evidence such as payment slips, inspections, and advice on how to vote. The complaint was sent to the Sarajevo Cantonal Prosecutor’s Office.

According to police, Lijanović organized party colleagues and activists and instructed them how to fish for votes ahead of 2010 elections. He promised them government jobs and 20 KM premiums for each voter that they talked into voting.
The activists lobbied poor people promising them 100 KM for a vote they would give to the party’s nominees, and to some an additional 20 KM for every additional person that they swayed to vote for them. Aukst, a pensioner, accepted without thinking about the consequences. “On my mind at the time was how to make it better for everyone,” she told the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN). She said that she voted for the party’s candidates and Lijanović and won over another 45 voters.

The party ranked sixth at the elections in the FBiH and it received five seats in the FBiH Parliament. The party’s vice-president Lijanović received 45,397 votes when running for membership in the BiH Presidency. He failed to secure that office, but he was invited into the Federation government and offered the minister and vice prime-minister posts.

Prime Minister of the FBiH Nermin Nikšić told CIN that during consultations on the make-up the new FBiH government, Lijanović asked to become finance minister. “But, since we turned him down, he settled for the Ministry of Agriculture,” said Nikšić.

After CIN published a story on abuse of official position in pre-election run, Transparency International BiH filed a request with the Central Election Commission for a ruling on potential conflict of interest. CEC fined the Minister of Agriculture 10,000 KM for a clear conflict of interest.

Brothers Lijanovići and other persons arrested in today’s raid are suspected of tax evasion.

The budget of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is at least 11 million KM short from unpaid taxes on the trade in meat and meat products from a Široki Brijeg-based Lijanović and other firms. The BiH Indirect Taxation Authority (UIO) have come to this conclusion after its inspectors have monitored Lijanović LLC and the firms connected with it. It had filed reports with the BiH Prosecutor’s Office which led to a police operation and the arrest of four brothers — Jerko, Mladen, Slavo and Jozo Ivanković-Lijanović – and their father Stipo-Lijan Ivanović. Another nine persons were arrested including the FBiH Minister of Trade Milorad Bahilj. According to the UIO press statement, the reports that it had submitting with the state prosecutors in the past four years list 14 persons and six firms suspected of committing a number of criminal offences related to value added taxes. The inspectors have linked Lijanović LLC with the following firms from Široki Brijeg: Farmer Mesna Industrija LLC, Farmko LLC, ZD.I. Produkt LLC, a Posušje-based Laktat LLC and a Mostar-based Mi-Mo. The connection is based on the contracts for renting of butchery facilities with the equipment for production, processing of meat and meat products, as well as with the licensing contracts which Lijanović company has signed with the other firms named in the reports. In a 2011 report obtained by the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN), the current FBiH minister of trade Milorad Bahilj, in the capacity of the director of Mi-Mo and Venka Ivanović, an executive officer in Farmer Mesna Industrija and Jozo Slišković, an executive officer in Farmko, have committed a criminal offence of failing to pay taxes worth 2.7 million KM. All three have been arrested today. UIO inspectors allege that Bahilj and Ivanović were forging or destroying financial ledgers and other company documents. The inspectors tried to conduct inspections at the companies Mi-Mo and Farmer Mesna Industrija, but found neither the companies on
their official addresses, nor any evidence that would prove that the firms were at some point there. Bahilj told the inspectors that he has been relieved from the director's duties by the ruling of the Municipal Court in Mostar since 2011 and that he did not know where the company's records were. The records were supposedly transferred to Lijanović LLC, but the inspectors have never tracked them down. The inspectors were unable to locate the records from Venka Ivanković's Farmer Mesna Industrija either. According to the law enforcement agencies involved in the operation, the members of the group which was arrested today have incorporated a number of straw companies that operated in same premises and facilities, with the same number of employees and held the same license. According to the inspectors’ findings, Lijanović LLC was incorporating legal entities which were formally registered as owners or users of certain real and movable property. After a firm would run up its tax obligations, it would proceed to wind up. Then, another firm would be incorporated and the scenario would be repeated. As none of the firms had a property of their own, the UIO could not seize their property to satisfy the debt. According to UIO, such deals have been going on since 2009. According to the State Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA) which took part in today’s operation, the facilities on 17 locations in the area of Siroki Brijeg, Grude and Mostar have been raided with the goal of tracking down and temporary confiscating items which might be used as evidence. Those arrested are suspected of obtaining illicit gains of more than 11.6 million KM, by evading to pay value added tax, misspending agricultural subsidies, breaching of the contract with the FBiH Buffer Stock Authority and hiding the profits from the sale of goods on the black market. SIPA press statement reads that the arrested persons tried to hide the origin of illicit gains by giving out loans and buying out incorporation shares from some legal entities and by placing cash on the accounts. At least three arrested persons were members of the legislative or executive branch in the FBiH and BIH authorities. Jerko Ivanković-Lijanović is the FBiH minister of agriculture, water management and forestry, while his brother Mladen Ivanković-Lijanović is a legislator with the House of Representatives of the state Parliament. Milorad Bahilj is the FBiH Minister of Trade. •

From Advisor to Civil Servant

Advisors join ministries for a term, but some eventually land a civil service post and a job for life. Some of those posts were specially created.

At least 15 advisors have become civil servants, during or after their term, thus swapping a short-term stint for a job for life.

Top officeholders hire advisors without a vacancy. But, in order for advisors to become civil servants, they have to apply for a vacancy and pass a written and oral examination.

The Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) found that advisors hold a competitive edge over other candidates when they apply for jobs at agencies where they have worked. After
all, the heads of these institutions who have appointed them as advisors are also deciding on the hiring.

Sead Maslo, director of the Agency for Civil Service of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH), says that people who apply for civil service while they are working at the agency have an obvious advantage.

At the agency where they had arrived without a formal job opening, advisors gain knowledge that allows them to pass exams more easily and to answer arcane commission questions, explained Semiha Borovac, a former Sarajevo mayor and one-time advisor to the FBiH Prime Minister Mustafa Mujezinović.

An examination board is made up of four or five members. CIN found that advisors who apply at an agency where they already worked knew at least two members.

In comparison with FBiH where assistant ministers get a job for life, an assistant to a minister in the Republika Srpska (RS) gets hired for a five-year term.

Many advisors ended up in civil service in newly established posts as deputy minister.

“Too much of an occurrence to be a coincidence,” said Maslo.

Some advisors turned civil servants have spent just one year out of a four-year term they were hired for.

CIN findings were collected and published in a European Research Center’s policy paper, listing recommendations to improve employment procedures.

Đordja Kojić, an Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) legislator in the National Assembly of the Republika Srpska (RS) has won at least 3.9 million KM worth of contracts put out by public companies and government agencies over the past four years in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH).

At least 46 contracts have been awarded to his three companies: Brčko Gas, Brčko Gas Osiguranje and Transjug L. In at least two cases he signed deals with agencies run by his party colleagues as the only bidder.

Kojić is not the only lucky politician-businessman.

The Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) combed through tender notices of the BiH Public Procurement Agency and the Brčko District Department for Public Procurement between 2007 and August 2010. At least 20 firms owned fully or in part by officeholders or candidates running for the upcoming elections have concluded at least 166 contracts with public companies and agencies worth at least 13.7 million KM. The values of some of the contracts were impossible to determine as the bids were per item without specifying number of items.

Conflict of interest laws have been passed on all levels of governance to limit the influence that politicians in power with direct or indirect access to information can have on the outcome of bidding. However, these laws, designed to regulate the ways in which officeholders can do business with government contractors, are not harmonized, leaving opportunity for abuse.

Đinita Fočo, director of the BiH Public Procurement Agency which oversees the implementation of the Law on Public Procurement, said that the agency had not received any complaints from bidders about conflicts of interest.
Additional Fees for a Regular Job

Reporters for the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) found that at least 28 of 142 electoral commissions in the towns and municipalities across Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) received higher fees than set out by the BiH Election Law.

The city and municipal electoral commissions are permanent bodies. Members are appointed for seven years and they can at the same time serve as town officials, court officials or other government agencies. Even though elections take place every second year, the commission members get paid every year.

According to the Election Law, commission members are entitled to the equivalent of a councilman’s monthly fee for attendance at town or municipality’s sessions. This amount should be 30 percent less in years following the elections. However, certain commissions received the same amount during the election and non-election years.

The Banja Luka election commission gave out 51,000 KM for commission members’ fees in the election year of 2010, as well as in the non-election year of 2011. The commission’s president received 650 KM monthly, while six members received 600 KM each.

Aleksandar Radeta, the commission’s president, said they received the same fee in 2011 as in the previous year because they were involved in the elections of the local community’s councils.

The Election Law says nothing about the commission’s role. The statute of the City of Banja Luka sets out that the citizens elect the local community councils directly at the conventions.

The fees for the members of Doboj Election Commission in 2011 were also higher than those set by law.

Money for Nothing: Veterans Paid for Undocumented Expenses

Officials of the Organization of the Demobilized Soldiers (ODB) of the Centar Municipalities and its firm Uzrab did not explain why they withdrew 223,000 KM from the organizations’ accounts between 2006 and 2008.

The Financial Police of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) filed criminal complaints against Zlatan Kovačić, president of the ODB Centar’s Managing Board, and against Ibrahim Šarić, former director of Uzrab a year ago. They were charged with misconduct in office and damaging the organizations.

Inspectors found from bank statements that money was taken for fees and expenses of the members of the Managing Board, assistance to veterans and various smaller payments. However, there is no such record in the business books of ODB Centar and Uzrab.

The police also filed complaints with the Sarajevo Canton Prosecutor’s Office against another two board members Elmedin Lakača and Hamdo Ćurovac because they did not check why money was withdrawn or how it was spent. Kovačić also got charged for the same offence, but this time as the president of Uzrab’s Supervisory Board.

Prosecutors say that the complaints are still being investigated.
Grants Without a Call for Bids

The Ministry of Energy, Mining and Industry of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) headed by Vahid Hečo gave 30.7 million KM of grants to government-owned companies and towns in the entity between 2007 and 2010.

The funds were intended to increase production and exporting; introduce new technologies; hire new workers, and pay off companies’ debts.

FBiH auditors have warned for years that many companies entitled to these funds did not apply because they were unaware money was available. They also said that some companies that did receive funds did not spend them, according to their contractual obligations.

Reporters from The Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) found that some firms should never have gotten grants in the first place.

The public utility company Gradska Groblja in Visoko received a 60,000 KM grant in 2009. It was supposed to help employees of companies in pre-bankruptcy or bankruptcy proceedings. However, the company has never done that. A year earlier, the company received a grant worth 150,000 KM to buy a grave-digging machine.

Asmir Hodžić, director of Gradska Groblja, said the company was doing fine, but had problems collecting money owed it. He said the new grant money also went to buying grave-digging machines for the Potočari Memorial Center near Srebrenica.

In Visoko Hodžić was a stalwart of the local organization of the Party for BiH that Hečo headed. Both were Visoko town councilmen in 2000 and eight years later Hodžić was the party’s nominee for mayor.

In November 2009, the FBiH government appointed Hodžić acting director of a Visoko leather factory Kožarsko-tekstilni Kombinat (KTK). In April 2011 he returned to Gradska Groblja.

During his 18-month term at the KTK, Hodžić brought in 1.8 million KM worth of grants, or three times more than the company received in three years before his appointment. During his absence Groblja received no grants.

Hodžić said that there have been abuses in the way the Ministry selected grant winners, but he was adamant that the companies he led got grants because he was persistent, not because he was politically connected.
Political rents

Towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) allow political parties to use their offices free or for minimum rent an act that weighs on local budgets and the civic projects they are supposed to support.

It’s also illegal. The Law on Financing of Political Parties in BiH bans parties from accepting public money and other types of donations from government bodies and agencies and public companies.

Between 2004 and 2009, government on all levels allocated more than 111 million KM for financing party expenses, rent included. Nevertheless, the Central Electoral Commission (CIK) has no examples that show a government body subtracting rent from its party donations.

The law outlaws penalties for taking prohibited donations, but CIK officials said they had no mechanisms for disciplining parties that use towns’ premises free of charge.

Parties have mainly been given business premises, while some municipalities have offered them kindergarten facilities. The municipal board of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) in Novi Travnik, received a rent-free office in the kindergarten of Rijad Dizdarević school in 2008. That same year, the town of Modriča invited the local board of the Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) to use its old and by-then non-operational kindergarten.

According to CIK reports, municipalities and other government agencies have given rent-free premises to parties in at least 246 places between 2004 and 2009. CIK auditors calculate that the illegitimate contribution for 121 offices amounted to 1,079,437 KM. For the other 125, auditors could not calculate the unpaid rent because they had no access to information about office size and rent costs.

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Tender raises questions

Irregularities exist in the privatization plan of what is one of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s most important companies: Aluminij d.d. Mostar, the massive manufacturing complex south of Mostar that accounts for about 10 percent of BiH’s exports.

Experts warn that the tender, which has unusual criteria and uses an unusual procedure, does not meet World Bank or other international standards, may not be transparent enough and may in fact be illegal.

Monday (April 23) is the deadline for companies to respond to the tender to buy 88 percent of the Mostar company.

Companies that have either submitted their bids, to or requested bid documents from, the Federation of BiH (FBiH) Agency for Privatization include Glencore International AG from Switzerland, ALRO S.A. from Romania, Ukio Bank Investment Group (UBIG) from Lithuania, United Company Rusal from Russia, Vedanta Resources from England, Mytilineos Aluminium from Greece, and a consortium including Feal Široki Brijeg from Bosnia and Herzegovina and four Croatian companies.

The tender awards points to each bidder for certain criteria such as the price, employment plan, business plan and qualifications of the bidder. The bidder with the most points wins the tender.

The Mostar Aluminij tender gives an unusual amount of weight to bidders who have previous cooperation, existing relationships and current contracts with Mostar Aluminij, awarding up to 15 out of 100 points to these factors. These provisions effectively favor only a few companies because few of the bidders have these sorts of relationships. For instance, the tender specifically said the tender commission will consider ‘signed contracts for the period of the next three years’ which will benefit only current partners.
Energoinvest Sold Debts in Secret for a Fraction of Value

Patience can pay.

Because Energoinvest of Sarajevo sold its claim on a pre-war debt from the Democratic Republic of the Congo 10 years ago for $3.3 million, it lost out on a chance to recover as much as $100 million.


A report by the FBiH Financial Police obtained by the Center for Investigative Reporting says the debt was sold illegally.

Hemisphere won a sizeable award from the tribunal, and then in search of ways to enforce that award, went to the courts in the British island of Jersey, a well known offshore zone. Offshore zones give legal and tax breaks for companies seeking to evade taxes and hide the origin of money and its owners.

The island court on July 14 identified a source from which Hemisphere would get $100 million from the Congo. It ordered the Jersey company GTL to channel future payments to the Hemisphere instead of to Gecaminesu, a Congolese state-owned mining firm.

A final hearing in this case will take place Dec. 8.

Early this year, Great Britain passed a law restricting the ability of Vulture Funds to sue some of the poorest countries in the world for full repayment of debts they have bought cheaply.

However, the law has not been enforced in Jersey which is a part of the United Kingdom but with a separate judicial system. This is why the island has become the stomping ground for the vulture funds.

Hemisphere paid Energoinvest $3.3 million for $29.3 million of Congolese debt. Of that, Energoinvest recovered $2.7 million. The rest went to the Washington D.C. law office of Debt Advisory International (DAI) which brokered the sale of the debt.

Hemisphere is incorporated at a Brooklyn, New York, address that from the outside looks like a garage, according to BBC and Guardian reporters who are working on the story together with the CIN.

Millions from Concession Fees Remain with Private Owners

The Austrian firm Alpine Bau bought huge amounts of granite from a Jablanica quarry in 2008 for 70 pfennigs per square meter. Alpine Bau then crushed it into gravel and sold it to the Railways of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) for 60 times what it paid.

Over the past three years, Alpine Bau had bought up 165,000 KM of granite and sold it to the railroads for 9.9 million KM.

The stone was sold by the former state company Granit via a firm called Alpine that Alpine Bau registered in Banja Luka. The material is used as the foundation under reconstruction of the railway from Konjic to Čapljina, done by Alpine Bau.
Records from the state-level railways corporation in charge of the reconstruction show that this stretch cost about 100 million KM for which the government took out a loan from the European Development Bank.

Concession fees for the excavated granite are supposed to help pay back the loan. However, the government of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton which has authority over the excavation site in Jablanica, has not collected these fees in apparent violation of a 2003 Cantonal Concession Law.

The annual fee for granite in the canton is currently 25 KM per cubic meter. In other words, the municipal and cantonal authorities could have collected at least 5.9 million KM for the granite Alpine Bau supplied the railways.

The government also decided in December 2008 that in order for a firm to be eligible for a concession license, it had to pay a one-time reimbursement amounting to at least 1.5 percent of the value of the site – or of the revenue the firm expected to make through the end of contract.

However, neither Granit nor Alpine have a concession license and paid nothing.

CIN published a number of stories on concessions and the fact that BiH has no system/law in place to regulate the giving of concessions for exploitation of natural resources. These prompted the RS Government to submit a draft text of the Law on Concession of RS; The tax administration office of Una Sana Canton initiated urgent inspection of exploitation sites named in the CIN story; Herzegovina Canton amended regulation, cancelling the possibility of giving concessions based on non-solicited proposals.

Alpina’s stone crushers in Granite excavation site worked for almost two years after Granit filed for bankruptcy.

Serbia Owes €50 million Worth of Property to Bosnia and Herzegovina

A number of buildings in Serbia owned by Bosnia and Herzegovina firms has been illegally sold or is left abandoned to crumble. Some Serbian firms have also not yet returned their property in BiH, because the two countries are not implementing the Succession Agreement in its entirety.

The fate of shops, showrooms, warehouse and other real property which are owned by the firms located in Serbia or Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) proper has yet to be solved despite the fact that a decade has passed after the signing of the Succession Agreement. This document binds both states to return property to their rightful owners.

The Agreement signed in Vienna in 2001, foresaw that the property of other states was going to be recognized, protected and returned to its original state in which it was on Dec. 31, 1990 regardless of the owner’s ethnicity, citizenship and place of residence.

Nevertheless, since the Agreement came into effect, the property of some firms has been resold, illegally acquired or hidden from its real owners.

According to an investigation from the Centers for Investigative Reporting in Belgrade and Sarajevo (CINS/CIN), more than 50 BiH firms seeks to establish the ownership of their property located in Serbia, while 38 Serbian does the same in BiH. The list of BiH companies includes Hepok, Agrokomerc, Borac Travnik, Leather and Textile Factory (KTK) Visoko, as well as the Serbian companies Tehnopromet and Autotehna-Avis.
Ploče Oil Terminals’ Debt Bondage

Since its inception in 2006, FBiH Oil Terminals in the port of Ploče, Croatia, has been working under the burden of liabilities that are mostly the result of contracts former managers signed with a British crude oil and products trading company.

The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) financial police has calculated that the former managers damaged the company by 9.8 million KM through decisions so bad the company has twice moved to the brink of bankruptcy. The FBiH government has saved the company twice by wiring to its accounts 4.7 million KM of taxpayer money.

The Terminals in Ploče is the only BiH-owned liquid fuels storage on the waterfront of the Adriatic. The Terminals owns 12 warehouses with a capacity for 81,500 tons of fuel. The management estimates the value of company at around 700 million KM. Its warehouses are of great importance to citizens because they save fuel traders around 40 million KM per year in transport, savings that are directly reflected in the price of fuel in the country.

The FBiH government has not always been a good steward of its terminals. The chief inspector of the FBiH Financial Police, Zufer Dervišević said he reported on the Terminals’ problems to former Prime Minister Nedžad Branković at the end of 2007, but Branković never acted.

In July 2008 the FBiH financial police filed criminal complaints against the company’s former directors Drago Burđelez and Josip Tomić, and five other persons including Branković and the FBiH Minister of Energy, Mining and Industry Vahid Hećo.

Burđelez and Tomić are suspected of abuse of office and of signing bad contracts with Deltagrip Limited of London while government officials did nothing to protect the Terminals. The other three named in the complaint include two former members of the supervisory board and a former director of the Terminals’ parent organization.

Also, the State Prosecutor’s Office in Metković charged Tomić in December 2008 with concluding prejudicial contracts and procuring equipment at prices significantly above market value.

Current Terminals management reviewed the contracts with Deltagrip at the end of 2009 and found that the Terminals lost more than 3 million KM due to the low prices it gave Deltagrip and to various penalties. In addition, Deltagrip is demanding compensation of 9.3 million KM for damage it says it has suffered.

Management fears this amount could go even higher. In reviewing it has come across but not yet analyzed some contracts Tomić signed that neither the Supervisory Board nor FBiH Financial Police knew about.

CIN published a story detailing how BiH’s only oil storage facility on the coast was near liquidation because of bad deals made by former management. CIN said the FBiH government failed to take action despite numerous warnings by FBiH Financial police and the management of FBiH Terminals (the company that owns Oil Terminals Of FBiH in Ploče). The FBiH Government passed a decision to pay 2 million KM to close a loan the former management took, and to convert 6 million KM paid earlier into company capital.
Two large companies run by close associates of Republika Srpska (RS) Prime Minister Milorad Dodik have received two loans amounting to 10 million KM from a development bank controlled by Dodik and designed in part to help companies expand.

The loans to engineering companies Integral Inženjering and Integra Inženjering owned by Slobodan and Slavica Stanković were approved by a board Dodik presides over. The contracts were signed exactly one month apart in September and October, according to RS Investment-Development Bank records. They were approved just weeks after the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) revealed that the bank had issued tens of millions of KM in loans for firms owned by foreign companies with offshore bank accounts.

The chief auditor found numerous irregularities in an audit of the bank made public in August. Overall, the audit gave a negative rating to the bank’s 2008 financial statements.

The audit stated that the bank lacks adequate internal control and risk control in issuing loans. Following auditors’ recommendations, bank authorities have passed a set of measures intended to improve bank practices.

As prime minister, Dodik is the head of the highest ranking board. He personally, or the finance minister in his absence, signs off on all loans in excess of 500,000 KM.

Dodik and the Stankovićs have long been associated and they were all named suspects earlier this year in a criminal investigation carried out by the State Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA).

According to the SIPA investigation the Stankovićs’ firms have contested for a series of bids in which the outcome was allegedly slanted in their favor. Because they were awarded tenders for construction of roads, a tunnel and government buildings the RS budget was damaged for more than 100 million KM, SIPA reported.

The report was forwarded to prosecutors.

The loans and the SIPA report underscore the link between the couple and Dodik. The bank’s spokesperson has never responded to CIN’s request for an explanation of the rationale behind giving loans to these companies.
After CIN detailed how the Elektrobosna iron silicate plant was falsely privatized and management engaged in fraudulent activity, the courts forced the plant into bankruptcy and auctioned off its assets. The former operators did not win the tender for the firm, but rather a German citizen of Bosnian descent, who is now trying to get the plant working again.

the high-tech furnaces, to be put up for sale in April for 4.5 million KM, enough to cover an outstanding loan from Hypo Alpe Adria Bank.

If no one buys, the price will drop to 3 million KM and then, if necessary, will be sold off for a nominal 1 KM. Officials of Metalleghe, an Italian firm, told the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) that the bank has already offered to sell the firm to it for more than the 4 million KM owed the bank.

It is a sad situation for what should have been a sure winner for Bosnia after years of war—a company that combined abundant natural resources, low costs, rich experience and close proximity to European manufacturers. Instead, it is another lost opportunity for a country badly in need of foreign capital.

'I wanted prosperity for all citizens of Jajce' said Director Zlatan Ištvanić, one of a handful of company officials who have battled for control of the company over the past decade. He pushed plans to bring in fresh capital by restructuring the old Elektrobosna and breaking it into three daughter companies, each with a foreign partner.

Now, he admits, he has failed in his life's dream. Others have lost more.

Elektrobosna once meant 3,000 jobs for the people of Jajce and was responsible for nearly 1 out of every 7 dollars Bosnia-Herzegovina contributed to the total exports of the former Yugoslavia. Only about 200 workers remain at the plant.

Had a ruling of the Supreme Court of the Federation of Bosnian and Herzegovina in May 2004 been heeded, things may not have reached the extremes they have today.

The court found that the public company Ištvanić set up with the name of Elektrobosna never had the legal right to act as the successor to the prewar Elektrobosna company. Ištvanić acted with the approval of officials of what was then the Croatian Republic of Herceg Bosna to arrange for the new company to take over the property—but not the debts of the old company.

Auditors suspicious of irregularities in road reconstruction

Although third-best and one million KM more expensive than competitors, the state-owned construction company Sarajevoputevi still won a contract worth more than 5 million KM to reconstruct the main road from Otoka to Ilidža in 2005.

The lowest bidder was Strabag, an Austrian company that bid a little more than 4 million KM, exactly the amount the Canton of Sarajevo Ministry of Traffic and Communications budgeted for the job.

Two Bosnian companies, Asfaltgradnja of Visoko and GP Put of Sarajevo, were recommended above Sarajevoputevi by a tender commission that studied all the bids.

The commission was ignored. Sarajevoputevi bid was selected despite the fact that it was 25 percent above what officials had put into their budget. They had to find the additional funds from other budgets.

"Even before this contract was signed, I said that I have 4 million in the budget, and a 5 million KM deal was made," said Ljijana Sakić, the cantonal traffic minister.

State auditors told the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) that the practice of government agencies inappropriately giving contracts to higher bidders, failing to provide proper bid specifications and adding annexes to significantly add to or modify work bid out is driving up costs and leading to poor construction.

They say many of the annexes are for work that should go through the full tender process but does not. Auditors
suspect annexes are being widely abused and are used to direct more money to favored companies.

An 800,000 KM annex was added one month later to Sarajevoputević’s contract to reconstruct Rustem-pašina street. Auditors say it should have been treated as a separate project and let out to bid. Then, while work in Rustem-pašina was at its peak, another annex was signed for another 300,000 KM project to build a turn-about in Ilidža. Auditors said that too was irregular and should have been a separate project. •

Dr. Amila Cvjetić-Koldžo worked with patients for more than a year after she had been sentenced to three years in prison. Even in prison she retains her license to practice.

Fourteen months after she was sentenced for the death of a patient, Dr. Amila Cvjetić-Koldžo went to prison. In the interim until the beginning of July, the anesthesiologist continued to work with patients. The Clinical Center of Sarajevo University (KCUS) and Sarajevo Medical Association neither fired her nor prohibited her from work.

Cvjetić-Koldžo, 54, is one of four doctors who have been sentenced beyond appeal in the courts of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) in the past five years. Even though because of their negligence patients died or became disabled, Cvjetić-Koldžo was the only one to go to prison.

An investigation by the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) has revealed that none of the doctors have lost their licenses because of their negligence. Up until leaving for prison, Cvjetić-Koldžo had worked in the place where her mistake led to the death of Svjetlana Zukić, 37.

A 65-year-old patient from Sarajevo encountered the sentenced doctor during a cancer operation in April.

“When I lay down on the surgery table I saw her above my head. I was in shock. I knew that she was indicted and that she was supposed to be in jail,” he told CIN. “The panic automatically seized me and I was insecure in the operation. Nothing good went through my head at the time.”

Since he’s still being treated at the Clinical Center he wanted to remain anonymous. He read about the doctor’s case in newspapers and he came to a conclusion that she should not have been working with the patients. •
The Valuable Property Holdings of Faris Gavrankapetanović

The former director of the Sarajevo Clinical Center, Faris Gavrankapetanović, and his family have acquired property worth 2 million KM over the past decade.

When he was appointed deputy minister of health of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) 15 years ago, Dr. Faris Gavrankapetanović had no property. Today he and his family own apartments, houses, business offices, a summer house and land in Sarajevo and Počitelj worth more than 2 million KM.

They own it free and clear with no mortgages, according to records collected by the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN). Those records do not answer questions about how the family’s reported income could have covered the expense of acquiring such an amount of assets, not to mention also furnishing and rehabbing the apartments and houses.

(…)At the end of last year, the Cantonal Prosecutor’s Office in Sarajevo launched an investigation into allegations that Gavrankapetanović abused his post as director of the clinical center. Prosecutors allege that his mismanagement damaged the clinic for 23.5 million KM between 2004 and 2010. He had allegedly concluded harmful public procurement contracts; he did not follow legal procedures in putting in public bids; he did not follow legal procedures in putting in public bids; he did not follow legal procedures in putting in public bids; he did not follow legal procedures in putting in public bids.

The Prosecutor’s Office also alleges that Gavrankapetarncović illegally employed 260 people at the clinic, signed management contracts with some employees improperly, and hid losses in the clinic’s financial reports. Prosecutors suspect that the director profited personally from these acts.

Soon after CIN published the story, State Prosecutor’s office announced an investigation of Gavrankapetanović and his property. Prosecutors also were to look into potential conflict of interest involved in public procurement in the Clinical Hospital of Sarajevo, during Gavrankapetanović’s tenure as Director General.

2.062.550 KM

GAVRANKAPETANOVIC’S PROPERTY HOLDINGS

1999, AN APARTMENT - Inheritance shared with family

2002, A HOUSE - owned by his mother - 96.000 KM

2004, A SUMMER HOUSE - 70.000 KM

2006, LAND - 23.400 KM

2007, LAND - 75.000 KM

2007, AN APARTMENT - paid in vouchers - 16.650 KM

2010, EX-WIFE’S APARTMENT & GARAGE - 575.000 KM

2011, A GARAGE - 10.500 KM

2012, A HOUSE AND LAND - 29.000 KM

2013, A GARAGE - 28.000 KM

2013, APARTMENT + 2 GARAGES - 124.000 KM

2013, APARTMENT, 2 GARAGES + A PANTRY - 435.000 KM

WWW.CIN.BA
Careless Food Handling Carries Health Risks

A twenty-year-old Arman Bejtula hasn’t forgotten the chicken with mayonnaise sandwich he ate at the Sarajevo restaurant-pizzeria Impuls in 2003. The next day, he ended up in a clinic where he stayed for more than a month with salmonella poisoning. Now, whenever he eats out, he asks waiters to hold the mayo.

As he talks about the fever, vomiting, weakness, diarrhea and painful bowel examinations he endured, he still wonders how it was possible to get poisoned by food from an immaculately clean restaurant with a good reputation, thanks to its salads and chicken dishes. But 14 other Impuls diners between Sept. 13-15, 2003, also ended up in clinics.

Every time you bite into food from restaurants or fast-food shops, even into home-cooked food made from ingredients bought fresh in markets, butcher shops and grocery stores, you risk the same kind of illness that struck these people.

Between May and July, reporters from the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) submitted 95 samples of food purchased from restaurant, markets and vendors in Sarajevo, Mostar and Banja Luka to the Veterinary School in Sarajevo for bacterial analysis.

It showed that just about half the samples, or 47, contained unacceptably high numbers of microbes or they contained at least one of the sentinel bacteria for food poisoning or food spoilage.

Proteus, an organism that does not induce symptoms in humans but which indicates the presence of fecal material in food, was found in 27 samples. E. coli, fecal contamination that can make people sick, was found in 26 samples.

The analysis also found lipolytic bacteria in two of the five products tested for it. These bacteria also cause no symptoms, but they can make butter and other high-milkfat foods taste funny. They indicate that the food has been kept too long or stored improperly.

Davor Alagić, senior assistant with the Department of Food Hygiene and Technology at the Veterinary School who oversaw the analysis for CIN, said the findings of proteus and E. coli, and high numbers of bacteria in 23 samples, all indicate that food handlers are not paying enough attention to the cleanliness of their hands, utensils, equipment and the premises where they prepare and sell food.

The CIN experiment, he said, demonstrates ‘a lack of respect for minimum hygienic principles.’

After CIN’s story on food safety, inspectors in both entities implemented more aggressive inspections and closed numerous restaurants as unsafe. In addition, an email was circulated listing the restaurants that had failed CIN’s independent test and a couple of restaurants on that list closed due to lack of business. In February of 2009, the Food Safety Agency director announced a plan to check food safety similarly to the manner CIN employed.

CIN Experiment Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Samples</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diary products</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice cream</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cakes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main course entrees</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indicates percent of samples with elevated number of microorganisms and/or dangerous bacteria.
Patients Fight Back as doctor Convicted in Bribe Case

For some of the desperate patients who came to him for help, Sarajevo gynecologist and obstetrician Dr. Zijad Lagumdžija represented a last hope. Remzija Džaferović, a 40-year-old mother of a teenager, had just been diagnosed with ovarian cancer and was thinking of suicide when she went to him in August 2004. Elvis and Zvjezdana Demirović hoped two years ago that he would be able to help them have the child they longed for.

But Dr. Lagumdžija disappointed these patients, they say. Because of their complaints, he is the first doctor in Bosnia-Herzegovina to be prosecuted for extortion and accepting bribes from patients. Lagumdžija was convicted by the court in late September and faces a fine of up to 10,000 KM, six months' imprisonment and the possible loss of his license to practice medicine, should a higher court uphold the verdict.

Engrossed in personal tragedies – Džaferović is dying of cancer, and the Demirovićs lost a son two days after he was born – these patients say they take no comfort in the problems they made for their doctor. But their actions have once again put a spotlight on the widespread practice in BiH of doctors soliciting patients, many of them poor and vulnerable, for extra money and the case may be helping to change the way patients interact with their doctors.

“My attorney is in charge of talking to press,” Dr. Lagumdžija said when asked about the verdict Municipal Court Judge Goran Radović delivered against him.

Last fall, when the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) asked him as part of an ongoing investigation into failings of the country’s health-care system about the bribery accusations against him, he said no patient had given him as much as a dime and that it was all a matter of misunderstanding.

It was true, he said then, that he had mentioned money, but as a co-payment patients have to pay before operations, not in the sense of a bribe.

Government Surgery for EFT’s Business Success

Stanari Lignite Mine has not been privatized, but divided in two parts. The newly incorporated EFT Group- Stanari Lignite Mine got valuable property, while the rest of the company was sent into bankruptcy.

Near Mitar Grujić’s house there are mounds of lignite, soft brownish coal from the nearby Stanari Lignite Mine. This valuable ore is guarded by security officers who limit the movement for curious passers-by. Grujić does not mind it. He is happy about the excavated ore: “I like it because of the neighborhood and the workers and these youth and myself,” says sixty-year old Grujić, who works in the mine.

The mine used to be state property, but today it belongs to a global energy trading and investment group known as the Energy Finance Team (EFT). Even though officials have touted this as a successful privatization, the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) learned that the Mine was not bought together with its debts and claims.

According to the financial and court documentation, nine years ago the mine was split in two parts. The bigger part of the property—the land, the buildings, and equipment—became property of the newly founded firm EFT Group-Stanari Lignite Mine, whose majority owner was EFT. What was left— the restaurant, not much land, debts and hard-to-collect claims, was sent into bankruptcy.

The paperwork shows that the property was sold for 10.5 million KM even though it was worth on books 28.8 million KM. Two hundred sixty-seven hectares of land were thrown in for free.

Buried beneath Stanari is at least 100 million tons of lignite, worth at least six billion KM at the current market price.

Dragan Mikerević was the RS prime minister back when the government approved these activities. He said the mine in its previous configuration was dysfunctional and hemorrhaging money.

“When you need to solve an issue, than you have to be ready, like a surgeon, to cut off an arm to save the body,” Mikerević told CIN. “At that moment you decide what you’re going to cut. This was what we decided on.”

EFT Group’s principal activities are investment and energy trading, and its main owner is the company EFT Investment Plc located in Cyprus, according to the company’s audit report. Its majority co-owners are Vuk Hamović and his son, Miloš. The older Hamović has been dubbed “the Balkan King of Power” in various media reports.
Serbian businessman Vuk Hamović has parlayed skill in the complicated world of debt and energy trading into one of the biggest fortunes in Eastern Europe, but investigators in four countries are trying to determine if Hamović and his company Energy Financing Team used something more than business acumen to win so many contracts and earn such a fortune.

The results of two investigations, one in the U.S. and one in Britain, are expected to be announced shortly.

Hamović and his firm Energy Financing Team (EFT) have consistently denied any wrongdoing.

Besides the investigations of EFT by the UK Serious Fraud Office (SFO) and the prosecutor’s office of the Court of BiH, the Center for Investigative Reporting (CIN) has learned that the Inspector General of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is also conducting an investigation. In addition, a Serbian prosecutor has ordered a pre-investigation of EFT’s work with the Serbian national utility Elektroprivreda Serbia (EPS).

Prosecutors from the Special Department for Organized Crime, Economic Crimes and Corruption of the Prosecutors Office of BiH are focusing on a number of irregularities including a series of purchases of debt made by Hamović in 1999 and 2000 in the name of GML International, a London-based investment company that specializes in trading debt, according to its website. Hamović served as a director of the company until March 2003.

Jonathan Ratel, international prosecutor for that BiH office, issued an Order for Conducting an Investigation in 2003 which targeted Hamović along with Slobodan Mrdić and Svetozar Acimović, former director generals of Elektroprivreda RS (EPRS), and Boško Lemez, former Minister of Industry, Energy and Mining in the RS government. In the order, the prosecutor wrote that there was evidence the three officials may have committed crimes including abuse of office, signing damaging contracts, revealing business secrets and giving and receiving bribes.

A Murder Plotted and Paid For in a Revolving Restaurant According to an Indictment

An indictment against Naser Kalmendi mentions Fahrudin Radončić, Ekrem Lekić, Senad Sahinpašić Šaja and Naser Orić as members of his organized group.

The dark and twisted Avaz tower that looms over Sarajevo is the headquarters of Fahrudin Radončić, an intense and dapper media mogul who is running for president of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Across the city rises another Radončić tower, the glass-and-white Radon Plaza Hotel, where in the spring of 2006, Radončić began meeting with assorted mobsters to plot the assassination of gangster Ramiz “Ćelo” Delalić. The plotters were upset that Delalić was cutting into their criminal profits—and for other reasons.

By the summer of 2007, Delalić was dead, pumped full of bullets one midnight outside a Sarajevo apartment building.

These allegations and others are spelled out in a 49-page indictment handed up in Kosovo in the curious case of Naser Kelmendi, an ethnic Albanian who has lived for years in Sarajevo yet has spent the past year in jail in Kosovo.

Rumor and business deals have linked Radončić and Kelmendi for years, but the indictment spells out for the first time the reasons behind those links and states flatly that Radončić was Kelmendi’s “business partner and political protector” in Sarajevo.

Radončić trumpets the fact that he himself was not indicted but only named in the indictment as a member of a criminal organization—which, he says, isn’t true. This until recently minister of security of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) denied all charges and announced the legal battle to prove it.

Prosecutors have asked that Kelmendi be kept in custody for fear he will try to flee, intimidate witnesses or destroy evidence. The indictment focuses on two main areas: Delalić’s murder, and what prosecutors say was Kelmendi’s major business from 2000 to 2012—trafficking large amounts of drugs from Afghanistan and Turkey into Europe.

Kelmendi is expected to stand trial in Kosovo in October—by coincidence, the
very month in which Radončić hopes to win the BiH presidency. Prosecutors say the two are linked by convoluted business interests and criminal activities, including the murder of Delalić, and that it will all be proved at trial.

A major witness in the indictment is Šejla Jugo Turković, wife of convicted mobster Zijad Turković and a former television journalist who was once Radončić’s trusted assistant. In an interview with the Center for Investigative Reporting (CIN) and Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP), she gives a detailed account of the meetings and events that led up to Delalić’s death.

Kelmendi: a Businessman on a Living Wage

Naser Kelmendi has acquired property worth 6 million KM on a salary that averaged 360 KM a month and a number of money-losing firms in Sarajevo.

Balkan businessman Naser Kelmendi—who law enforcement agencies in the region depict as the leader of a powerful criminal organization—has reported earning a minimal wage in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). He also owns companies around Sarajevo but they all lose money.

Kelmendi has placed himself on the list of employees of his Hotel Casa Grande in a Sarajevo suburb of Ilidža, with a monthly salary of around 360 KM, according to the documents the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) has acquired.

He left it during the 1992-1995 war and came back in 1998 when he received Bosnian citizenship. Until 2006, there is no record of his paying income tax. Meanwhile, his assets have increased substantially.

Between 1999 and 2009, he bought real property in Sarajevo for almost 1.7 million KM. Along with this, his Adolado ice cream factory, was estimated to be worth nearly 4.3 million KM.

The Court of BiH ordered Kelmendi’s hotel, four houses and an apartment frozen in June. His factory in the suburb of Hadžići near Sarajevo was not frozen because a firm incorporated by his half-brother Bećir Kelmendi has claimed it.

The BiH Prosecutor’s Office wrote in its request to freeze his assets that Kelmendi bought his properties with narcotics proceeds. He was arrested in Priština this May after prosecutors sent Interpol the paperwork incriminating him in the murder of Ramiz Delalić Ćelo and drug smuggling.

The Sarajevo Canton Prosecutor’s Office interrogated Kelmendi in the summer of 2007 under the same allegations. He denied any connection to Ćelo’s murder, and he said he had never dealt in drugs, that he hated drugs and everything connected to them. He described himself as a businessman who dealt in hospitality and ice cream.

However, these two businesses brought no profit to Kelmendi that explains his real property spree in Sarajevo.
Cantonal police of Sarajevo seized the firearm permits and weapons of Naser Kelmendi. They sent notices to all police agencies in the country to seize the arms and permits of his two sons. The action, they said, was based on CIN’s story which mentioned Kelmendi’s arrest history, which goes back to a 1976 sentence of 18 months in prison for attempted murder in Pec, Kosovo. The research and the subsequent story pointed out that such an arrest should, under the law, disqualify Kelmendi from holding a firearms permit. In addition, the Indirect Tax Institution of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), based on CIN stories, initiated an investigation to determine the value of imported armored jeeps Kelmendi associates ordered from the US in 2006.

Smuggling Infiltrates the Balkans

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is a cog in the regional tobacco smuggling machine, but even that machine is part of a larger global tobacco smuggling trade. Some 600 billion cigarettes are illegally manufactured or smuggled worldwide per year – the equivalent of one pack out of every ten. Along with the Balkans, other hotspots of the illegal trade include China, Malaysia, the United Arab Emirates, the Ciudad del Este region of Paraguay and others.

Balkan organized crime groups smuggle cigarettes for both local consumption and sale in the lucrative markets of Western Europe. The World Health Organization says that one in three cigarettes in BiH is illegal and one in eleven cigarettes in Western Europe.

According to the Framework Convention Alliance, a group of 300 organizations seeking to curb the problem, governments worldwide lose $50 billion in lost taxes. The situation that makes smuggling possible is the huge discrepancies in price between Southeast Europe and Western Europe. A pack of Marlboros that sell for 3 KM in BiH sells for between 10 and 15 KM in most large European cities. The difference is largely due to taxes that are low or easily avoided in most Southeast European countries. Local brands are also smuggled within the region to exploit tax differences between countries.

A Chance for Judiciary to Recover a Failing Grade

Mate Šimić, a car dealer from Grude, was arrested again after the BiH Prosecutor’s Office changed a prosecutor on the case under the police pressure.

On April 18, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) police arrested Mato and Blago Šimić because they allegedly planned an assassination of Zoran Galić, the police commissioner of Zapadna Herzegovina Canton (ZHK). The Šimić brothers who own a car scrap yard in Grude, are also suspected of organizing a skunk drug ring from Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) to Croatia according to the state Prosecutor’s Office.

Information on the preparation of the assassination of the police commissioner has rejuvenated an investigation against 47-year old Mato Šimić that had lingered for three months.

The brothers and eight of their collaborators were arrested on Dec. 17, 2012 during a major police bust against car stealing mafia in the Western Herzegovina. However, a day later all of the suspects were released from jail.

The state prosecutor Saša Sarajlić signed a release order despite the police’s warning that Šimić might tamper with witnesses or hide evidence and in this way endanger the investigation.

This is why the Federation Police
Authority (FUP) filed a complaint with the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council (VSTV) in BiH against Sarajlić. The complaint alleges that the prosecutor did not interrogate the suspects, even though was obliged to do it within 24 hours, according to the Law on Criminal Procedure. "His release caused a wholesale panic and distress of public across the West Herzegovina Canton", said Dragan Lukač, director of FUP, adding that this decision has caused an irreparable damage to the operation code-named Meteor. Lukač told The Center for Investigative Reporting (CIN) that the Šimićs are reoffenders in the organized crime, have a reputation of trigger-happy persons, causing arson, intimidating witnesses and assaulting police officers and judges. •

Since 1991, at least 23 criminal reports for serious crimes have been filed against Mato Šimić. Yet, he did not spend more than a few months in jail. (Photo: CIN)

Balkan Share Traders Endangered German Stock Exchange

Most people would just say “nein” and hang up.

But, if you called 40 or 50 firms across Europe offering employees the opportunity of a lifetime, it was enough that only a few people answered “ja” to earn an enormous amount of money.

Police say that was the formula brothers Zoran and Goran Samardžija followed as owners of the Dunmorr Group AG, a firm incorporated in Switzerland, that set up a network of illegal call centers in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) last year to trade in shares on the German stock exchange. Every day, a dozen workers in these call centers, using fictitious names of persons and firms, dialed residents of the European Union (EU) promising easy riches.

The overall scheme, known as a boiler room scam, worked like this. Dunmorr would buy large amounts of shares in worthless firms that their Bosnian employees then offered en mass to EU buyers. They artificially generated interest in their shoddy shares which then led to their fast rise in value on the stock exchange. After the sales frenzy, interest in the shares slumped again and the shares quickly lost value.

The naive buyers were left, unable to sell their worthless shares to anyone else.

The German Federal Financial Supervisory Authority wrote in a 2011 report that the number of complaints about manipulation of shares rose nearly 50 percent compared to the year before. Numerous instances of fraud were related to shares Dunmorr was trading, the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) has learned.

The stock exchange was powerless to stop the trade under existing rules that allow for free-wheeling trades through a First Quotation Board, a low regulation exchange service offered by the Deutsche Borse. Exchange officials, citing market manipulation, have since announced the closure of the service in its current form and said changes and new rules will go into effect at the end of the year.

Exchange officials say that it is not their job to uncover fraud in share trading. Instead, suspicions about criminal offenses go to police and prosecutors. They have no records about the exact losses buyers of controversial shares have suffered.

Over the past month, CIN reporters analyzed dozens of ownership and stock exchange documents, and interviewed defrauded buyers of shares, their lawyers, and former Dunmorr employees, to understand the scope of the fraud. •
The leadership of the Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) Football Association has stayed in power for years thanks to the system that first put it there.

The way in which people are appointed at various levels of the association creates a framework that offers a select few multiple positions, broad support among people at different levels and a process that starts at such a local level that it makes change at the top almost impossible.

Entry into the association network is at the municipal, cantonal or district level. After these come the entity level and finally the state level at the top.

Clubs, even though some are vocal critics of the statewide association, have a role in naming the officials they later criticize.

According to Avdo Kalajdžić, until recently a coach of Mostar’s Velež, the crucial issue is that politics have tainted the sport. He said that people are chosen for many reasons, but not for their managerial qualities, and that oversight eventually damages the association’s ability to manage and administer a strong football program.

Connections Keep Officials in Power

At a special session of the assembly, the delegates supported the executive board. Members of both bodies come from cantonal and district associations.

Montenegrins may have been surprised late last year to learn that the global financial crisis had arrived in their tiny Balkan country. Newspapers, the Internet, and even a James Bond film painted Montenegro as the Monte Carlo of Eastern Europe. The nation’s mountainous, tree-lined coast, medieval walled cities, and stone ruins set the scene for a boom in luxury hotels and private villas.

In December, the administration of Prime Minister Milo Đukanović announced that Montenegro would bail out First Bank (Prva banka), one of the country’s largest financial institutions and a major investor in the Montenegrin boom. First Bank is majority owned by Đukanović, two siblings, and a close friend.

Members of local watchdog groups, opposition parties, and journalists say this is just another example of the government’s interests aligning with the financial interests of the first family. They say their small country — fewer than 700,000 people in less space than the U.S. state of Connecticut — seems at times like the private corporation of the prime minister and his family. With Đukanović’s political party handily winning elections at the end of March, the prime minister is expected to remain in power for another two years.

‘Montenegro is a lawless country’ charges Milka Tadić, editor of the country’s influential Monitor magazine. ‘And if you are part of the government or close to its circles you can do whatever you want.’

Đukanović has amassed a level of wealth that is hard to explain given his meager government salary over the years. Some believe his wealth stems from his days in the tobacco smuggling

Đukanović’s Montenegro a Family Business

Photo by Montenegrin daily Vijesti
Nothing for Something

The full-page newspaper advertisement running nationwide this fall sounds great, promising Bosnia-Herzegovinan (BiH) students hungry for a prestigious American university degree that they can get one almost effortlessly.

Century University USA sounded like an even better deal when reporters for the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) called this month, posing as interested students. They could, they were told, ‘earn’ undergraduate or advanced degrees without taking classes, studying, passing exams or doing much homework. They could get credit just for having lived and college professors would be at their service to write their papers.

The cost: $4,600 for a bachelors degree, $4,800 for a masters and $5,800 for a Ph.D.

The only problem is that Century diplomas are essentially worthless. They are not accepted for most state service positions in BiH or for any positions through the U.S. Civil Service Branch, which hires government bureaucrats.

But the CIN reporters posing as students were told that large numbers of employers, especially overseas, don’t look all that closely at degrees anyway.

The public must beware of offers like those from Century University, because as bogus as their degrees may be, there is nothing illegal about offering them.

Century University, set up in 1978, is not accredited by any agency recognized by the U.S. Department of Education, meaning there is no intendant oversight of the quality of its courses or its faculty, or even if they have any.

Business. Italian prosecutors place the prime minister at the center of a conspiracy by Montenegrin officials and the Italian Mafia that allegedly smuggled huge quantities of cigarettes for about 10 years starting in the 1990s, although prosecutors did not specifically allege that Dukanović profited personally from smuggling.

Allegations of corruption are attracting interest outside Montenegro these days, as the country is making a bid to join the European Union. Although the EU is satisfied Montenegro is making progress, EU Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn told a Montenegrin television station in December that corruption and organized crime are the primary obstacles to the country joining the EU.

Dukanović declined to comment for this story, and has said little beyond cursory denials when various allegations of wrongdoing have surfaced over the years. Instead he has vigorously confronted his accusers in court, filing and winning defamation lawsuits against media in his homeland, Serbia, and Croatia. Last year he won a €20,000 judgment against Vijesti, the country’s largest independent newspaper, and its publisher Željko Ivanović, who was badly beaten and had suggested that Dukanović and his family were behind the attack. When the Croatian weekly Nacional published an unflattering article in 2001, Dukanović countered by suing not only that publication, but also media outlets that reprinted the story, according to Reporters Without Borders.

CIN wrote about a person who said he represented an American correspondence university and was promising students could earn university degrees including masters and Ph.Ds in months. The representative promised, for a fee, to get professors to write papers for students. After the series ran, the university stopped advertising, closed its offices and disappeared.
Labor Inspectors See Job as Pointless

Labor inspectors weren’t much help to 28-year-old clerk Mirela Tasić. They rarely visited the Sarajevo food store where she worked for five years as an unregistered worker. When they did, they usually ended up at a nearby hotel being treated to lunch by the store owner. Tasić said she took the job knowing she would not be registered but the boss promised her for months that he would make her official soon and would begin paying contributions toward her health insurance and pension.

Labor inspectors are supposed to help workers like Tasić, one of more than 240,000 people who are part of an informal and unprotected black market of labor in Bosnia and Herzegovina. But the inspectors say they don’t have the equipment, the power or the trust of workers to do much.

They describe their jobs as impossible and without much purpose.

Police corruption: Reality vs. Perception

The public ranks the police as one of the most corrupt parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) society, along with the government and the health care industry, according to various polls.

Police say they don’t deserve their negative image.

‘Corruption is not as pervasive as people tend to think’ said Midhat Huremović, head of the Internal Affairs

Srđan Blagovčanin of TI BiH said citizens do not report bad cops because they think police won’t do anything about it.
Unit of the Ministry of Interior in Tuzla Canton (MUP TK).

To find out, the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) requested records of citizen complaints against police officers from departments across BiH. Not all departments had or were willing to give this information and some gave information with errors in it. The data CIN did collect shows that some 2,000 to 2,700 complaints a year are officially filed by citizens or police reporting problems with colleagues. That works out on average to one complaint for every seven officers.

Srdan Blagovčanin, a spokesperson for Transparency International BiH (TI BiH) which regularly surveys citizens on their perception of corruption, said the statistics likely underestimate the true extent of citizen anger.

Blagovčanin said citizens who witness corruption often do not file complaints because they already believe police are corrupt and won’t do anything.

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Last year, inspired by the TI BiH corruption survey, members of the Alumni Association of Sarajevo Criminologists did their own study of police and citizens in both entities.

They found that one in four motorists polled admitted bribing police. However, only one in fifty police in the study admitted to taking bribes.

Witnesses Not Enough to Indict SIPA Inspector

Witnesses to a horrific crash about 11 months ago in the village of Janjići that killed one person and injured five others, three so badly they are permanently disabled, all say the same thing: it was the fault of a State Agency for Security and Investigation (SIPA) inspector.

He denies it.

The witnesses and the family of the dead woman wonder if investigation of the accident has stalled because a SIPA inspector is involved in it. Centrotrans bus driver Sejad Memišević suggests carefully that the investigation is not really aimed at figuring out blame. ‘Maybe’ he said, ‘it is aimed to forget about everything.’

Officials deny this. Still, about 11 months later, a prosecutor says she doesn’t know when or if she’ll indict anyone.

Witnesses are clear in their mind and agree what happened last July 7. They say SIPA inspector Njegoš Poljaković, driving a Gulf IV, overtook a line of cars in front of him on State Road M17, near Zenica. They say that while passing back into his own lane he clipped an oncoming Opel Astra, carrying three people. As he sped away, the driver of the Opel, who had been trying to avoid him, lost control and crashed into the front of an Audi 80 filled with five people, spun and hit it in the back as well.

The witnesses told all this to Ministry of Interior of the Zenica-Doboj Canton (MUP ZDK) investigators who filed a report with the cantonal prosecutor’s office. But SIPA told prosecutors that their inspector doesn’t remember hitting any car. His police vehicle was examined and while it was damaged, a court expert could not determine if it was the result of coming into contact with the Opel.

For the victims of the crash, it’s been a hard year.
In a tiny Bosnia-Herzegovinan town made famous by a series of mysterious appearances that began a quarter-century ago, some unexplained disappearances recently are getting attention.

Since 2001, seven Catholic pilgrims who came to share in the religious miracles reported at Medjugorje have dropped suddenly out of sight. Five later turned up dead and two, including 59-year-old Winifred Brady of Dublin who arrived in early September, remain missing.

Church, municipal and police officials disagree on who should shoulder responsibility for insuring that the half-million to 1.5 million visitors a year who come into BiH’s biggest tourist draw stay safe; instead they do agree that with all those visitors, unfortunately, some deaths are to be expected.

That is not an expectation in other European cities that pilgrims travel to.

‘Oh my God’ said Dina Simoes, a spokeswoman for the Shrine of Fatima in Portugal, when asked about seven people who had gone missing in Medjugorje. ‘That’s completely unusual here. I’ve never heard of that here.’ Since 1917, when three shepherd children said the Virgin Mary appeared six times to them, more than 4 million visitors a year, many of them elderly or sick, visit Fatima.

Lourdes, France, where 14-year-old peasant girl Bernadette Soubirous had 18 visions of the Virgin Mary in 1858, attracts up to 6 million pilgrims a year, many of them the seriously ill and in search of healing. ‘It’s never happened in Lourdes’ said Frank Delahaye, communications director for the Lourdes Tourist Office, ‘never, no.’

Pilgrims come to find God, but get lost in Medjugorje

International Judge has Controversial Past

Of the eight international judges selected for the new War Crimes Chamber in the State Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Gerald Gahima of Rwanda has credentials the others do not.

He has known the politics of war crimes as a high government official and as a victim. His father was crucified in an ethnic hate crime in 1961.

His experience with war crimes cases as Rwanda’s prosecutor general from 1999 to 2003 gave him an advantage in selection under the new Chamber’s hiring guidelines.

But Gahima also suddenly left his country in February 2004 in a controversy he has steadfastly refused to talk about.

Just before he left, Gahima resigned as Vice-President of the Rwandan Supreme Court, one month after being appointed, citing personal reasons. He left questions about personal and business debts of more than 330 million Rwandan francs (RWF), or 603,000 USD and allegations of misuse of authority by the National Rwandan Human Rights Commission, which were never acted on by the Rwandan government.

Gahima has never been officially investigated or charged with any wrongdoing. But the allegations were discussed in the local and international press, and by international organizations.

Allegations of improprieties, political and financial, against public officials are
The international judge resigned under pressure after CIN explored his background and qualifications. CIN demonstrated that the Court and the Office of the High Representative had failed to do a background search of the judge.

The country has four distinct and autonomous legal systems that are redundant and duplicative.

- It can take a decade or longer for even a simple case to work its way through the court system.
- Most, if not all courts are inundated with a flood of new cases, compounding existing log jams of unresolved cases and rendering speedy trials impossible.

Transparency International found in a 2007 report that, "The fact that there is no single structure of courts, has significant impact on the work and efficiency of the judicial system.'

At the entity level, courts look like miniatures of most national court systems. There are two parallel systems of municipal/basic and cantonal/district levels, and supreme courts. Municipal/basic cases are appealed to the cantonal/district courts and cantonal/district cases end in the supreme courts. The supreme courts have the final word on appeals unless there is a human rights element to a case, in which case it can be appealed finally to the BiH Constitutional Court. Each entity also has a constitutional court that hears cases regarding the constitutionality of laws, decisions and processes.

In the Brčko District, two courts – a basic and appeals court – accomplish all the chores of the three-court system. In the Brčko District, two courts – a basic and appeals court – accomplish all the chores of the three-court system.

Above all, and completely separate, is the Constitutional Court of BiH, which hears cases involving constitutional rights similar to those of the entities, but on the state level. This court is also charged with hearing appeals with a constitutional element from all of the lower courts – a responsibility that has caused its own case log jam and, some say, interferes with its work on its primary directive.

Finally, the Court of BiH was created by the Office of the High Representative and is staffed by national and international jurists to handle cases of war crimes and organized crime.

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**A Cobbled Together Justice System**

The Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is part of a Frankenstein monster of a judicial system, cobbled together in post-war BiH from parts of the old Yugoslav system, the Dayton Peace Agreement and bits and pieces added by international donors. The result is a confusing, dysfunctional justice system that too often poorly serves its citizens.

Consider these laments by some of the 40 people involved with the courts that the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) interviewed for these stories:

- The country has four distinct and autonomous legal systems that are not unusual in the highly politicized east African country, which is still recovering from a genocidal eruption between Tutsi and Hutu residents that left up to a million dead in 1994.

A U.S. State Department report published in February cited allegations of misuse of office in personal bank transactions against Gahima, which, the report said, led to his resignation.

Meanwhile, the man responsible for vetting Gahima and other candidates to High Representative (HR) Paddy Ashdown, admitted that although Gahima’s credentials were questioned, the Office of the High Representative (OHR) never investigated his background before his March appointment. Michael Johnson, the American registrar overseeing parts of the BiH court, said he has investigated the allegations, and they must be considered in the context of Rwandan politics.

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**BiH’s Complex Structure for Justice**

![BiH’s Complex Structure for Justice Diagram]

Source: High Judiciary and Prosecutors’ Council of BiH

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**Human Rights Appeals Only**

- Constitutional Court of BiH
- Court of BiH
- Supreme Court of FBiH
- Constitutional Court of FBiH
- Supreme Court of RS
- Constitutional Court of RBiH
- Appeals Court of Brčko District
- Basic Court of Brčko District
- 28 municipal courts
- 10 cantonal courts
- 5 district courts
- 19 basic courts

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33
Courts in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) are spending increasing amounts for court-appointed attorneys, to the benefit of a small clique. Some of the attorneys and inmates that reporters from the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) interviewed said that in some cases judges have been suggesting or outright selecting attorneys from the court appointed attorney list. However, they offer scant evidence to support this claim.

CIN collected data from 41 courts between 2005 and 2010 and found that they spent at least 32 million KM on court-appointed defenses. The full amount spent could not be calculated because 32 courts failed to respond to CIN’s requests and another 13 courts submitted incomplete data.

The highest paid court-appointed defense attorney for the past six years is Omar Mehmedbašić, whose total revenue amounted to 864,000 KM. Izet Baždarević was next with 548,000 KM and Selman Zijadić with 530,000 KM.

According to available data, among the 10 lawyers with the highest earnings are four from Sarajevo: Tarik Čingić, Muhidin Kapo, Midhat Kočo and Mirza Kovač. The rest of the top 10 are: Vesna Tupajić-Škiljević from Sokolac, Ranko Dakić from Prijedor and Petko Pavlović from Srebrenica. They have earned between 250,000 KM and 450,000 KM.

Not all lawyers are that successful. Some 85 percent of lawyers or 753 of those from the list earned less than 50,000 KM in six years.

Extra Profit for Court Appointed Attorneys

Camping Around Fire Instead of Going to Prison

ževad Rado, a deputy in the Sarajevo Canton Assembly and a member of the Alliance for Better Future, will never serve a six-month prison sentence he received in 2006 for causing a traffic accident that killed one and injured two people.

After postponing the sentenced passed by the Supreme Court of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) for more than three and half years he eventually was pardoned.

Reporters from the Center for Investigative Reporting (CIN) in Sarajevo found at least one example in which he had obtained the postponement of sentence based on erroneous facts.

According to the Laws on Execution of Penal Sanctions, convicts may delay start of their sentences or even stop serving a sentence in progress. In their judicial appeals, they can argue for stays of execution of sentence on grounds of illness, a university exam, a death in the family or inability to support their family. An appeal must be accompanied by a body of evidence, but judges CIN interviewed said that this evidence is rarely reviewed.

After CIN broke the story on pro-bono lawyers, showing that a few lawyers were pocketing huge amounts of money in Sarajevo, the Court of BiH initiated an automated selection process to stop favoritism. Further, based on this initiative, the list of available pro-bono lawyers began to be revised every three months. The High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council (HJPC) created a software for an automated selection of pro-bono lawyers distributed to all courts in BiH to prevent potential influence of clerk and guards over defendants.
According to data CIN collected from 41 municipal and basic courts in BiH during January and February of 2011, 1,875 persons were waiting to serve prison sentences. Of these 152 had appealed to put off the start of their sentence while the rest were waiting for a place to come available or were at large. According to the two entity justice ministers, there were 317 available places in 12 BiH prisons at the end of 2010.

The Murder or Suicide of Judge Trbojević

Tatjana Trbojević, daughter of the late Banja Luka judge Mirjana Trbojević, recalls the evening her mother’s life ended.

The mother of two was spending a leisurely evening at home after returning from a walk in the mountains. She was peeling a melon for a fruit salad. She put the peels into a bag and opened the door to the hallway where the family temporarily left garbage.

Then, if the Republika Srpska (RS)’s leading court forensic expert is to be believed, she dropped a hand grenade at her feet and killed herself.

Her children say their mother was murdered.

She left no note or indication why she would commit suicide. Family and friends called Trbojević happy, financially secure and successful. She had that evening made an appointment with her hairdresser for the next morning, and was looking forward to an upcoming trip to London. She left her daughter listening to music in the bedroom. Her daughter later found her shrapnel-laden corpse in the hall.

Forensics expert Željko Karan, who arrived at that scene four years ago, later conducted an autopsy and wrote in a report that Trbojević’s death was ‘a suicide or a murder.’ He added, it ‘seemed closer to a suicide.’ He favored suicide ‘considering the location of the blast and the pathological changes to the body’ according to the report.

‘She had placed the grenade on the concrete and bent over’ Karan said in a recent interview with reporters for the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN). ‘I was at the event. I was on the spot. I know where the blast took place. I know where the body was. I know what the scale of shrapnel was across the room. I know what the pattern of shrapnel was over the body. I had enough elements to prove that.’

A Case of Extreme Domestic Violence

A marriage ended with a fatal blast of bullets in a small east Bosnia-Herzegovina town three years ago.

No one seems to have foreseen that Petar Stjepanović would fire a gun five times at his 41-year-old wife Marica. Not their three daughters or their neighbors, not her mother or her sister or her lover. And not the social worker who persuaded her to try and talk things over with her estranged husband.

After the tragedy played out no one worried about why or how it might have been prevented.

‘Too bad it happened’ said social worker Matija Vlačić, ‘but it’s done and over now.’

Domestic violence continues to be a serious problem in BiH and women like Marica are dying because of it. In 2004 and 2005, 2,191 cases of domestic violence were reported to ministries of the interior (MUP) in the two entities. But they admit, and experts concur, that 90 percent of cases go unreported.

This murder in Šekovići suggests some of the reasons why this is so: a lack of outrage, traditional beliefs about family honor and the subordination of women, misunderstandings about what prompts violence against family members and inadequate help for women who find themselves in trouble.
Some of the nearly 600 children placed with foster families in BiH have been raped, physically abused or neglected.

It seemed like any other foster home for children. But behind the closed doors of a house in the street formerly known as Archibald Rice in Gradiška girls who were supposed to get help were repeatedly raped for years.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) oversight of foster care — placing minors in the private homes of a state-certified caregiver — is so loose that children have been put into homes where they have been abused, neglected and undernourished. At least 589 children in BiH are placed in foster families, according to the records that the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo (CIN) have received from the social work departments of 136 municipalities and no single register of all the foster homes in BiH and the children sent to them is kept anywhere.

Friends of the foster family in Gradiška thought everything seemed normal and the two girls sent there looked happy. They called the couple they lived with mom and dad.

Only much later did it come out that their biological son, then in elementary school, had repeatedly raped them, starting in 2003 when they were 7 and 9 years old, through 2006.

When the parents found this out, they beat him and told him to stop. They also beat the girls with a belt, a pole and a broom’s handle and threatened them not to talk about the rapes to anyone.

The case was eventually exposed and prosecuted. It took six years to reach a verdict sentencing the foster parents for negligence and abuse of minors. They were also fined 2,000 KM. An appeal is pending. The son was not charged with rape. Court records show that the Center for Social Work in Gradiška broke off a contract with the couple as soon as the case was exposed.

The Dear Cost of Having Roof over your Head

A house in Gradiška in which a foster family lived keeps a secret about the repeated rape of girls. (Photo: CIN)

1. USC Annenberg Scholl of Communication Online Journalism Award 2007 – Small Sites for series of stories “Danger on Your Plate”
2. Vecernji List Award – Media Stamp 2007
3. Transparency International BiH Award for Journalism Integrity 2007
4. Renovabis: Journalistenpreis Osteuropa 2008 for story on Small and Medium Enterprises in BiH
5. Thompson Reuters Foundation & Media center Sarajevo Award for Best Story on Governance and Corruption, 2012
6. Annual Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award 2012 for International Social Media for story “Camping around Fire instead of Going to prison”
7. Award for the best corruption reporting in 2013 from the Anti-Corruption Network in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH ACCOUNT) for The Former Head of UIO BiH Owns a Million in Assets
8. SEEMO / CEI Award for Investigative Reporting in 2013 for Balkan Share Traders Endangered German Stock Exchange
9. UNICEF prize award for the special journalistic contribution on the promotion and protection of children’s rights in 2013 went to Writing Cyrilic and Reading Latin.
10. A special UNICEF mention for the journalistic contribution on the promotion and protection of children’s rights in 2013 went to How Music Woke up Stolac and Ballet Shook up Mostar
11. July 2014. USAID journalism award on the issue of foster children for a story, “The Dear Cost Of Having Roof Over Your Head.” The award was part of the USAID project on strengthening government institutions and reforms in BiH.
13. July 2014. ACCOUNT, anti-corruption network in BiH, gave an award for the best video about corruption to a documentary “Policemen And/Or Criminals”.
14. SEEMO / CEI award for investigative reporting for young journalists 2014., for story „The Dear Cost of Having a Roof over your Head“. 
Tribute to Don Pine

Donald Pine co-founded CIN in 2004 with his former Associated Press colleague Drew Sullivan, then became its first editor. The journalistic model CIN pioneered and the newsroom training methods Pine developed have been widely copied since then in investigative centers around Eastern Europe, Latin America and Asia. In the early days of CIN Pine was frustrated in training his new staff of Bosnian reporters. They simply didn’t understand what he was talking about when he demanded scene-setters and nut-graphs. He realized that theirs was an entirely different background and training from his. So, he set about breaking down the tasks of writing, reporting, even thinking of story ideas into templates and clear steps to be followed exactly. His work was simple yet innovative. Reporters who’d never done investigations were soon working on national level projects. Pine, fun of energy and weirdness and fiercely dedicated to CIN introduced the high investigative reporting standards into the BiH media scene that CIN has always stood for. CIN reporters still quote some of the lessons they learned from Pine and editors who worked with him still use his methods.

“Don Pine played an important role at an important time in the founding of CIN. He took on a very difficult job and handled it with determination and humor,” said Sullivan.

Pine first came to Bosnia in 2001 under an IREX program to consult at Nezavisne Novine in Banja Luka. In 2003, Sullivan and Pine formed the Journalism Development Group starting CIN under a grant from USAID. Before Bosnia, Pine worked for the Associated Press, Oakland Tribune, and Miami New Times. He helped start APBNNews, an early Internet startup that was a casualty of the dot.com bust. At the AP, he redesigned and rebuilt that organization’s news research library bringing in technology to replace an old paper archive. He got his start in the 1980s at the Easy Reader, a popular free newspaper in Los Angeles where he worked his way up from reporter to editor.

Pine died of cancer in December 2013.
Board of Directors

Rosemary Armao

Rosemary Armao is a Journalism/Communication professor at the State University of New York at Albany and has worked with CIN and OCCRP since nearly their beginnings, serving as an editor, project manager and consultant. She is a former executive director of Investigative Reporters & Editors and president of the Journalism and Women’s Symposium. She has spent 40 years as a reporter, editor, educator/training and media development consultant, working in nearly 20 countries in Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe. She is a former managing editor of a New York Times regional newspaper and has worked in editorial positions for the Baltimore Sun and Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel. She has written about media development for the Center for International Media Assistance.

Aida Ćerkez

Aida Ćerkez is a journalist and has been reporting from Bosnia-Herzegovina for the Associated Press for the past 20 years and is the agency’s chief of bureau in Sarajevo. She has master’s degree in Peace Research and Communications and has been involved in the work of the Center for Investigative Journalism since it was founded.

Mehmed Halilović

Mehmed Halilović is Legal Advisor for the Internews SIM project. He has contributed to the development of the media sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina for over three decades as a journalist and over one decade as an ombudsman for media in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He was editor-in-chief of the Bosnian daily Oslobođenje from 1994 to 1999. Prior to that, he worked as a commentator for the same newspaper (1986-1994) and as editor of the international news section (1983-1988). He was full-time Middle East correspondent, based in Cairo, from 1978 to 1983. He also published articles in leading international newspapers from Switzerland, Sweden, Germany, Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Mr. Halilović was the president of the Independent Union of Professional Journalists from the time it was established in 1994 until 1997. From 1996 to 1998 he was Chairman of the Board of the Soros Foundation in Sarajevo. Mr. Halilović has been a trainer in numerous courses and workshops for journalists and public officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region. He is also an active participant in many local and international conferences on the media, ethics in journalism and professional education.

Nebojša Milanović

Nebojša Milanović is a lawyer and long-time legal consultant to non-governmental organizations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He is a graduate of the Sarajevo Law School and he passed the bar exam in 1991. Following seven years he spent working for government agencies, in 1998 he joined the OSCE mission in BiH. In 2000 he began working as a lawyer for ABA/CEELI on legal reform programs for BiH. Since 2008, he has worked as a lawyer/advocate in Banja Luka and as a legal consultant for a number of non-governmental organizations, including Transparency International.
Ivar Amundsen has been heavily committed for the destiny of Bosnia Herzegovina and its people ever since the war started in 1992. He formed a Norwegian lobby organization “La Bosnia Leve” (Let Bosnia Live), while working internationally through board membership of a George Soros organization “The Action Council for Peace in the Balkans”. He was concentrating on awakening and mobilizing the international community for a responsible and moral action to restore peace, justice, security and human rights in the region. Today, Mr Amundsen is deeply concerned about the future of BiH and the current adverse political framework within Dayton, seemingly serving to divide rather than assemble the people and politicians for common causes. He is persist in the processes that will be needed to make necessary changes allowing for a functional, sustainable and successful Bosnia Herzegovina to move forward towards success and its natural place within the European community.

Drew Sullivan, President of the Board, is a veteran journalist and media development specialist who has worked for almost a decade in Eastern Europe and Eurasia. He founded the Center for Investigative Reporting in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2004 and served as director, editor and now advising editor to the organization. He co-founded and served as the first director of the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Program, a regional consortium of investigative centers, where he now serves as advising editor. He founded the Journalism Development Network, an innovative media development organization with programs worldwide. His work has been awarded the Daniel Pearl Award, the Online Journalism Award for investigative reporting, the Global Shining Light Award for reporting under duress, the Tom Renner award for Crime Reporting and many other international awards. He worked as an investigative reporter for the Tennessean newspaper in Nashville and for the Special Assignment Team of the Associated Press in New York. He has served on the board of directors of Investigative Reporters and Editors and the National Institute for Computer Assisted Reporting. Before becoming a journalist, he was an aerospace engineer on the Space Shuttle Project for Rockwell International Space Systems.

Milenko Vočkić is editor in chief at Radio Free Europe in Bosnia-Herzegovina. His journalism carrier began at Radio Sarajevo, after he graduated from the Journalism School of Sarajevo. Between 1989 and 1995 he was editor in chief at Radio Sarajevo. He was a founder and the first editor in chief of BH Radio 1. Between 2007 and 2009 he was director of RTV BH. He has participated at numerous conferences and seminars on journalism and media. He was also a lecturer at the Journalism High School of the Media Plan institute in BiH. He received a number of awards for his radio journalism in the days of the former Yugoslavia.
Help fight for open government —
donate to CIN

DONATING to the work of the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo is as easy as it is important.

As one of few truly independent news media in Bosnia and Herzegovina, CIN is devoted to holding politicians and powerful businessmen accountable. We want you to know what the institutions with power over your life are really doing. We tell you what you most need to know about corruption, crime, food safety, prices on utilities and commodities, your job conditions and your pensions. We do this without bias, rhetoric or reliance on rumor.

We fight to see the budgets and contracts behind official actions and we get the privileged to explain themselves to you.

CIN was set up in 2004 with money from USAID. Since then it has functioned on grants from private foundations and an array of US and European governments. We do not accept money from political parties or from any donor who puts a condition on giving. We'd like your support.

Please donate to CIN and help insure that a new generation of Bosnian reporters will continue a tradition of excellent investigative reporting in the name of you – the public.

Thank you for supporting CIN and its goal to write in-depth, understandable reports on the issues that most touch people. We are grateful for every donation from groups and individuals.

Here's how you can give (payment instructions):

KORISNIK / BENEFICIARY: Centar za istraživačko novinarstvo (CIN)

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Zmaja od Bosne bb, sarajevo, BiH

BROJ RAČUNA / ACCOUNT NUMBER: 161000006110108

IBAN: BA391611000001569324

SWIFT: RZBABA2S

Talk to us

To talk to us in person about any questions you might have or to arrange a donation, please contact CIN's Aleksandra Zelić at

• +387 33 560 056 or
• Aleksandra@cin.ba

Getting a tax break as a reward for helping us out

American taxpayers can claim a charitable donation on tax forms for helping CIN. Please contact Aleksandra Zelić to arrange this.

Download form

Download a printable donation form. (PDF) that you can send to CIN at Dolina 11, 71 000 Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Download link:
In 10 years, CIN has accomplished the following:

- More than 395 investigative stories plus follow up and news stories on more than 485 topics
- More than 35 topics
- More than 500 unique publications have used CIN stories
- Articles have been reprinted 7,330 times
- Out of this, 5,335 were on web portals,
- 1,730 in print media and
- 265 in electronic media (TV/Radio)
- More than 30,000 unique visitors a month visit the CIN website
- THE CIN Twitter account has 1,300 followers (end of October 2014)
- THE CIN Facebook page has 10,500 followers (end of October 2014)
Our databases are a result of years’ worth work of our journalists and they provide a unique source of information about how public money is spent in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The purpose of these databases is to make all the relevant information about budgetary spending available to the citizens.

Databases are regularly updated with new information.

Databases offer the possibility of searching for specific data and at the same time they provide quality graphic images.

Our databases are completely free, customized for use on all modern technology and mobile devices.

BUDGET RESERVES

The state, entity and cantonal governments have since 2010 given almost 97 million KM out of the current reserves.

This money is intended for emergencies or unplanned expenses but the ministers have given it to individuals, companies and institutions that are already financed from the budget.

CIN journalists have reviewed the reports about budget spending, official gazettes and audit reports.

All information found about spending budget reserves are summarized in this database.
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Different governmental levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina have in the last five years allotted at least 294,4 million KM worth of grants to different associations and local government levels.

Money from the budget was allocated for funding veteran, sport, humanitarian and other associations, but also for public and religious institutions.

CIN’s journalists acquired this information partially by reviewing the official gazette, budgets and other available documents.

**POLITICAN ASSETS**

This unique base that journalists of Centre for Investigative Reporting have continuously been working on since 2010, contains information about political and professional career, real estate, savings, vehicles, shares, loans and court proceedings, for 160 parliamentarians, ministers and other elected officials.

Database provides more than 1000 documents, title deeds on real estate and business registers that are in politicians’ ownership.

_This is the most complete database of income, movable and immovable assets of 160 politicians in Bosnia and Herzegovina._

**BUDGETORY ALLOCATIONS FOR NGO**

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The documentary "Ghosts of the Past" resulted from a long-term investigative and oral history project on "Unveiling Personal Memories on War and Detention: BiH Memories." Memories was designed as an attempt to contribute to reconciliation in BiH, and it focused on the empowerment and integration of minority communities among the other civil victims of the war. CIN reporters conducted 100 interviews and this documentary summarizes their experiences.

This documentary follows CIN reporters as they had food samples from three BiH cities collected and tested. The sampling showed that a disturbingly high amount of bacterial and other contamination in restaurant and market offerings. CIN reporters also visited border crossing points around the country to see food inspectors at work, looked for smuggled cattle along the Drina and talked with food growers, vendors, restaurateurs and inspector throughout BiH.

CIN In-house Production was created with a view to reaching a wider audience and offering investigative stories in a new format. The Center for Investigative Reporting can produce short movies and documentaries to be broadcast over Public Broadcasting Services and other TV stations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in the Balkans region. Documentaries allow CIN journalists to bring topics of interest to life for a wider public in BiH than simply the elite and powerful. CIN has worked to build up both the staffing and equipment and technical requirements required to do meaningful documentaries fully backed by evidence and visuals on the topics of corruption and organized crime in BiH and region.

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