



Conference Report

Executive Summary



Forum25

The Relevance of the Federal Idea in a **Changing World**

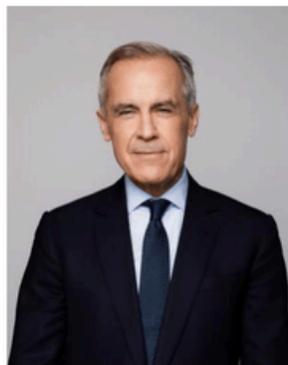


PRIME MINISTER · PREMIER MINISTRE

Message from the Prime Minister of Canada

I proudly offer my sincere greetings to everyone gathered to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Forum of Federations.

For a quarter of a century, the Forum has played an invaluable role in developing and sharing important expertise among our member nations. Through its work, it has helped strengthen institutions, promote inclusive governance, and support peace and development in countries around the world. Canada is proud to have been a founding partner of this important organization and to witness the growth of its influence around the world.



As we mark this milestone, we also take a moment to recognize and honour the remarkable contributions of the Honourable Bob Rae. His lifelong dedication to public service, diplomacy, and international cooperation has left an indelible mark both here at home and abroad. His commitment to global leadership by-example has made him a true champion of international dialogue, and mutual understanding and respect. His promotion of our global responsibility to one another also truly embodies the very spirit of the Forum of Federations—to which he has also greatly contributed.

To all who have contributed to the Forum's success over the past 25 years—thank you for your vision and hard work. May this celebration inspire continued cooperation and innovation in the years ahead, as we work together to build a more just, inclusive, and peaceful world.

Please accept my very best wishes for a memorable celebration.

Ottawa
2025

Conference Keynote

The Honourable Randeep Sarai, PC MP

Secretary of State for International Development



Good morning everyone. Bonjour. It's an honour to join you today, to celebrate 25 years of the Forum of Federations.

An organization born from a simple but powerful idea: That countries can learn from one another in building systems of governance that reflect their diversity, strengthen their unity, and improve the lives of their people. From its beginnings here in Canada to its work today in more than 20 countries, the Forum has acted as a bridge. Connecting nations and regions, practitioners and policymakers, local leaders and citizens.

All working to make federalism a living, evolving practice. In fact, the Forum has shown that federalism is not a static model. But one that adapts to the needs and realities of people everywhere. And this work has never been more relevant than it is today. Obviously, we're living in a time of profound uncertainty. Marked by global conflict, economic volatility, climate disasters, and the rapid pace of technological change.

In times like these, the strength of federations is tested. People look to their governments for stability, clarity, and compassion. The Forum's mission — to share knowledge, build trust, and strengthen systems that balance unity with diversity — offers a compass in these uncertain times. It reminds us that when governments work together across levels and across borders, they can respond to crises more effectively. And rebuild more resiliently.

Looking through an international development lens, I can tell you this is especially important. We're living in a time when budgets around the world are tightening—even as needs continue to grow. Canada, like so many of our partners, needs to rethink how we use our resources. We have to ensure that every dollar we invest abroad advances global progress, but also supports our national interests—a safer, more stable, and more prosperous world for Canadians.

So how do we prepare for the challenges ahead? Canada believes the answer lies in smarter, more equitable, and more sustainable global partnerships. We need to be deliberate about where and how we invest—focusing on partnerships that deliver the greatest impact for our partners—and create enabling environments for Canadian trade and innovation. We need to reimagine development ... not just as aid ... but as an investment in our own economic prosperity. In this context, shared governance and accountability are essential. And federalism has shown us what's possible: how to share power, how to build trust across different levels of government, how to find common ground in the face of competing priorities—and how to do more with limited resources.

Just as provinces and territories bring local insight to national challenges—local and regional partners in developing countries must be empowered to shape their own futures. To deliver services more effectively and build resilience in times of crisis. That's how we ensure solutions are sustainable, long after the funding ends.

Throughout my travels these past few months, I've seen this firsthand. When local voices have a say in how decisions are made, governments are more accountable, and communities drive their own progress. From chocolate producers in Peru, to training programs for health workers in Tanzania, I've seen that strong, inclusive governance is the foundation for everything else we're trying to achieve. Today, as we mark this 25-year milestone, we also look ahead.

Let's take this anniversary not just as a moment to celebrate the past. But to recommit to the values that have guided the Forum from the beginning: Partnership, inclusion, and respect for diversity. On behalf of the Government, let me thank the Forum's leadership, staff, international partners, and all those who have contributed to this remarkable journey. Your work has made a tangible difference in communities around the world. And you remind us that good governance is not just about power. It's about people.

Before I close, let me take this opportunity to recognize the remarkable legacy of the Honourable Bob Rae. A man whose unwavering dedication to public service has left an indelible mark on Canada and the world. His decades of service reflect a deep commitment to justice, inclusion, and global cooperation. And of course, as a founding Chairman of the Forum of Federations, Mr. Rae has championed the principles of federalism, dialogue, and democratic governance.

His distinguished service as Canada's Ambassador to the United Nations and Special Envoy on Humanitarian and Refugee Issues also exemplifies his dedication to justice, human rights, and international solidarity. Your efforts have certainly elevated Canada's voice on the world stage. On behalf of the Government I extend our heartfelt gratitude for your enduring contributions to public life, to the Forum, and to the global community at large.

With that, I trust today's panels will be insightful. Once again, my congratulations to the Forum for 25 years of impact. Here's to 25 more years of building stronger, fairer, and more resilient federations together.

Thank you. Merci.



The Honourable Randeep Sarai, PC MP, Secretary of State for International Development, Government of Canada recognizing Bob Rae, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations for his lifetime of public service.

Forum25



On 5th and 6th November 2025, the Forum of Federations celebrated its 25th anniversary with Forum25: The Relevance of the Federal Idea in a Changing World, held in Ottawa, Canada. This report summarizes the key insights to emerge from the conversations at the conference.

Marking 25 years of the Forum's work in mobilizing knowledge, enhancing capacity, and supporting governance development processes in federal and multilevel contexts, the Forum25 conference brought together politicians, officials, academics and civil society to explore the role of federalism in today's world, and the role it can play in the future. A series of panels comprised of international experts discussed how the federal idea can address today's most pressing issues.

Discussion focused on key governance challenges facing governments in the 21st Century, reflecting the changing international context and the emergent forces shaping the world we live in. In six panels over two days, contributors addressed crucial topics in today's global landscape:

- The Future of Canadian Federalism
- Building Stability in Fragile and Divided Societies
- Cities and Climate Action in Federal Systems
- Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations
- Managing and Harnessing Technological Change
- Is the Federal Idea Relevant and If So—How?

The Forum of Federations thanks the contributors to this report: Gabriel Imbeau, Tara Lihi, Aliyah Dato, and Junchi Li. The Forum also thanks Liam Whittington, Jamie Thomas and Mohamed Islam Ounalli for their work in preparing the report for publication.

Welcome Remarks

Rupak Chattopadhyay, President and CEO, Forum of Federations



The Forum of Federations was established in the year 2000 as a permanent, ongoing organization dedicated to advancing understanding and practice in the field of federalism and multilevel governance. Its creation followed the landmark 1999 International Conference on Federalism held at Mont-Tremblant, Quebec, an event chaired by the Honourable Bob Rae under the stewardship of Canada's Prime Minister at the time, the Right Honourable Jean Chrétien. That conference brought together political leaders, scholars, and practitioners from around the world to reflect on how federal systems could better respond to the complex governance challenges of a rapidly changing global environment.

The founding of the Forum occurred during a particularly tumultuous period in Canada's political history. Questions of national unity, regional diversity, and the accommodation of difference were at the forefront of public debate. In this context, the Forum was originally designed as an arm's-length institution with a clear mandate: to bring global best practices on federalism into Canada, and to ensure that Canadian policymakers and practitioners could learn from the experiences of other countries facing similar challenges. From the outset, the Forum was conceived not as a political advocate, but as a neutral, knowledge-based organization committed to learning, dialogue, and practical problem-solving.

Very quickly, however, it became clear that the value of the Forum’s work extended well beyond Canada’s borders. Countries around the world recognized the need for a dedicated institution that could convene diverse perspectives, curate comparative experience, and translate theory into practice. Over the last two decades, this unique Canadian initiative has grown into a truly global partnership. Australia, Brazil, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Switzerland have joined as partner countries, contributing their own experiences and perspectives. We look forward to welcoming Argentina, Papua New Guinea, and South Africa into the Forum family in the near future, further strengthening the global reach and diversity of the organization.

Since its founding, the Forum of Federations has worked in more than 40 countries across every region of the world, supporting initiatives related to federalism, decentralization, multilevel governance, and peace-building. These engagements have taken many forms: advising on constitutional and institutional reforms, facilitating dialogue among political actors, supporting intergovernmental relations, strengthening local governance, and building capacity among public servants, civil society actors, and scholars. Through this work, the Forum has earned a reputation as the world’s leading “think and do” organization in its field—one that combines rigorous, policy-relevant research with hands-on implementation and practical support in complex political environments.



At the heart of our work lies a fundamental challenge shared by all federations and multilevel systems: how to ensure that governments at different levels work together in an effective, inclusive, and accountable manner. This challenge is not merely technical; it is deeply political and profoundly human. It involves balancing unity and diversity, managing competition and cooperation, and creating institutions that are capable of responding to citizens' needs while respecting local autonomy and identity. These tensions are not unique to federal countries, but they are particularly pronounced in systems where authority and responsibility are shared across multiple levels of government.

The Forum was founded as a learning and knowledge-sharing organization, and over the past quarter century we have remained true to that original spirit. We do not advocate for federalism as a one-size-fits-all solution, nor do we promote any particular constitutional model. Instead, we recognize that there is no single “correct” way to be federal. Each federation—and indeed each multilevel system—is unique, shaped by its own social, historical, political, and economic circumstances. Our role is to facilitate learning across contexts, helping practitioners understand what has worked elsewhere, why it worked, and how those lessons might be adapted to their own realities.



Marie-France Lalonde, Member of Parliament, and Former Ontario Provincial Minister, Canada and Anita Vandenbeld, Member of Parliament presenting a message on behalf of Prime Minister Mark Carney.

One of the most important lessons we have learned over the past 25 years is that the world of governance is not binary. It is not simply divided into federal and non-federal countries. Rather, it exists along a continuum of increasingly complex multilevel systems, including devolved, decentralized, and even constitutionally unitary states. While constitutionally federal systems may be distinctive in theory, in practice all multilevel systems confront similar challenges and can learn from one another. This insight has fundamentally shaped the way the Forum approaches its work, encouraging openness, flexibility, and cross-fertilization of ideas.

A second key lesson is that even within federal countries, national and constituent unit governments (states, cantons, provinces) are no longer the only—or even the primary—actors in governance. Cities and large metropolitan regions now play a critical role in economic development, service delivery, and innovation. At the same time, Indigenous peoples and First Nations are increasingly asserting their rights and responsibilities as self-governing partners within broader constitutional frameworks. Recognizing and engaging with these actors is essential to building inclusive and resilient systems of governance.

We have incorporated these lessons into our work, along with a growing recognition that the federalism toolkit is remarkably versatile. Elements of federal thinking—such as shared rule, self-rule, subsidiarity, and intergovernmental cooperation—can be applied even in constitutionally non-federal countries to improve the quality of governance. The Forum’s involvement in constitutional reform processes in countries such as Cuba, Kenya, and Tunisia demonstrates how federal ideas can be transformative when adapted thoughtfully to local contexts. Similarly, decentralized governance reforms in Jordan and Morocco have created new opportunities for political participation, particularly for women, helping to broaden leadership and strengthen democratic inclusion.



In an era defined by overlapping and interconnected crises—often described as an age of “polycrisis”—the federal idea offers a valuable framework for managing some of the most pressing challenges of our time. These include democratic backsliding, the fragility of states emerging from conflict, the urgent need to build climate resilience, the pursuit of equitable and inclusive economic growth, and the governance implications of rapid technological change. Multilevel governance systems, when designed and implemented effectively, can enhance flexibility, innovation, and responsiveness, enabling societies to navigate uncertainty and complexity more successfully.

As the Forum of Federations completes a quarter century of work, our core mission remains as relevant as ever. We continue to curate global best practices for practitioners, provide trusted platforms for dialogue and learning, and connect innovators across regions and disciplines. By amplifying success stories and honestly examining failures, we seek to equip successive generations of scholars, policymakers, and practitioners with the tools they need to improve the quality of governance in their own countries.

The achievements of the Forum are the result of collective effort. They build on the dedication and professionalism of our highly motivated staff, the guidance and commitment of our Board of Directors, and the steadfast support of our host country, Canada, along with our partner countries—Australia, Brazil, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Switzerland. Their continued engagement reflects a shared belief in the importance of learning, cooperation, and innovation in governance.

I am truly privileged to lead such an organization.

The Conversations

Day 1 – November 5th 2025

The Future of Canadian Federalism



The inaugural panel for the Forum of Federation’s 25th anniversary conference gathered former premiers Bob Rae (Ontario), Christy Clarke (British Columbia) and Phillipe Couillard (Québec) to discuss where they saw Canadian federalism’s future. Reflecting on their experiences, the speakers spoke to challenges posed by the hasty adoption of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which, after decades of failed attempts to bring Québec into the fold, has become a de-facto locked constitution. Phillipe Couillard and Bob Rae commented that this has prevented Canada from fixing issues related to the pre-emptive (mis-)use of the Notwithstanding Clause, while Christy Clarke lamented unaccountable judicial re-interpretation of Indigenous Land Rights.

The panelists noted that this frozen constitution has not been able to formally integrate emergent partners in the federation, such as Indigenous communities and municipalities, which in both cases remain under the tutelage of the federal and provincial governments respectively. Nevertheless, both were described as staking their claim at the federal table despite this hurdle.

Additionally, Canadian federalism was seen to be strongest when both orders of government “stay in their lane”, as jurisdictional overreach from Ottawa was described as caustic to intergovernmental relations. As western alienation from the Federation has become an increasingly prominent trend, Phillippe Couillard spoke to his experience in championing federalism in Québec: the federal idea needs to be more than a comfortable financial arrangement; it needs to be a core part of a shared national identity.



Day 2 – November 6th 2025

Building Stability in Fragile and Divided Societies

The first panel of Day 2 of the conference asked a simple but difficult question: Why does federalism so often fail to deliver stability in fragile states? Moderated by Leslie Norton, Assistant Deputy Minister at Global Affairs Canada, the panel featured Marie-Joëlle Zahar (Université de Montréal), David Cameron (University of Toronto) and Paul King (International Development Professional). The panel agreed that constitutional design alone is never enough to address fragility. Professor Zahar described fragility as a collapse of the social contract driven by pressures like climate shocks or regional conflict, and argued that rebuilding trust requires inclusive governance whether that manifests in Kurdish integration in Iraq, or women stepping into leadership roles in India's Panchayats. Dr. Cameron reminded the audience, drawing on Tocqueville, that institutions only work when they grow out of longstanding norms and habits, which fragile states rarely have. Even stable federal democracies are not immune, as shown by recent instances of democratic backsliding globally.



Additionally, examples discussed from Nigeria, Sudan, South Sudan, and Sri Lanka illustrated how centralization, inequality, and communal dominance keep feeding cycles of conflict. International trends make things harder: today's global preference for military victory over negotiation weakens incentives for dialogue, while shrinking development assistance erodes institutional memory. The panel concluded that although the word "federalism" remains politically sensitive, forms of devolved governance continue to spread but real success depends on leadership, patience, and long-term commitment to building institutions that can last.

Cities and Climate Action in Federal Systems



This panel brought together practitioners from both metropolitan and municipal governments and the World Bank to discuss the challenges facing cities taking on climate action in federal systems. The speakers, Jedah Ogweno (World Bank), Cathy Curry (City of Ottawa), Bernardus Djonoputro (Rebana Metropolitan Management Authority), and Carsten Sieling (Free Hanseatic City of Bremen), focused the discussions on the key issues of capacity building, collaboration and grassroots leadership.

The panel discussed that cities must develop, either on their own or through partnerships with international institutions, the necessary capacities to access climate finance and implement their own climate agendas when higher order federal partners pursue different priorities. Nevertheless, the panelists highlighted that cities must also strive to work with these senior federal partners to enact policies which are both localized to cities' contexts and coherent with national objectives.

Additionally, each speaker related that cities should nurture and lead grassroots climate efforts, since in democracies legitimacy comes from the people. Without a popular mandate, cities were not seen to be able to enact a just transition. Finally, speakers noted that climate action is costly, requiring hard choices to be made on how to include the private sector into the solution, as well as whether it is wiser to build better or to retrofit existing urban buildings and infrastructure.

Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations



The third panel of the day explored how federations handle the ongoing asymmetries embedded in intergovernmental fiscal relations. The discussion featured contributions from Patience Nombeko Mbava (Chairperson, South African Fiscal and Finance Commission), Prasad Panda (Former Alberta Minister for Infrastructure and Transportation), and Patricia Farah (Coordinator, Argentinean Federal Council on Fiscal Responsibility). Moderated by George Anderson (Forum of Federations), the panel emphasized that fiscal imbalance is a structural feature of federal governance, and the main challenge is finding legitimate “points of balance” within systems marked by uneven resources and responsibilities.

A key theme was the redistributive dilemma created by natural resources. Argentina and Canada grant provinces ownership of resources, creating disparities between resource-rich and resource-poor regions.

Argentina addresses this through federal taxation and coordination, while Alberta's critique of Canada's equalization system shows how redistribution can be seen as an "unjust penalty" rather than a national benefit. South Africa's centralized ownership avoids provincial disparities but still faces stark inequalities shaped by its historical legacy. In all cases, natural resources are both economic assets and political flashpoints.

A second theme explored the role and limits of fiscal coordination institutions. Speakers noted that advice from bodies like Argentina's Public Income Federal Administration (AFIP) and South Africa's Financial and Fiscal Commission (FFC) only work when backed by political will. Finally, fiscal transfers remain contentious: South Africa struggles with complex conditional grants, while Alberta challenges Canada's equalization program as unfair. Balancing fiscal federalism is an ongoing process requiring multidimensional solutions to preserve cohesion amid growing inequalities and global pressures.

As federations face increasing inequalities and climate pressures, intergovernmental fiscal relations become a key area where the federal idea is tested and reshaped. Balancing fiscal federalism is an ongoing process that requires multidimensional solutions beyond the efforts of any single level of government.

Managing and Harnessing Technological Change



Rapid technological change presents both opportunities and challenges for federal systems, as discussed by Kristel Van der Elst (Policy Horizons Canada) with Holger Greve (German Federal Ministry of the Interior), Benoît Meyer-Bisch (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation), and Taki Sarantakis (Canada School of Public Service). Infrastructure projects involving new technology often face barriers due to multilevel governance. In Canada, jurisdictional and competency issues hinder cooperation, while Germany contends with bureaucracy and legislation. Switzerland's digitization process risks misalignment with citizen needs because many technologies are controlled by foreign actors.

Panelists noted that in a multilevel system digitization of services can be delayed by governance structures, and Mr. Greve highlighted that uniform standards and centralized processes improve efficiency. Conversely, Mr. Meyer-Bisch emphasized federalism's potential to foster innovation at regional levels. Mr. Sarantakis emphasized that shared values remain essential for functional federations in the AI era.

Digital sovereignty emerged as a critical theme, raising questions about data ownership (Mr. Sarantakis), storage and codification (Mr. Meyer-Bisch), and reducing reliance on foreign infrastructure (Mr. Greve). Trust was identified as vital, with citizens generally favoring local government technologies over private solutions, as illustrated by Switzerland's identity card example. Transparency and freedom of information laws were proposed as ways to reduce distrust.

Finally, the panel debated government use of AI, focusing on whether adoption should prioritize ethics, legality, or responsibility. Issues of protection, security, practicality, and timing were deemed central to shaping AI governance in federal contexts.



Is the Federal Idea Relevant and If So—How?



The final panel, moderated by Christian Paradis (Treasurer, Forum of Federations), examined whether federalism remains relevant amid rapid global change. Ana Carolina Lorena (Forum of Federations), André Lecours (University of Ottawa), and Idee Inyangudor (Wellington Advocacy) explored federalism's paradox: institutions designed to accommodate diversity can also empower separatist movements. Professor Lecours argued that granting autonomy strengthens minority voices but may fuel regional nationalism. Despite this, he maintained federalism is the most effective democratic system for diverse societies, since unitary systems often exacerbate conflict. Federalism's strength lies in balancing self-rule with shared rule, creating institutional bridges for collective decision-making.

Ms. Lorena illustrated federal reciprocity through Brazil's experience: São Paulo once resisted redistributing oil royalties to poorer states but now benefits from Amazon oil discoveries in those areas, showing federal systems depend on long-term cooperation. Mr. Inyangudor stressed trust and dialogue as essential, particularly in countries like Nigeria, Ethiopia, and South Africa, where the federal idea can assist in addressing colonial legacies and governance challenges.

The panel also confronted a long-standing blind spot: Indigenous peoples are rarely formal constitutional partners in most federations. Professor Lecours distinguished between federal structures and the federal idea, noting its principles, such as pluralism, reciprocity, and protections against majoritarian domination, align with Indigenous aspirations. Ms. Lorena added that Brazil's recognition of Indigenous land rights reshaped identity, with Indigenous self-identification rising from 500,000 in the 1990s to 1.7 million today, showing how policy recognition can reshape how communities see themselves.

Ultimately, the panel concluded federalism is gaining relevance: by offering flexible frameworks to manage diversity, foster dialogue, and build durable connections through the promotion of unity without uniformity and accommodation through shared rule.



Program

Day 1 – November 5th 2025

- Welcome: Rupak Chattopadhyay, President and CEO, Forum of Federations, Canada
- Opening Address, Hans Altherr, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Forum of Federations, Switzerland
- **Message from the Prime Minister:** Presented by Marie-France Lalonde, Member of Parliament, and Former Ontario Provincial Minister, Canada and Anita Vandenberg, Member of Parliament

The Future of Canadian Federalism

- Bob Rae, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations
- Christy Clark, Former Premier of British Columbia, Canada
- Philippe Couillard, Former Premier of Quebec, Canada

Day 2 – November 6th 2025

- Welcome: Salma Siddiqui, Vice Chair of the Board of Directors, Forum of Federations, Canada
- **Keynote Address:** The Honourable Randeep Sarai, PC MP, Secretary of State for International Development, Government of Canada

Building Stability in Fragile and Divided Societies

- Jamie Thomas, Program Manager, Forum of Federations, Canada
- Leslie E. Norton, Assistant Deputy Minister, International Assistance Partnerships and Programming Branch, Canada
- Marie-Joëlle Zahar, Professor and Director of the Research Network on Peace Operations, Université de Montréal, Canada
- David Cameron, Professor Emeritus, University of Toronto, Canada
- Paul King, International Development Professional, Canada

Cities and Climate Action in Federal Systems

- Diana Chebenova, Vice President (Partnerships), Forum of Federations, Canada
- Kate Higgins, CEO, Cooperation Canada
- Jedah Nyabo Ogweno, Economist, World Bank
- Cathy Curry, Ottawa City Councillor, Ward 4 Kanata North, Canada
- Bernardus Djonoputro CEO, Rebana Metropolitan Management Authority, Indonesia
- Carsten Sieling, Former Premier of the State of Bremen, Germany

Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations

- Olakunle Adeniran, Program Manager, Forum of Federations, Canada
- George Anderson, Distinguished Fellow, Forum of Federations
- Patricia Farah, Coordinator, Federal Council on Fiscal Responsibility, Argentina
- Patience Nombeko Mbava, Chairperson, Financial and Fiscal Commission, South Africa
- Prasad Panda, Former Alberta Minister for Infrastructure and Transportation, Canada

Managing and Harnessing Technological Change

- Liam Whittington, Senior Program Manager, Forum of Federations, Canada
- Kristel Van der Elst, Director General, Policy Horizons Canada
- Taki Sarantakis, President, Canada School of Public Service
- Benoît Meyer-Bisch, Senior Policy Advisor, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
- Holger Greve, Senior Policy Advisor, Federal Ministry of the Interior, Germany

Is the Federal Idea Relevant and If So—How?

- Rupak Chattopadhyay, President and CEO, Forum of Federations, Canada
- Christian Paradis, Treasurer, Forum of Federations and former federal Minister, Canada
- André Lecours, Professor, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa, Canada
- Ana Carolina Lorena, Distinguished Fellow, Forum of Federations, Brazil
- Idee Inyangudor, Vice President, Wellington Advocacy, Canada

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