

# ANARHO ČARŠIJA



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# Anarho-Čaršija #1

Anarho-Čaršija je bilten oko kojeg su se okupili anarhisti i anti-autoritarci u Sarajevu nakon anti-vladinih protesta 7. februara 2014. Ovaj bilten je namijenjen predstavljanju anti-autoritarne borbe u Sarajevu (i malo šire).

Bilten je dobio ime po blogu, koji je malo stariji od nas, a kojeg vodi jedna od ekipa iz Sarajeva, a izведен je iz pjesme Anarhija All Over Baščaršija.

I važno je napomenuti da je ovaj bilten djelo novih pojedinaca koji su „tek došli“ u ovaj „pokret“, uz veliku pomoć i podršku drugova koji se duže vrijeme bore u Sarajevu za iste ciljeve i totalno oslobođenje.

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Anarho-Čaršija is newsletter which gathered anarchists and anti-authoritarians from Sarajevo after anti-government protests on 7th February of 2014. This newsletter is intended for presentation of anti-authoritarian struggle in Sarajevo (and slightly beyond).

Newsletter is named after blog, which is a little bit older than us, and it's lead by one of the cells from Sarajevo, and is derived from the song Anarchy all over Baščaršija\*.

It is important to note that this newsletter is work of individuals who "just arrived" in "movement", with great help and support from comrades who are struggling for a long time in Sarajevo for same goals and total liberation.

\*Anarhija all over Baščaršija – Zabranjeno Pušenje

\*\* Baščaršija – old town Sarajevo

## Korisni linkovi / Usefull links:

- Anarho-čaršija  
<http://anarhocarsija.noblogs.org/>
- Capital City Brigada  
<http://ccbrigada.tumblr.com/>
- Black Cross  
<http://abcbalkan.wordpress.com/>
- Istočna Evropa  
<http://ruskaborba.noblogs.org/>
- Anarchist action  
<https://www.rebelmouse.com/anarchistaction/>
- Reverse Root  
<http://reverseroot.wordpress.com/>
- Fight Resist  
<http://fightresist.wordpress.com/>
- Slobodari (english version)  
<http://slobodarieng.wordpress.com/>
- Slobodari (BHS verzija)  
<http://slobodari.wordpress.com/>
- Revolution Sociale  
[www.revolutionsociale.a-revolt.org](http://www.revolutionsociale.a-revolt.org)

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# SADRŽAJ:

## **REVIEW OF THE PLENUM AND PROTESTS**

- Batina je iz raja izašla. A odmah za njom - Molotovljev koktel - STRANA 4
- A cudgel came from paradise. & right after it -Molotov cocktail-PAGE 4-5
- Raspolagati tuđom mukom nije mala zajebancija - STRANA 5
- Dispose with someone else's problem is not small joke - PAGE 6

## **ANALYSIS**

- Kako je propao ustanak naroda BiH? [i šta smo naučili] - STRANA 7-10
- How did Bosnian uprising failed?[and what have we learned]-PAGE 11-14

## **INTERVIEW**

- Intervju sa optuženim anarhistom Ganom - STRANA 15-17
- Interview with accused anarchist comrade Ghana - PAGE 17-19

## **COMRADE ACCUSED FOR TERRORISM**

- Trnka -- Heroj, ne terorista - STRANA 20-21
- Trnka -- Hero, not terrorist - PAGE 22-23

## **SOLIDARITY WITH UKRAINE**

- Akcija solidarnosti sa ukrajinskim narodom - STRANA 24
- Solidarity action for ukrainian people - PAGE 25

## **REPRESION**

- Izjave pretučenih i uhapšenih demonstranata - STRANA 26-27
- Statements of beaten and arrested protesters - PAGE 27-29

## **SPRING IS ON 7th OF FEBRUARY**

- Dobri Bošnjaci i Vatra - STRANA 30-31
- Good Bosniaks and Fire - PAGE 32-34

## **SOLIDARNOST / SOLIDARITY - STRANA/PAGE 35-37**

## **VIŠE LINKOVA / MORE LINKS - STRANA/PAGE 38**

# **REVIEW OF THE PLENUM AND PROTESTS**

## **BATINA JE IZ RAJA IZAŠLA. A ODMAH ZA NJOM - MOLOTOVLJEV KOKTEL**

Kontrola kompletног života u državi, kroz kontrolu onog najdragocjenijeg za ljudе u njoj – radnih mјesta, pogotovo onih na budžetu i u javnim preduzećima, uz masovno korumpiranje čitavih slojeva stanovništva budžetskim isplatama, koje se zavijaju u oblandu “socijale”, mada sa njom nemaju veze, metod su vladavine političkog establišmenta u BiH. Uz stalnu proizvodnju i plansku upotrebu nacionalizma i ksenofobije, naravno.

I sistem se može oboriti, ili bar načeti, samo udarom na te osnovne poluge vladanja (sve ostalo je obično samozavaravanje i zajebavanje ili samopromocija nezrelih salonskih hipi neošezdesetosmaša).

Plenumi (i svi ostali koji žele dobro ovoj zemlji) trebaju, kao prvo, prestati da se ogrаđuju od demonstrantskog nasilja. Jer je upravo ono stvorilo mogućnost promjene, pa i njih same. I samo prijeteća mogućnost da će se ono ponoviti, bez obzira na zaklinjanja plenumaša u nenasilje, politički establišment čini kooperativnim u kontaktu sa onima koji ovih dana ispostavljuju zahtjeve u ime građana – da nema toga, ne bi bilo ničega; i neće ni biti, ako politički establishment zaiste povjeruje da je ta faza definitivno netragom nestala i da nasuprot sebe imaju ponovo samo “mirne i dostoјanstvene”.

Nasilje je svakom civilizovanom, a pogotovo onima koji su proživjeli rat, vrlo teško prihvatljivo i krajnje traumatično iskustvo iz ovih dana (i to treba shvatiti kao neku vrstu kolateralne štete) – zbog čega je odgovornost vlasti, odnosno kaste, koja je dovela do ovoga još veća – ali je ono (u ovom kontekstu!) neophodan preduslov promjene. Odnosno, nezamjenjivo sredstvo pritiska, koje omogućava da se zahtjevi građana shvate ozbiljno.

## **A CUDGEL CAME FROM PARADISE. AND RIGHT AFTER IT - MOLOTOV COCKTAIL**

Control of the entire life in this state, through control of one of the most precious thing to people in it - jobs, especially those on buget and in public companies, with massive corruption in whole classes of popultion with bugetary payments, which are hidden in wafer "welfare", but have nothing to do with it, is method with which politiacl establishment in B&H rule. With continuing production and planned use of nationalism, and xenophobia, of course.

System can be smashed, or at least cut, with hit on these basic levers of governance (everything else is only self-deception and fucking around and self-promotion of immature salon hippies neo-68.)

Plenums (and all others who wish good to this country) should firstly stop to distance themselvs from protesters violence. Because it's exactly what created the possibility of change, what even created plenums. And only threatening possibility that it will happen again,

regardless of the oaths of plenum-guys is non-violence, political establishment seems cooperative in touch with those who these days are demanding requests in name of people - if this didn't exist, there would be nothing; and will not be nothing, if political establishment really believes that this phase is definitely gone and that opposite themselves they have again only "peaceful and dignified" protesters.

Violence is to every civilized, especially to those who survived war, very hard to accept and extremely difficult traumatic experience of those days (and it should be understood as some kind of collateral damage) - which is responsibility of government, or caste, which led to this, even more bigger - but it is (in this context!) necessary prerequisite for changes. In other words, it's irreplaceable tool of pressure, which allows demands of citizens be taken seriously.

## **RASPOLAGATI TUĐOM MUKOM NIJE MALA ZAJEBANCIJA**

Ono što je još bitno u čitavoj priči je da plenumaši i oni koji plenum slave kao "praznik demokratije" shvate da su plenumi, ma koliko unutar sebe pokazivali zanimljive oblike demokratičnosti, koja svoju snagu ne crpe iz demokratije, nego iz protesta, kao oblika sile i prijetnje (Jer, iako postoji dobar broj onih koji vole te peace&love hepeninge, protesti nisu nikakav jebeni karneval, porodična zabava ili party, nego smrtno ozbiljna stvar). Ovo je naprosto vanredna situacija, koja zahtjeva vanredne mјere. I to objašnjava potrebu postojanja plenuma. A pozivanje na demokratiju, u djelovanju Plenuma, vrlo je sklizak teren. Na kome se može samo razbiti.

Plenum se mora shvatiti kao pomoćno sredstvo za tranziciju iz partitokratije. A postojeće stanje kao svojevrsni vakuum, u kome je masovnim građanskim protestima poništen izborni legitimitet vlasti.

Plenumi se moraju radikalizovati, a ne umrviti. Pritom oni trebaju zadržati unutrašnju demokratičnost, ali se u ciljevima moraju fokusirati na suštinu, jer – nemaju vremena! Njihov smisao (osim kao neformalnih, manje više hajdparkovskih građanskih pričaonica – a nisam baš siguran da bi bilo lijepo da se pretvore u to) se gubi sa izborom novih vlada, pogotovo ako to budu najavljenе "vlade eksperata". (Jer nećeš valjda ekspertima i to onima koje si sam doveo svako par dana ispostavljati zahtjeve? Ili im demonstrirati pod prozorom?). Plenumi trebaju obaviti posao i samougasiti se. Do nekih drugih vremena.

Plenumi imaju mogućnost (a svakim danom ona je sve slabija) da nešto promjene, odnosno da nešto iznude (!) samo dok traju demonstracije (tačnije, dok traje prijetnja da se demonstracije mogu ponovo pretvoriti u masovne i ozbiljne). I, da bi stvar bila neugodnija po ljubitelje "praznika demokratije" i "mirnog i dostojanstvenog protestovanja", oni samo u tom kontekstu i imaju neki legitimitet.

Pritom, nemojmo se zavaravati, imperija samo konsoliduje redove i čeka pravi trenutak da uzvrati udarac. Zato: jebeš "mir i dostojanstvo". "Neka Sila bude s nama!" Ha

## **DISPOSE WITH SOMEONE ELSE'S PROBLEM IS NOT SMALL JOKE**

What is even more important in the whole story is that plenum-guys and those who celebrate plenums as "holiday of democracy" have to realize that the plenums, however within themselves show interesting forms of democracy, don't derive their strength from democracy, but from protests, as a form of force and threats (because, although there is a good number of those who love peace & love happenings, protests are not a fucking carnival, family party or party, but deadly serious thig!). This is simply extraordinary situation which requires extraordinary measures. And that explains the need of plenum existence. And reference to democracy, in plenum actions, is very slippery slope on which you can just break.

Plenum must be understood as aid to transition from partocracy and current state as a sort of vacuum, in which elective legitimacy of government is canceled by massive protests.

Plenums have to be radical, not numb. In doing so, they need to keep internal democracy, but in goals it must be focused on essence, because - there is no time! Their sense (except as informal, more-or-less civil chat rooms - and I'm not sure it would be nice to transform into it) is lost with new government (which will come in October, 2014), especially if there will be announced "government of experts" (because you will not to experts - those you've brought, send demands every couple of days? or demonstrate under their window?). Plenums should do their job and quit themselves. Until some other time.

Plenums have the ability (and every day it gets weaker) to change something, i.e. to extort something (!) only while there are demonstrations (or more precisely, only while there is threat that demonstrations could again become massive and serious). To make things even more uncomfortable for lovers of "holiday of democracy" and "peaceful and dignified protesting", they only in this context have some legitimacy.

In doing so, let's not fool ourselves, empire is only consolidating their lines and waiting for right moment to fight back. So: FUCK "PEACE AND DIGNITY". MAY THE FORCE BE WITH US! Ha!



# ANALYSIS

## KAKO JE PROPAO USTANAK NARODA BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE? [i šta smo naučili]



Jučer se otvorila tema među demonstrантима “*Kako je propao ustank naroda Bosne i Hercegovine*” i ovo je naš mali doprinos predstojećim analizama i diskusijama, s tim da ćemo se mi osvrnuti na proteste u Sarajevu, jer smo tu djelovali i provodili vrijeme sa ljudima na ulici tokom i nakon Slavnog 7. februara. Kako bi se razumjele struje u Sarajevu, bitno je imati na umu sve [ne tako česte] proteste koji su se dogodili u zadnjih par godina i struje koje su se pojavljivale. U želji da ne dužimo, možda to bude maleni problem za one koji nisu upoznati sa istima. Kada kažemo proteste, ne mislimo na protestne šetnje po gradu koje organizuju nevladine organizacije povodom raznih datuma koji imaju prazno značenje, baš kao i te iste šetnje. Problema sa sarajevskim protestima ima previše, pa je važno da se krene redom i logično – kako sa greškama u koracima, tako i sa iskrivljenim percipiranjem protesta.

Ovo pišemo kao pokušaj da se ukaže na osnovne propuštene stvari, a u nadi da će služiti kao okidač za ispravljanje propusta i širenja ispravnijih ideja.

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Nakon što je i posljednji plamen ugašen, svaki nesretnik kojeg je bojni otrov ošamutio uhapšen i izvedena antiteroristička jedinica na teren – mediji su započeli svoj posao.

U Bosni i Hercegovini je pitanje o medijima još uvijek problematično, tako postoje razne grupe ljudi koje prate mainstream medije, i istima vjeruju, ali iz raznih razloga. Jedni prate tzv. “nezavisne” [oli ti ga Američke] medije, drugi one medije koji pripadaju “njihovo” stranci, a treći, kao, znaju da im ovi prodaju muda pod bubrege, ali ipak ostanu vjerni slušatelji/čitatelji određene televizije/portala/novina. Ono što još uvijek nije došlo do svijesti BiH naroda je činjenica da svi ti mediji koje vode plaćenički beskičmenjaci – rade u korist

vladajuće klase. Neovisno o tome da li rade za ove što žele doći na vlast ili trenutnu vlast. Mediji su samo produžena ruka tlačitelja – sadašnjih, budućih, potencijalnih i često se dešava da igraju jedni protiv drugih, ali smo ovoga puta vidjeli ujedinjene crne vrane koje vrište na obespravljene demonstrante da su huligani, vandali, plaćenici i “lijeva” Al’Kaida!

Šta su oni nama, ustvari, uspjeli da prodaju? Nije uopšte problem u nadimcima ‘huligan’, ‘vandal’, tako nazivaju i navijače, pa im posjećenost utakmica ne opada. Dok smo svi na sva zvona pričali kako smo “shvatili šta su nam radili 20 godina i da smo ratovali za njihove interese i da nas više nikada neće moći sjebati na račun nacionalizma”, u tom trenutku smo pali na još jednu priču koju nam prodaju 20 godina – ratnu priču. Zanimljivo je kako je jako malo demonstranata obratilo pažnju na ‘must-have’ svake vijesti o protestima tih dana, a to su: “ratno stanje” i “ono što su heroji u ratu odbranili, huligani danas zapalili” [op.a. zgrada predsjedništva]. Najprovidnija taktika koja je korištena od strane medija i političara je argumentum ad incursus – zauzimanje stava da “ni agresor to nije radio” za neku radnju koju poduzima suprotna strana, radi jačanja vlastite argumentacijske linije i slabljenja legitimitetu protivnika.

S druge strane, odgovornost moraju da preuzmu i grupe demonstranata koje su [iskreno se nadamo nesvesno] igrale onako kako je vlada svirala:

Prva greška, koja se ponavlja već ko zna koliko puta, je igranje na patetiku. O tome se može napraviti zbirka izjava “Razočarani ljudi koje su zajebali oni što su na Facebook-u potvrdili da će doći”. Ili nazivanje ne-demonstranata ‘govnima’, ‘tatinim sinovima’, ‘nemoralnim ljudima’, uz povike [ne znamo odakle ovaj povik potiče, ali svaki trag mu se zatro]: NARODE, JE LI VAM DOOOOOOBRO?! Ako ćemo koristiti mozak, u ovom svijetu je jako malom broju ljudi dobro. Problem ne leži u tome što ljudi misle da im je dobro, već je daleko dublji. Broj ljudi koji je izašao na proteste Sedmog je dokazao da ljudima nije dobro, ali isto tako da ljudi žele proteste sa konkretnim zahtjevima. Blokiranje ulice uz pištaljke i banere na kojima se prozivaju studenti, izvode glupi performansi možete da odete održati na Islandu ili ostavite te igrice za kuće. Uostalom, ako se nekom protestu nisu odazvali stanovnici, to znači da problem leži u protestima, a ne u ljudima koji se nisu odazvali. Prozivkama, patetikom i sličnim ispadima samo odbijate ljude od sebe.

Druga, možda i najveća greška, se pojavila na plenumu i oko plenuma, a usko je vezana uz [da ne kažemo da je rezultat] liberalnu struju. Zagovaranje ‘demokratije’, ‘dostojanstva’, mirnih protesta i građanskog ‘neposluha’ – je najsmrtonosnije oružje za pobunu! Vlada BiH je davno odustala da se barem pretvara da je demokratska.

*“Usred komične klime površnih analiza, plaćeni službenici psihološkog rata pokazuju na pobunjenike, urlajući: “To nije demokratski, ignorisu pravila po kojima naša demokratija funkcioniše”. Ne možemo, a da na trenutak ne zastanemo nijemo pred onim što bismo donedavno smatrali nemogućim. Iako s namjerom da obmanjuju, šefovi ove države rekli su jednu istinu. Mi preziremo demokratiju više od svega ostalog u ovom dekadentnom svijetu. Jer šta je demokratija nego sistem diskriminacije i prisile u službi vlasništva i izolirajuće privatnosti? Sloboda, jednakost prava, ravnopravnost; sve te ideološke maske zajedno ne mogu prikriti svoju misiju: širenje i očuvanje društvene sfere kao ekonomske sfere, sfere u kojoj su unaprijed otuđeni proizvodi našega rada, ali i samo naše biće i sve ono što ti je dopušteno činiti. Buržoazija, glasom koji drhti od poniznosti, obećava: prava, pravdu, jednakost. A pobunjenici čuju: represija, eksploracij, pljačka.” [1]*

Pozivanje na nenasilne proteste i prozivanje svakog dostojanstvenog pobunjenika sa maskom, srcem i bijesom dovoljno velikim da zapali sve – “provokatorom” je samo rezultiralo sve većom i većom nezainteresovanju za proteste [koji, usput, kroz par dana nisu više ni imali cilja]. Tu smo lekciju trebali naučiti sa JMBG protesta, ali se to nije samo ponovilo, već je rezultat tog impecilnog građanstva bila za jedno 60 puta kobniji. Za plenumaše-građane su odjednom svi postali “agenti provokatori” i “režimski igrači”; da, bukvalno svi koji su se usudili da kritikuju taktike istih. Zarad istine je važno napomenuti da nisu svi plenumaši građanski “profesionalni” aktivisti, ali se njihova baš i nije pikala kada su bile u pitanju takve stvari. Jer, plenumaši su bili toliko uvrijeđeni medijskim nepodržavanjem, da su po svaku cijenu branili i najimbecilnije poduhvate plenuma.

Generalno je čitav plenum napravio veliku grešku u potrazi za prostorom u kojem će se održavati isti. Tako se plenum ogradio od protesta / i.e. blokiranja glavne saobraćajnice/ i postao “priča za sebe”, umjesto da se okupirala jedna od bezbroj vladinih zgrada i pretvorila u štab demonstranata. Plenum je, zapravo, postao neformalna institucija i posrednik između demonstranata i vladajuće klase. Iako danas više ni njegovi najstrasniji zagovarači ne vjeruju u moć istog – plenum je odradio svoje – ugušio proteste, smuljaо zahtjeve i rekao pobunjenom narodu da čeka odluku vlade koja će stići in no time. Dok čekaju odluku, milostinju, plenum je, zajedno sa predstavnikom USAIDA i Valentinom Inzkom [*koji je, usput, ako ste zaboravili prijetio slanjem trupa u BiH*], podržao mirne, ‘dostojanstvene’ i građanske proteste, odnosno blokiranje glavne sarajevske saobraćajnice, ali uz strogo osuđivanje bilo kakvog ‘nasilničkog’ ispada. Tako je jedan od demonstranata opet prozvan provokatorom, jer je “nasilnički” postupio dok su službena vozila mirno, dostojanstveno i u građanskom duhu gazila demonstrante. Čekajući Godoa ili Ekspertnu vladu koja će se kao Sveti spasioc pojavit i izvući nas iz govana.

Pri tome ne shvatajući da nas nikakve vlade, ovakve i onakve, ne mogu isčupati iz govana u koja smo upali. Jedini spas za narod u Bosni i Hercegovini je ostavka svih vladajućih struktura, uništenje svakog oblika vlasti nad radnim ljudima i samoorganizacija. Tek tada bi plenumi imali stvarno smisla. I da se nose u kurac svi ovi što zagovaraju intervenciju eksperata i bosanskih “intelektualaca” alkoholičara koji su svoje živote protračili u kafanama.

I da li primijetili koliko su ti liberali/plenumaši/građani – kako god vam volja – agresivni u pokušaju da nametnu stavove drugima? Da li vam je zapalo za oko koliko su isključivi kada svoje stavove i vrijednosti prezentiraju kao jedine ispravne i civilizirane? Kada mišljenje većine korelira s njihovim, pozivaju se na demokratiju, u suprotnom “narod je zatucan i neobrazovan” i svi smo mi pećinski ljudi. Uživljeni u ulogu prosvjetitelja, oni se pozivaju na Evropu, deklaracije o ljudskim pravima, civilizirani svijet, nauku, a najčešće znaju “next to nothing” o tim stvarima. Uloga progresivnih revolucionara je njihov imidž. Oni su urbani, njihovi stavovi su urbani, njihovi idoli su urbani, njihova imaginarna revolucija je urbana. Oni ne pripadaju ovom podneblju, oni se guše u primitivizmu koji zrači iz svih nas. *“Be the change you want to see”* u sinergiji sa arogantnim *“gdje ja živim”*.

Ko god tvrdi da nasilje ništa ne rješava i da se sve može mirnim i demokratskim putem riješiti, treba da se zapita kako bi svijet danas izgledao da nije bilo ustanaka i revolucija, do koje mjere bi autoritet išao ako je jedina sila koja ga razvija pohlepa za većom ovlasti i kontrolom. Budući da je odgovor na ovako pitanje očit, pogledajte sve te sitne građane koji se pozivaju na demokratiju i u njihovim očima više nećete vidjeti ‘*velike revolucionare*’, već usrane imbecile bez dostojanstva i muda!

Papci poput liberala nikada nisu mogli biti avangarda – ičega u BiH, a posebno ne u Sarajevu. Stoga je svako uplitanje takvih osoba i zabijanje njihovih demokratskih i “tolerantnih” noseva u naša huliganska posla, osuđeno na propast i slabljenje pobunjeničkog duha.

**Ustanci i revolucije su teške, zahtjevne, mnogo puta i bolne, ali jedino kao takve, one mogu da donesu slobodu i dostojanstvo čovjeka.**

I kako su nas naša huliganska iskustva dovela do novih poznanstava sa predivnim mladim i hrabrim ljudima koji su voljni promijeniti svijet i raditi na konkretnim stvarima, a nisu uprljali svoje obraze u aferi ‘profesionalnog aktivizma’, zajedno smo odlučili da naše akcije i postupci uvijek budu u skladu sa našim, a ne demokratskim, željama. Svaka minuta nedjelovanja i nesabotiranja liberalnih i vladinih metoda je umješanost u njihove zločine.

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*Sve gore navedene grube analize ne bi bile od nekog posebnog značaja kada ih ne bi popratio prijedlog nastavka borbe.*

Ustaničke zajednice se sastoje od raznih ljudi, sa raznim motivima zbog kojih su odlučili da objave rat protiv vlasti. Radi postizanja jače i učinkovitije akcije, neophodan je čvrst odnos između drugova unutar jedne zajednice. Zajednica je sačinjena od ćelija na temelju zajedničkog iskustva ili cilja i akcije.

Akcije koje udaraju na neprijatelja se ne mogu priznavati kao “legalne” ili “ilegalne”, jer ne prihvatom jezik kojim govori država! I one se mogu kretati od protesta i skupova, do kolektivnih/individualnih akcija noćnih uništavanja svakog simbola države i direktnog sukoba sa psima čuvarima režima i/ili rukovodiocima.

Jedino ovakvim metodama odnosi između ljudi mogu poprimiti oblik drugarstva i postati cjelina u smislu solidarnosti; i samo u ovakvim metodama borbe, stvarne borbe, svaka osoba osjeća svoje postojanje i djeluje na osnovu svojih emocija i svijesti. To znači usmjeravanje sile prema zajedničkom cilju – što uključuje i prevazilaženje razlika, razbijanje zemlje i neprestani napad na neprijatelja.

Vladajuća demokratija voli da omogući slobodno izražavanje revolucionarnih ideja, ali u isto vrijeme osigurava ismijavanje istih od strane medija, pokopavanje ustanka punokrvnim oglasnim lecima. Masa će idalje izrugljivo da to konzumira i ovisnost o mainstream medijima će da prevlada.

Nikakva vijest i tvrdnja u novinama i elektronskim medijima ne može da zamijeni rukovanje sa saborcima u zajednici i komunikaciju kroz odnos koji je razvijen u otvorenom otporu. Strategija države na nervni sistem anti-autoritarne borbe je dinamično i agresivno udaranje na izbore. Ne biti građanin sada je jednako objavljuvanju rata.

**Pitanje je da li ćemo odustati od rata i pasti na koljena pred državom?**

*Sarajevo, 08. mart 2014.*

**Pisali:** Ekipa iz haustora/Slobodari

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[1] Beduin uvijek, građanin nikada; Atina, 2008.

## **HOW DID BOSNIAN UPRISE FAILED [and what have we learned]?**

Yesterday was opened discussion among protesters “How did Bosnian uprising failed and what have we learned” and this is our small contibution to the forthcoming analyzes and discussions, provided that we analyze only protests in Sarajevo, because we worked here and spend our time with people on streets during, and after, famous 7th February. In order to understand current movements in Sarajevo, it is important to keep in mind all protests [not-so-common] which occured in last few years and movements that have occurred in that time. We don’t want to last it forever, so maybe it will be little problem for those who are not familiar with them. When we say “protests”, we don’t think of protests walks around town organized by non-governmental organizations on the occasions of various dates that have empty meaning, *just like their walks*. There is too much problems with Sarajevo protests, and it’s important to write it in consecutive and logical way - as with mistakes in steps, also with wrong perception of protests.

We are writing this as attempt to highlight basic missed things, and in hope it would serve as a trigger to correct omissions and spread ideas.

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After the last flame was extinguished, every unlucky man which was stunned by poison gas and arrested, and after anti-terrorist unit came on terrain - mass media have begun its job.

Question of media in B&H is still problematic, so there are various groups of people which follow media and believe them, but for a different reasons. Some of them follow so-called “independent” media [or American one], other follow media which belong to “their” party, and the third which act like they know media sells shit, but still remain faithful listeners/readers of a certain television/portal/newspaper.

What still has not come to mind of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the fact that all these media run by mercenary invertebrates – they are working in favor of the ruling class. Regardless whether they work for those who want to come to power or the current government, the media is just an extended arm of the oppressor - current, future, potential - and it happens that they play against each other, quite often, but this time we saw united black crows screaming at disenfranchised demonstrators calling them hooligans, vandals, mercenaries and “left” Al’Kaida! What did they, in fact, succeed to sell us?

Generally, the problem is not in the nicknames ‘hooligan’, ‘vandal’, like they also call sport fans, but the attendance on their football matches does not fall. While it has been told to us, on all the bells and whistles how we have “*understand what it has been done to us for 20 years and that we’ve fought for their interests and that we will never be able to be fucked up at the expense of nationalism*”, in that moment we failed on another story that they’re selling us for 20 years - a war story. It is interesting how very few of the demonstrators paid attention for the ‘must-have’ of any news about the protests these days, like: “*state of war*” and “*that what the heroes in the war defended, the hooligans burned today*” [author’s note: The Presidency Building]. The most transparent tactic that was used by the media and politicians is the argumentum ad Incursus - taking the attitude that “neither the aggressor did not do that” for

any action taken by the opposing side, to strengthen their own argumentation lines and weakening the legitimacy of the opponents. On the other hand, the responsibility need to be taken by group of demonstrators who [sincerely, we hope unconsciously] played the way the government was playing:

The first mistake that has been repeating for who knows how many times, is the playing on the pathetic. About that it can be made a collection of statements “Disappointed people who are screwed up by those who confirmed on Facebook that they will come.” Or calling the non-demonstrators ‘shit’, ‘Dad’s sons’, ‘immoral people’, with shouts [we do not know where this cry encouraged, go to hell with him]: NARODE, JE LI VAM DOOOOOOBRO? (PEOPLE, ARE YOU FEELING GOOOOOOD?) If we use our brains, in this world there is a very small number of people who are feeling good. The problem does not lie in the fact that people think that it is good to them, but far deeper. The number of people who came out to protest Seventh (of February) proved that people are not feeling good, but that people want to protest with specific demands. Blocking streets with whistles and banners which are denouncing students, performing stupid performances you can hold in Iceland or leave such games for home. After all, if people have not responded to a protest, it means that the problem lies in the protests, and not the people who did not respond.

With critivs, pathetics and similar excesses you just refuse people from yourselves. The second, and perhaps the biggest mistake, appeared at the plenum and around the plenum, and is closely related to [not say that it is even the result of] a liberal supply. Advocating ‘democracy’, ‘dignity’, peaceful protests and civil ‘disobedience’ – it is the deadliest weapon for rebellion! The Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina gave up long ago even pretending to be democratic.

Amid the comic climate of superficial analyses, paid officials of psychological war are showing at the rebels, screaming: *“It is not democratic; they’re ignoring the rules by which our democracy works”*. “We can’t, and that we mutely stop for a moment in front of what until recently was considered to be impossible. Although their intent to deceive, heads of state told a truth. We despise democracy more than anything else in this decadent world. Because what is democracy but a system of discrimination and force in the service of property and insulating privacy? Freedom, equality of rights, equality, and all ideological masks together can’t cover up their mission: the preservation and expansion of the social sphere as well as the economic sphere, the sphere in which the products of our work are pre-alienated, but also our being and all that you are allowed to do. The bourgeoisie, with voice that is quivering with humility, promises: rights, justice, equality. And the rebels hear: repression, exploitation, despoilment.

Calling on non-violent protests and accusing every dignified rebel with mask, heart and rage large enough to burn all this shit down -“provocateur” resulted only with bigger lack of interest and enthusiasm for protests [which, by the way, few days after, didn’t make any sense]. This lesson was supposed to be learnt at ID protests, but this time it was not only repeated, this idiotic bourgeois shit was 60x more worst. For plenum-bourgeois suddenly everyone became “agent provocateurs” and “regime agents”; literally anyone who dared to criticize their tactics. For sake of truth, it is important to note that not all people at plenum were bourgeois “professional” activists, but their opinion was not very important and influential in such situations. Plenum-bourgeois were so offended by media which didn’t support them, that they defended at all costs even the most imbecilic ventures of plenum.

Generally, whole plenum made a big mistake in searching for space in which would be maintained plenum. At that moment, plenum distanced itself from protests / i.e. blockade of main road / and it became different part of story, instead of occupying one of numerous government buildings and turning it into the headquarter of protests. The plenum, in fact, became an informal institution and intermediary between the protesters and rulling class. Although today its most biggest advocates do not believe in its power - plenum did what it wanted to do - choked protests, mess up demands and said to rebellious people to wait for governement's decision, which will be published in no time. While they wait a decision, charity - plenum, along with a representative of USAID and Valentin Inzko [which, if you forgot, threatened us by sending troops in Bosnia] supported peaceful, 'dignified' and civilised protests, i.e. blocking the main road in Sarajevo, but with strongly condemn of any 'violent' act. So, one protester was again called "provocateur" because of his "violent" act when drivers of official vehicles peacefully, with dignity and in civilised spirit hitted demonstrators. Waiting for Godot / Expert government that will appear as a holy savior and get us out of this shit.

In doing so, not realizing that no government, of any kind, can get us out of shit in which we have fallen. The only salvation for people of Bosnia and Herzegovina is resignation of all governing structures, destructions of any form of authority over working people - and finally, self-organization. Only in that way, plenums would really make sense. And to fuck off all these who advocate intervention of "experts" and Bosnian "intellectuals" alcoholics who wasted their lives in bars.

And have you noticed how much these liberals/plenum-bourgeois are agressive in attempt to impose their views at other people? Did you saw how exclusive they are when they present their attitudes and values as only correct and civilized? And when the majority opinion correlates with their, they are screaming about democracy, otherwise "people are narrow-minded and uneducated" and we are all "caveman". Losted in the role of educators, they are refering to Europe, Declaration of Human Rights, civilized world, science, and they mostly know "next to nothing" about these things. The role of progressive revolutionaries is ther image. They are urban, their attitudes are urban, their idols are urban, their imaginary revolution is urban. They do not belong to this Balkan-region, they are choking in primitivism that emanates from all of us. "Be the change you want to se" in synergy with arrogant "Oh, God, where do I live."

Whoever claims that violence can't solve anything and that everything can be solved by peacefull and democratic way, need to be asked how would world look alike today if there weren't uprisings and revolutions, to which extent to which extend would authority go if only force that it develops is lust for greater power and control. Since the answer to this question is obvious, look at all of these fine bourgeois which are refering to democracy and in their eyes you'll se no longer "great revolutionaries", but crappy idiots without dignity and courage!

Idiots like liberals could never be vanguard of anything in B&H, especially not in Sarajevo. Therefore, any interference of such persons and thursting their democratic and "tolerant" noses in our hooligan work is doomed to fail and weakening the rebel spirit.

Uprisings and revolutions are though, demanding, and many times painful, but only as such - they can bring freedom and dignity.

And as our hooligan experience led us to new acquaintances with a wonderfull young and brave people who are willing to change the world and to work on concretely things, which didn't soiled their soul in the affair of "profesional activism", and we decided that our actions

will always be in line with our, not democratic, desires. And that every minut of inaction and non-sabotage of liberal and government methods is our involvement in their crimes.

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All of the above rough analysis would not be of any particular significance if there wouldn't be in accompanied a proposal for continuing of the fight.

Uprising community is made by various people with different motives why they decided to declare war against the government. In order to achieve stronger and more effective action, it's necessary to have strong relationship between comrades within a community. Community is made up of cells on the basis of common experience or actions and goal.

Actions that hit the enemy can't be recognized as "legal" or "illegal" because we do not accept the language spoken by the state! And they are able to move from protests and meetings, to collective/individual actions in the night, destroying every symbol of the state and direct conflict with the watchdogs of the regime and/or managers. Only with these methods the relations between people can take the form of comradeship and become a whole in terms of solidarity, and only in such methods of combat, actual combat, each person feels their existence and act based on its emotions and mind. That means directing the force toward a common goal - including overcoming differences, breaking ground and a constant assault on the enemy. The ruling democracy likes to allow the free expression of revolutionary ideas, but at the same time deriding them by the media, the burial of uprising with blooded advertising leaflets. Mass will still ironically consume that and the addiction of mainstream media will overcome it. No statement in the news and newspapers or electronic media can't replace the handshake with comrades in the community and communication through a relationship developed in the open resistance. State Strategy on the nervous system of anti-authoritarian struggle is a dynamic and aggressive hitting our choices. Not being a citizen is now equal annunciation of the war.

Questions is: are we going to give up of war and fall to knees in front of the state?

*Sarajevo, 8th March, 2014.*

**Translated by: Jale / Capital City Brigade**

# INTERVIEW

## INTERVJU SA OPTUŽENIM ANARHISTOM GANOM

Intervju sa anarhističkim drugom Ganom, koji je uhapšen 08. februara i osumnjičen za napad na ustavni poredak Bosne i Hercegovine i koji je preživio brutalno policijsko nasilje za vrijeme provedeno u pritvoru.

### 1. Reci nam kada, kako i povodom čega su te uhapsili?

G: Uhapšen sam 8. februara oko 13:00 sati. Prolazio sam ispred I policijske uprave (Centar) i pričao sa drugaricom na telefon kada su me kornjače (op.a. specijalne jedinice) zaustavile i počele pretresati. U džepu su mi našli fantomku, lanac i špricu – koju koristim za samoobranu. Uhapšen sam na osnovu sumnje da sam učestvovao u protestima 7. februara.

### 2. Možeš li nam ukratko reći kako su vas tretirali u pritvoru?

G: Kada su me lišili slobode, odveli su me u Centar i tu su me odmah počeli udarati. Fantomku koju su mi pronašli u džepu su mi sve vrijeme u Centru držali na glavi. Jedan pandur, na iznenađenje njegovih kolega što mi je stavio fantomku, je rekao: “*Kada je dečko došao sa fantomkom, nek je drži na glavi. Što da mu mi kvarimo ćejf? A možda mu je i hladno.*”

Nakon što su mi nabili fantomku na glavu, odveli su me konferencijsku salu gdje je bilo još 25-30 momaka. Pošto sam imao fantomku na glavi, a kako su se drotovi smjenjivali tokom 4satnog prebijanja, to im je bio ‘znak’ da mene prvog počnu udarati. Kako bi ulazili, prvo bi počeli udarati mene, pa ostale momke. Udarali su nas stolicama, čizmama, palicama, kacigama, specijalkama. Jedan od njih me je udario stolicom u leđa i glavu, i tada sam izgubio svijest. Nakon 10-15 minuta sam došao sebi, te je jedan rekao: “*Ovaj je živ, jebem li mu majku*”. Tada su nastavili da me udaraju.

Zatim su me odveli na drugi sprat da dam izjavu. Tu su mi uzeli telefon i čitali poruke. Poruku koju sam dobio od drugarice su uzeli kao dokazni materijal. Poruka glasi: “*Danas u 2 sata će biti protesti ispred Centra, ići će se tamo da se traži oslobođanje zatvorenih momaka*”. Tu poruku su prepravili i u istražnim dokumentima ona glasi ovako: “*Danas u 2 sata idi ispred Centra i traži oslobođanje naših momaka*”.

Tada me je komesar počeo udarati i rekao: “Šalji govna u Logavinu”. U Logavinoj sam dao izjavu i tu me nisu tukli. Iz Logavine su nas odveli u Centra da uzmemo potvrdu o lišavanju sa slobode. Tada su nas samo verbalno vrijeđali. Osim kada je jedan specijalac otvorio vrata od džipa u kojem smo bili vezani ja i Zeka (Tarik Zejnilović, njegova izjava se može pročitati [ovde](#)) i pitao nas da li ga prepoznajemo i počeo nas šamarati.

Nakon toga su nas odveli u II policijsku upravu Kantona Sarajevo – Novo Sarajevo gdje su nas specijalci, inspektorji i komesari tukli dok smo čekali da nas smjeste u ćelije. Poslije toga je uslijedila još jedna “tura” premlaćivanja. I tek tada su nas smjestili u ćelije. Ja sam proveo 36-40 sati.

### 3. Dakle, mediji koji su objavili da su “svi uhapšeni demonstranti pušteni” su lagali?

G: Da. Mi uopšte nismo znali ko je oslobođen, a ko ne. Kada sam izašao saznao sam da je “posljednji” pritvoreni izašao oko 23:00; tu ste i vi bili ispred suda, kada je maloljetnik

pušten. On je za medije bio "posljednji", međutim, u pritvoru u Novom Sarajevu je ostalo još 10ak momaka. Mi nismo imali pojma šta se događa. Mene su pustili 4-5 sati kasnije.

**4. Mediji su i prenosili priče o tome da ste se svađali oko para koje ste "trebali dobiti". O čemu se zapravo radilo kada ste se pričali o parama i dovikivali se iz ćelija? Vjerovatno znaš da su mediji pokušali to sve predstaviti kao sukob između Zeke i Nine.**

**G:** Nikakve svađe nije bilo, jer se Zeka i Nino ne poznaju, to prvo. Čitava zajebancija oko para koje smo "trebali dobiti" je nastala nakon što je jedan od uhapšenih, dok su ga tukli, u zajebanciji rekao: "Jebo ti 50 KM za ovakve batine, brate". Kasnije smo se mi dovikivali iz dosade i pravili cirkus oko toga da trebamo ići tražiti i nas da plate, da ne bude da smo džaba završili u pritvoru i dobili batine.

**5. Da li su Ninu i Sanina spominjali tokom ispitivanja? Njih se tereti za organizovanje i pozivanje na paljenje i uništavanje državne imovine.**

**G:** Da. Čim smo došli, počeli su da nas ispituju preko kojeg komunikacijskog sredstva su nas Nino i/ili Sanin obavijestili o protestima. Koliko su nas platili, ko stoji iza svega i slične gluposti. Ja sam im rekao da ta njihova priča nema veze sa mozgom. Za proteste se moglo čuti i preko televizije i preko interneta. Čitav svijet je brujao o protestima u Sarajevu. Nine i Sanina se sjećam sa ranijih skupova i protesta, jer su i oni politički aktivni, ali nikada nismo imali nikakav kontakt, jer dolazimo iz različitih političkih struja. Ja sam anarhista, Sanin je komunista, a Nino patriota. Nemam pojma kako su uspjeli da nas uvežu. Premda je Sarajevo mali grad, sasvim je logično da se znamo iz viđenja.

**6. Da li je bilo prijetnji i ucjena od strane policije?**

**G:** Naravno. Ti gadovi hrane dušu premlaćivanjem i ucjenjivanjem. Jedan od pandura koji su nas tukli dok smo čekali da nas bace u ćelije nam je prijetio da će na nama isprobati elektrošok za koji je naglasio da ima 800 volti. Prijetili su nam i da ćemo popiti metak u čelo ako budemo imali muda da ih prijavimo za nasilje. Jedan od njih mi se unio u lice i rekao: "*Popit ćeš metak u čelo, čitava stanica može da potvrdi da si prvi izvukao pištolj na mene. Dakle – ja ću se opravdati.*"

Što se ucjena tiče, kod tužiteljice u Novom Sarajevu mi je inspektor Bekir Hrvat nudio "nagodbu" da ošmekam sve koje znam da su učestvovali na protestima, šatro anonimno, a uz prijetnju da ako to ne uradim, da će me držati u pritvoru do suđenja. To sam, naravno odbio, jer nisu imali nikakve osnove da me zadrže u pritvoru.

**7. Jesi li mogao kontaktirati ikoga iz pritvora? Jesi li imao advokata?**

**G:** Nisam mogao ni kontaktirati ikoga, niti sam imao pravo na advokata kod tužiteljice. Niko nije znao gdje smo ni šta je sa nama. I vi ste saznali da sam u zatvoru tek kada vam je Sanin rekao da smo zajedno pjevali u ćelijama.

**8. Za šta tebe terete?**

Optužen sam da sam počinio krivično djelo sudjelovanja u grupi ljudi koja je počinila krivično djelo iz člana 341. KZ F BiH, u vezi sa članom 358., 359., 362. i 293., 177. KZ F BiH.

U optužnici piše da sam: dana 07.02.2014. godine, u Sarajevu u ul. Reisa Džemaludina Čauševića br. 1, opština Centar Sarajevo, a nakon što su od strane Aličković Nihada, Čepalo Sanina i drugih za sada nepoznatih lica pozvani na proteste ispred zgrade Vlade Kantona Sarajevo, gdje se okupio veći broj građana, sudjelovali u grupi i zajedničkim djelovanjem učestvovali u grupi, tako što su na samom početku protesta bez razloga i povoda bacali kamenice i druge predmete u prozore i vrata zgrade Kantona Sarajevo, zgrade Predsjedništva

BiH i Opštine Centar Sarajevo, a zatim bez razloga i povoda napali na policijske službenike MUP KS, koji su osiguravali navedene zgrade, gađajući ih kamenjem, a zatim udarcima nogama, rukama i drugim predmetima kojom prilikom je 12 policijskih službenika zadobilo teške, a 123 policijska službenika luke tjelesne povrede, na koji način su onemogućili policijske službenike da osiguravaju navedene objekte, a nakon čega su ušli u unutrašnjost navedenih zgrade, izvršili premetačinu stvari, te ih bacili u korito Koševskog potoka, a zatim uzeli i prisvojili veći broj tehničkog i drugog inventara, te uz pomoć za sada nepoznate materije zapalili unutrašnjost pomenutih zgrada, kojoj prilikom je uslijed požara u zgradama Vlade KS, Predsjedništva i Opštine Centar nastupila imovinska šteta većeg opsega, da bi zatim izvršili paljevinu većeg broja službenih i privatnih vozila, kao i drugih okolnih objekata, osiguravajućih kućica i manjih trgovinskih objekata.

*Op.a.:*

Čl. 341: *Učestvovanje u grupi ljudi koja učini krivično djelo (od 1 do 10 godina)*

Čl. 358: *Sprečavanje službene osobe u vršenju službene radnje (od 3 mjeseca do 5 godina)*

Čl. 359: *Napad na službenu osobu u vršenju poslova sigurnosti (od 1 do 10 godina)*

Čl. 362: *Nasilničko ponašanje (od 6 mjeseci do 5 godina)*

Čl. 341: *Oštećenje tuđe stvari (do 1 godine zatvora)*

Čl. 177: *Povreda ravnopravnosti čovjeka i građanina (od 6 mjeseci do 5 godina)*

## **9. Nakon svih batina i držanja u pritvoru si otišao odmah nakon oslobođanja kod doktora. Kakvi su bili rezultati?**

**G:** Jesam, pošto nas nisu htjeli voditi na KUM. Doktori su mi dijagnosticirali blagi potres mozga i brojne hematome po tijelu. Desno rame mi je dislocirano, imam 4 nagnječena rebra i 1 napuklo i razbijednu desnu arkadu.

## **10. Hvala ti puno, imaš li šta za dodati?**

**G:** Hvala vama. Nemam, osim, možda da će mi najvjerovalnije spojiti kazne, jer sam već ranije bio osuđivan, a to nisam "odležao".

# **INTERVIEW WITH ACCUSED ANARCHIST COMRADE GHANA**

Interview with anarchist comrade Ghana, who was arrested on 8th February and suspected for attack on the constitutional order of Bosnia and Herzegovina and who experienced brutal police violence for the time spent in custody.

## **1. Tell us when, how and why have you been arrested.**

I was arrested on 8th February around 13:00. I was passing next First Police Department (authors note: Center) and I was talkin with comrade on the phone when Special Units stopped me and started searching me. In my pocket they found balaclava, a chain and syring – which we use for self-defense. I was arrested for suspicion that I participated in protests on 7th February.

## **2. Can you in brief tell us how they treated you and other guys in detention?**

When I was arrested, they took me to Center and immediately started hitting me. They were

holding on my head my mask which they found in my pocket, whole time in Center. One of the cops, to his surprised colleagues when he putted balaclava on my head, said: “When boy came with a balaclava, let’s hold it on his head. Why should we spoil his whishes. And maybe he’s cold.”

After that, they took me to a conference room, there were 25-30 guys. Since I had a balaclava on my head, and how cops alternated during 4-hours beating, it was sign to them to start hitting me first. How they enter, they would first started beating me, and then other guys. They hitted us with chairs, boots, sticks, halmets. One of them hitted me with chair at back and head, and then I lost consciousness. After 10-15 minutes, I came to myself, and one cop said: “This motherfucker is alive!”.

Then they took me on second floor to give a statement. There they took my phone and read messages. Message which I received from comrade they took as evidence. The message reads: “Today in 14:00 will be protests in front of the Center, people will go there to demand release of arrested guys.” That message is rewrote in investigative documents and it reads: “Today at 14:00 go in front of Center and demand release of our guys”.

Then commissioner started hitting me and said: “Send this shit to Logavina”. In Logavina I made statement and they didn’t beat us there. They took us from Logavina to Center to take a certificate of depravation of freedom. We were verbally insulted there. Except when a special policeman opened the door of the jeep in which we were bounded – me and Zeka (authors note: Tarik Zejnilović, his statement can be read [here](#)) and asked us whether we recognize him and he began to slap us.

After that, they took us to the Second police deparment of Canton of Sarajevo – Novo Sarajevo, we have been beaten by special policemen, inspectors and commissioners while we waited to put us in cells. After that followe one “tour” more of beating. And after that they putted us in cells. I spent 36-40 hours in police department.

### **3. So, when media announced that “all arrested protesters were released”, they lied?**

Yes. We didn’t knew who was released and who isn’t. When I was released, I found out that “last” detained was released around 23:00; as I know – you were also in front of the court, when a juvenile was released. For media, he was “last detained”, however, in Novo Sarajevo remained 10 detained boys. We had no idea what was going on. I was released 4-5 hours later.

### **4. Media placed news about “fight” in prison over a money that you were “supposed to get”. What actually happened when you were talking about money and shouting from cells? You probably know that media tried to present everything as a conflict between Zeka and Nino.**

There was no any fight, because – firstly, Zeka and Nino don’t know each other. Whole joke about money which we were “supposed to get” was created after one of arrested, while they beat him – and asking “who gave you money? who organised this?” said: “Bro’, fuck 50 KM [25 euros] for beatings like this.” Later we were shouting of boredom and made circus about that how we should go and demand to pay us, so it wouldn’t be we got beaten and arrested for nothing.

### **5. Did they mentioned Nino and Sanin during questioning? They are charged for organizing and calling people to burn state property.-**

Yes. As soon as we arrived, they began to examine us how Nino and/or Sanin called us on protests. How many of us are paid, who's behind all of this and similar nonsense. I told them that what they say have no common sense. For protests could be heard from TV and Internet. Whole world was talking about protests in Sarajevo. I remember Nino and Sanin from earlier meetings and protests, because they are politically active, but we have never had any contact, because we are coming from different political movements. I'm an anarchist, Sanin is communist and Nino is patriot. I have no idea how they managed to unite us. Although Sarajevo is small town and it's quite logical that we met each other on various protests.

## **6. Has there been any threats and blackmails by police?**

Of course. These bastards feed their soul by beating and blackmailing. One of cops who beat us was threatening to us with electroshock of 800w. They threatened us with "bullet in head" if we try to say that they beat us. One of them came to me and said: "You'll get a shot in the forehead, entire police station will confirm you first pulled gun on me. So – I will be justified."

As far as blackmail – at prosecutors office in Novo Sarajevo, inspector Bekir Hrvat offered me "a deal" / "plea bargain" to snitch all people I know which were at protests, anonymously, and he treated me – if I don't do so – he will keep me in custody until trial. Of course, I refused it. They had no basis to detain me in detention.

## **7. Have you been able to contact anyone in custody? Did you had lawyer?**

I couldn't contact anyone, nor did I had right to have lawyer. No one knew where we were or what's going out with us. And you also found out I'm in prison after Sanin was released and told you that we sang together in cells.

## **8. For what are they charging you?**

I'm accused of committing a criminal act of participating in a group of people which committed a criminal act under art. 341 CCFBiH [participation in a group of people who are committing criminal act; 1-10 years], with art. 358.[stopping police in performance of official acts; 3months to 5 years], 359.[attacking policeman while in performance of security; 1-10 years], 362. [Bullying; 6 months to 5 years] and 293.[Malicious mischief; up to 1 year in prison], 177. [Violation of the equality of people and citizens; 6 months to 5 years] CCFBiH.

## **9. After all beatings and keeping in custody, you immediately went to doctor after release. What were the results?**

Yes, because they didn't want to take us to hospital. Doctors diagnosed me a mild concussio and numerous hematomas in body. My right shoulder is dislocated, I have 4 crushed ribs and one cracked and cracked right arcade.

## **10. Thank you so much, do you have anything to add?**

Thank you. No, except, perhaps, they will most likely connect my sentences, because I have already been convicted guilty for earlier acts, and I 'escaped' prison.

# COMRADE ACCUSED FOR TERRORISM



## TRNKA – HEROJ, NE TERORISTA

Nihad Trnka, jedan od demonstranata, je uhapšen u petak, 7. marta u Sarajevu. 8. marta je oko 18:40 prebačen iz FUP-a, nakon kriminalističke obrade, u Tužilaštvo Bosne i Hercegovine. Uz njega je danas uhapšen i Salem Hatibović, koji je optužen za donošenje benzina i molotovljevih koktela, a o kojem nemamo više informacija i ne poznajemo ga [ako neko ima, može pisati na naš mail]. I još 5 osoba.

Nihad je preuzeo odgovornost za ovo djelo. Trenutno mu se stavlja na teret počinjenje krivičnog djela Terorizma (čl. 201 KZBiH, u vezi sa čl. 156 KZBiH – Napad na ustavni poredak).

### Neke bitne informacije:

Trnka je tokom protesta nosio anonimus masku. Prije nego je stavio masku na lice, uslikan je. Optužen je za bacanje molotovljevog koktela na zgradu Predsjedništva i ulaska u nju. Danas (8. marta) mu je pretrešena porodična kuća, međutim maska i torba sa snimaka nisu pronađene. Njega se optužuje i za paljenje Arhiva Bosne i Hercegovina. Inače, spaljivanje Arhiva je medijski spin koji je pušten u javnost odmah nakon što je zapaljen prvi sprat zgrade Predsjedništva. Mediji i policija pokušavaju da proguraju priču o tome da je Arhiv zapaljen i izgoren. Važno je istaći činjenicu da se, kao prvo, čitav Arhiv ne nalazi u zgradi Predsjedništva, već samo mali dio – iako se pokušava prodati priča da je čitava istorija BiH izgorila; kada je zgrada Predsjedništva zapaljena, okupljeni pojedinci su ušli u zgradu i spasili 99,9% građe Arhiva. Lažne fotografije spaljenog Arhiva koje kruže po medijima su papirčine koje nemaju nikakvu vrijednost. Arhiv se nalazi u posebnoj i zatvorenoj prostoriji u koju se nije moglo tako lako ući. Da budemo precizni – vrijednost Arhive BiH naspram mase potlačenih i gladnih ljudi je vrijedna nuli!

**Anarhistički Crni Krst** će uskoro objaviti na koji način ćete biti u mogućnosti da pomognete Nihadu – vjerovatno finansijski. Za sada je planirano skupljanje novca za plaćanje advokata.

Neki drugovi su već pokrenuli inicijativu i traže da se ime sporedne ulice prema Predsjedništvu nazove po njemu.

\*\*\*

10. marta je Nihadu određen jednomjesečni pritvor. Prema ovoj odluci, pritvor može da traje do 7. aprila 2014. godine ili do nove odluke suda.

Sud je Nihadu odredio pritvor jer “može uticati na svjedoce, saučesnike ili prikrivače” i jer bi “puštanje Nihada na slobodu rezultiralo prijetnjom narušavanja javnog reda.”

Tužitelj, Božo Mihajlović, je zatražio određivanje jednomjesečnog pritvora i kao razlog naveo da je “osumnjičeni tek otkriven i da su u potrazi za još mnogim dokazima” te da će Nihad boravkom na slobodi moći da utiče na svjedoce kako bi ovi promijenili iskaz.

Njegov advokat, M. Kapo je naveo da su pravne kvalifikacije Trnkinog djela upitne, jer se ne mogu dovesti u vezu sa terorizmom, niti je on znao da se tu nalazi Arhiv BiH, kao što to nije znala ni većina građana.

Da se nije zapalila zgrada Predsjedništva 7. februara, ni danas većina ne bi znala šta i gdje je Arhiv BiH.

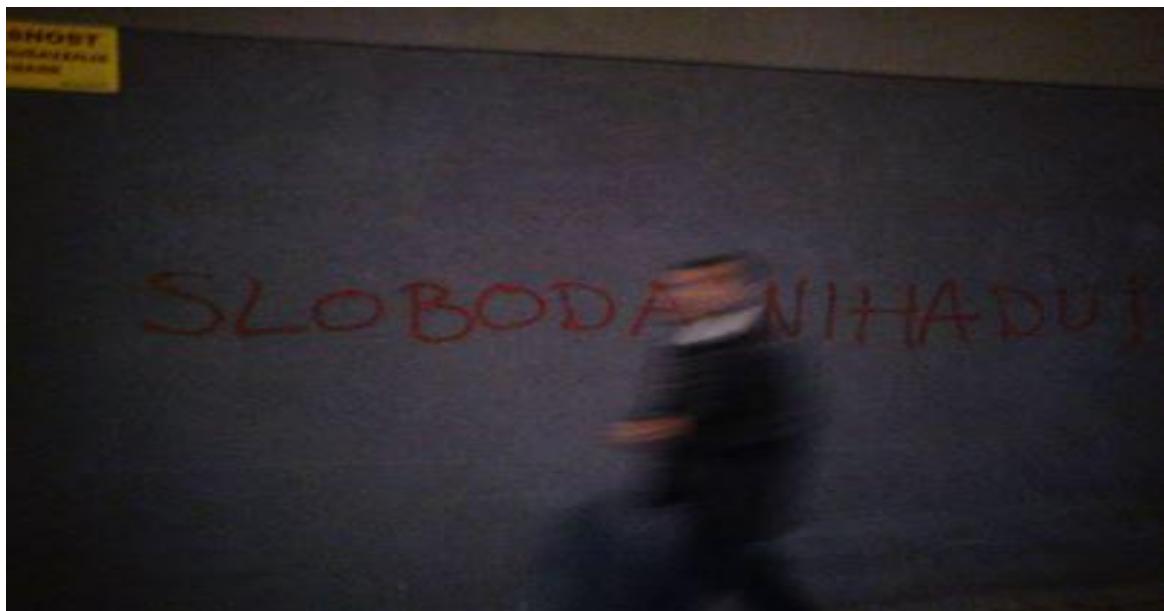
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Nihad ima 22 godine i došao je na proteste jer radi u firmi u kojoj četiri mjeseca nije dobio platu. Njegov ‘boravak na slobodi’ ne bi mogao uticati ni na koga, jer je Nihad već preuzeo odgovornost za paljenje zgrade Predsjedništva

**Možete mu pisati pisma podrške u okružni zatvor na adresu:**

Nihad Trnka,  
Okružni zatvor Miljacka - Branilaca Sarajeva 8,  
71 000 Sarajevo,  
Bosna i Hercegovina

Nihada Trnku je grupa Anarhistički Crni Krst definirala kao osobu zatvorenu zbog aktivnosti koje je počinio u namjeri da se odupre ugnjetavanju i pridonošenju ubrzavanja sprovedbe ravnopravnog, održivog, besklasnog društva utemeljenog na samoopredjeljenju i slobodi.



## **TRNKA – HERO, NOT TERRORIST**

Nihad Trnka, one of the protesters, is arrested in Friday, on 7th March in Sarajevo. Tonight [8th March] around 18:40 he is transferred from FAP [Federal administration of Police], after criminal investigation, to Prosecutor's Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also, another arrested person today is Hatibovich Salem – he is accused for bringing petrol and Molotov cocktails to protesters, and we have no more informations about him [if anyone other has, you can write to Black Cross or Slobodari e-mail]. There are 5 more unknown persons arrested.

Nihad claimed responsibility for this act. Currently, he is charged for committing a criminal act of Terrorism (art. 201 CC BiH, with art. 156 CC BiH – attack on constitutional order).

### **Some background informations:**

Trnka was wearing an anonymous mask during protest. Before he putted the mask on his face, he was photographed. He is accused of attacking building of Presidency with Molotov and entering into building. Today [8th March] his family house was raided, however, mask and bag from police pictures and videos haven't been found. He is accused for burning Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Otherwise, that act was media spin which was released to public immediately after protesters putted on fire first floor of building of the Presidency. The media and police are trying to convince public that Archive burnt. It is important to emphasize the fact that, firstly, entire Archive is not in Presidency building, but only a part of it; even though they are trying to place news that whole history of Bosnia is burned; when building was putted on fire, gathered individuals entered in building and saved 99,9% of Archive. Fake photos of burnt archive which are circulating in media are random papers with no value. Archive is located in special and sealed room in which would not be so easy to enter. To be more precise – value of Archives of B&H compared to life of oppressed and hungry mass has zero value!

Anarchist Black Cross will soon [for day or two] announce how you will be able to help Nihad – probably in financial way. For now it's planned gathering money to pay lawyers.

Some comrades from Sarajevo have started with initiative to name after him a side street to the Presidency building.

On 10th March held hearing on ordering custody to Trnka. Prosecutor, Božo Mihajlovich, has requested determination (one month), and cited that “suspected is discovered just few days ago and that they are waiting for a lot more evidences” and that Nihad will be able to influence on witnesses to change their testimony.

His lawyer, M. Kapo stated that legal qualifications of Trnka act are problematic, because they can not be linked to terrorism, nor did he knew that there was Archive – majority of citizens didn't know where it is.

If building of Presidency wasn't set on fire, even today, most citizens wouldn't even know where and what is Archive of B&H.

\*\*\*

Nihad is 22 years old and he came to protests because he works in company and he didn't got his salary for four months. He couldn't affect at anyone, because Nihad already claimed responsibility for burning Presidency building.

**You can write support letter to Nihad in Central Prison on the following address:**

Nihad Trnka  
Okružni zatvor Miljacka - Branilaca Sarajeva 8,  
71 000 Sarajevo  
Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Anarchist Black Cross** defined Nihad Trnka as a person arrested for actions committed with the intent to resist oppression and to contribute to accelerating the implementation of equitable, sustainable, classless society based on self-determination and freedom.

# SOLIDARITY WITH UKRAINE

## AKCIJA SOLIDARNOSTI SA UKRAJINSKIM NARODOM



Danas 06. marta smo u Sarajevu okačili 2 banera u znak solidarnosti sa ukrajinskim narodom koji proživljava istu sudbinu kao Bosna 90ih – borbu i preživljvanje između interesa zapadnog imperijalizma sa jedne strane i nacionalističke agresije sa druge.

Mjesto na kojem su okačeni baneri i zapaljene svijeće za pale heroje Majdana je mjesto na kojem je pala prva žrtva okupacije Sarajeva.

Mi smo protiv Janukovićeve bande, protiv “službene” opozicije koja preko krvi naroda želi da se dočepa udobnih stolica, protiv Putinovog fašističkog i imperijalističkog programa, protiv fašističkog šljama koji pokušava da stvori novu policijsku državu i protiv zapadnjačke uloge “spasioca” Ukrajine. Ukrajina pripada samo njenom radnom narodu!

**SOLIDARNOST SA UKRAJINSKIM ANARCHISTIMA!  
SLAVA HEROJIMA – SMRT NEPRIJATELJIMA!**

**ZA HORIZONTALNO I SAMOORGANIZOVANO DRUŠTVO!  
ŽIVJELA UKRAJINSKA REVOLUCIJA!**

## **SOLIDARITY ACTION FOR UKRAINIAN PEOPLE**



### **Banners read:**

- a) We understand your pain / BOSNI(A) UKRAIN(A)
- b) GLORY TO HEROES

On 6th March in Sarajevo, we hung 2 banners in solidarity with the Ukrainian people, who are suffereing the same fate as Bosnia in 90's - struggle for survival between interests of western imperialism on one side, and on other side - nationalist aggresion.

Place where banners are hunges and lighted candles for fallen heroes of Maidan is place where first victim of occupation of Sarajevo fell.

We are against Yanukovych gang, against "official" opposition which, through the blood of the people, wants to get into comforable chairs, against Putin's fascist and imperialist programs, against fascist scum who are trying to create new police state and against western role of "savior" of Ukraine. Ukraine belongs only to its working people!

**SOLIDARITY WITH UKRAINE ANARCHISTS!  
GLORY TO HEROES - DEATH TO ENEMIES!**

**FOR HORIZONTAL AND SELF-ORGANIZED SOCIETY!  
LONG LIVE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION!**

# REPRESSION



## IZJAVE PRETUČENIH I UHAPŠENIH

Do sada je dokumentovano 19 slučajeva korištenja prekomjerne sile nad prosvjednicima, prolaznicima i novinarima na ulicama tokom protesta i protiv prosvjednika u pritvoru. Od toga je šest slučajeva iz Tuzle i trinaest iz Sarajeva, odnosno 8 iz zatvora i 5 sa ulica. Žrtve policijskog nasilja su također 2 žene i 3 djece.

### **Dejan, 28godišnjak, koji uopšte nije učestvovao u demonstracijama:**

“Nisam imao ništa sa prosvjedima. Bio sam kod porodice kući. Sa prozora sam vidio šta se dešava i kada su demonstranti otisli i ostala samo specijalna policija, izašao sam da zaustavim taxi kako bi otisao kod porodice. Bilo je 10-15 specijalaca na ulici i jedan od njih me primjetio.

Došao je do mene i počeo me automatski tući, u tome su mu se pridružila još dvojica. Tukli su me po čitavom tijelu pendrecima. Prvi je govorio da sam demonstrant i da sam učestvovao u protestima. Govorio sam da nisam i da nemam ništa sa protestima. Ležao sam na podu dok su me tukli čime i kuda su stigli.”

### **Sanela, 23godišnjakinja, prosvjednica:**

Njih 5-7 su tukli dječaka. Počela sam da ih snimam telefonom, da vičem da prekinu da ga biju ili će poslati snimak medijima. Jedan od policajaca je dotrao do mene i počeo je da me gura i psuje ”Kuja snima, novinarka je”. Drugi policijac u opremi je došao i počeo me udarati. Ošamario me je i gurnuo na zid, i vikao ”jesi li uspjela da me snimiš, jesli li uspjela da mi zumiraš lice, kujo mala?” Pokušao je da mi otme telefon, ali sam uspjela da ga sačuvam. Onda je počeo da me tuče, sa palicom po nogama i bubrežima, čizmama me je udarao po nozi. Zgrabio me je onda za glavu, i čelom mi udarao o zid zgrade 5-6 puta dok mi se vid nije zamlagio”

### **Slava, 20godišnjak, prosvjednik, uhapšen u svome stanu 7. januara:**

“Došli su (policija) u moju kuću bez naloga. Odveli su me u policijsku stanicu Stari Grad i morao sam da uđem u neku sobu koja je izgledala kao konferencijska sala. Bio sam sam. Odjednom sam osjetio jak udarac po ledima. To je bila metalna šipka. Vrisnuo sam jer je

užasno zaboljelo. Tada se pridružilo još 5-6 policajca. Tukli su me i psovali mi majku i bacili me u čošak sale. Ležao sam na podu, a oni su me udarali šakama po čitavom tijelu. To je trajalo ono 5 minuta, a onda mi je jedan specijalac skočio na rebra i bubrege. Izgubio sam svijest i tad su me polili hladnom vodom. Zatražio sam medicinsku pomoć, a njihov odgovor na to je bio 'Nećeš otići doktoru, makar umro ovdje'."

#### **Zlatan, 15godišnjak, prosvjednik:**

Policija je došla na njegova vrata u sred noći i odvela ga nakon što je postavio sliku na Facebooku sa pločicama sa vrata vladine zgrade u Sarajevu koje je uzeo tokom protesta. Njega su išamarali i natjerali ga da gleda kako tuku druge u istoj sobi. Proveo je 50 sati u pritvoru bez mogućnosti da kontaktira roditelje, iako je policija vrlo dobro znala koliko mu je godina. "Bio sam užasno uplašen kad sam video kako tuku starije momke. Želio sam samo da idem kući."

#### **Dragan, 17godišnjak, uhapšen zbog bacanja kamenja tokom demonstracija:**

"Uhvatali su me kod ajfelovog mosta (op.a. Skenderiji, most pored zida sa kojeg su policajci bacali prosvjednike u Miljacku) i odveli me u policijsku stanicu. Rekao sam im da neću da pričam sa njima bez prisustva mojih roditelja. Rekli su mi "Večeras smo ti mi roditelji" i smijali se. U tom momentu ih je bilo devetero, jedan od njih se zaletio na mene i udario me čizmama u rebra. Još uvijek su slomljena. Pao sam i nastavili su me šutati."



### **STATEMENTS OF BEATEN AND ARRESTED PROTESTERS**

Until today (20th of February) nineteen cases of police violence against protesters, bystanders, and journalists on the streets during demonstrations (7th of February) and against protesters in detention were documented. Six cases were in Tuzla, five of them in the streets and one in detention. The other thirteen were in Sarajevo, eight in detention and five on the streets. The accounts show clear evidence of excessive use of force against protesters both on streets and in detention. Victims include two women and three children.

**- Dejan, 28-year-old, he had not been participating in the demonstrations:**

I had nothing to do with the demonstrations. I was home visiting family. I could see what was happening from my window and when I saw that the demonstrators left, and only special police in riot gear were there, I ventured out to catch a taxi to see my family. There were 10 or 15 special police on the street corner and one officer approached me.

Once he came up to me, he started beating me immediately and two others followed and joined in the beating. They beat me with their sticks and they repeatedly kicked my body. The first police kept shouting that I was part of the protest. I kept saying I was not and had nothing to do with it. I was lying on the ground and they kept kicking my back, my spine, and wherever they could reach.

**- Sanelia, 23-year-old, demonstrator:**

I saw about five to seven special police in riot gear beating [what appeared to be] a young boy. I grabbed my phone and started filming it. I shouted at them to stop beating him or else I would send the footage to the media. One riot policewoman came up to me and started pushing me away and cursed me and shouted “This bitch is filming, she’s a reporter.” Then a policeman in riot gear came over and started hitting me immediately. He slapped my face very hard once and then pushed me to the wall and said, “Did you get a good shot of me, did you manage to zoom my face well, you little bitch?” He tried to grab my phone but I quickly snatched it back.

Then he really started hitting me. He beat me with his stick on my legs and in my kidney area and kicked me with the top of his boot on my shin. Then he grabbed my forehead and punched my head into the wall of the building about five or six times to the point where my eyesight was blurred [...].

**- Slava, 20-year-old, demonstrator:**

They [police] came to my house and entered without showing any warrant. They brought me to the police station in Stari Grad and I was made to walk into a room that looked like a conference hall. I was alone. I felt a sudden hard blow on my back. It was a metal truncheon, I really screamed because it hurt so much. It was one strike and then several police, four or five, joined in. They were cursing and saying, “*Fuck your mother,*” and then threw me into a corner of the conference room.

I was lying on the floor and they were hitting me with their fists and they kicked my body several times wherever they could reach. This went on for five or so minutes and then one of the special police officers jumped on my ribs and my kidney area. I lost consciousness and then they threw cold water on me. I requested medical care to which the response was that “*You won’t get medical care even if you drop dead here.*”

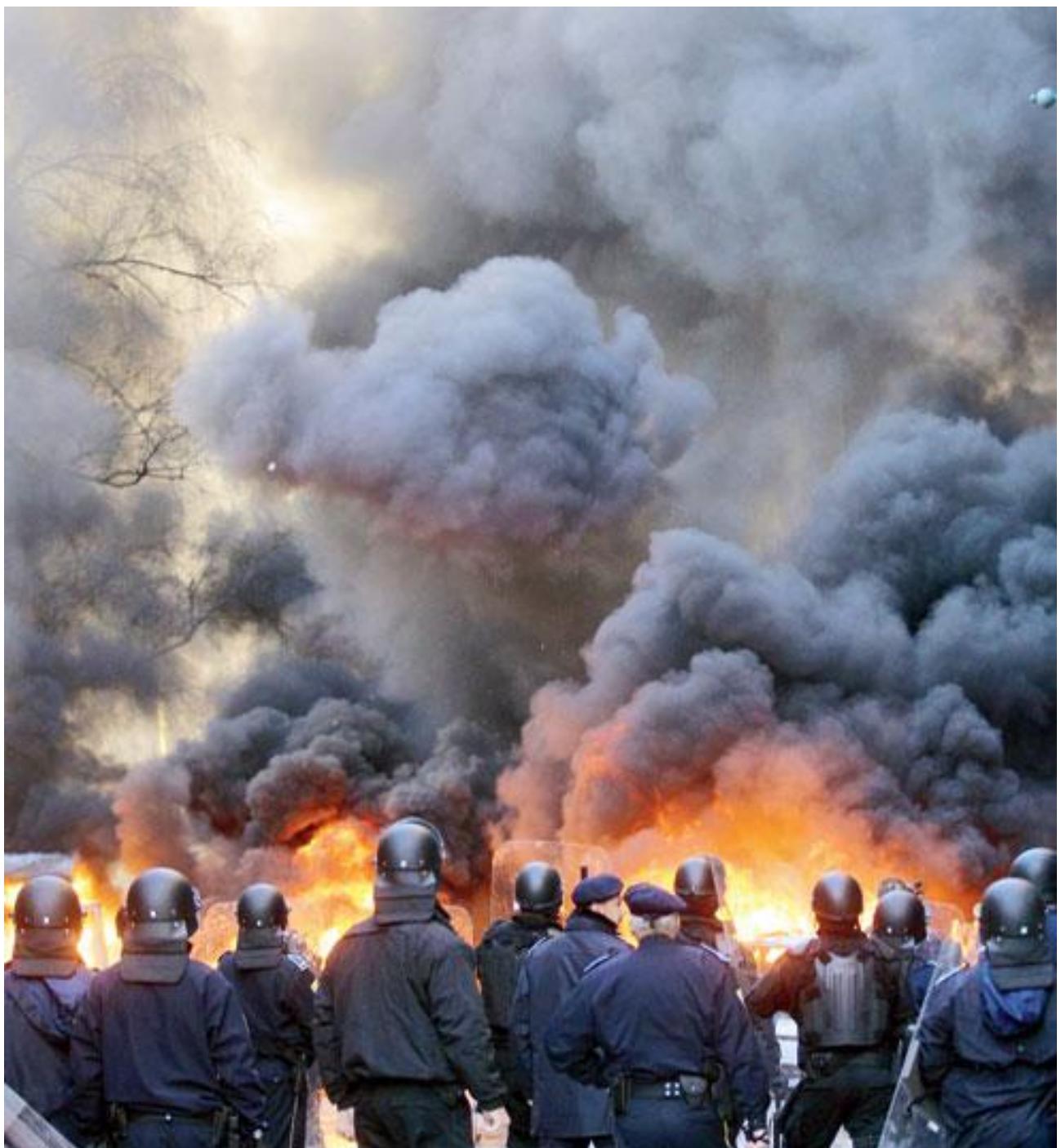
**- Zlatan, 15-year-old boy**

Police came to his home in Sarajevo in the middle of the night and took him away after he posted a picture of himself on Facebook with name signs from the cantonal government building in Sarajevo that he had picked up during the protests. He was slapped around and forced to watch others in the same room being beaten. He spent nearly 50 hours in detention

without being able to contact his parents, even though the authorities knew his age. He told: "*I was so afraid as I saw how all the older boys were beaten. I wanted to go home.*"

**- Dragan, 17-year-old boy, arrested after he threw stones during the demonstrations:**

"They caught me near Eiffels bridge and brought me to the police station [...]. I told them I wouldn't say anything without my parents present. They told me that, "Tonight we are your parents," and they laughed. At one point, there were nine of them, and one ran toward me and kicked me with his boot in my ribs. It's still broken. I fell to the ground and they kept beating me and kicking me."



# SPRING IS ON 7th OF FEBRUARY

## DOBRI BOŠNJACI I VATRA...

Izgleda da policija Kantona Sarajevo nema ništa efikasno protiv demonstranata i plenumaša osim laži i obmanjivanja javnosti. Tako se po medijskim roštiljima okreće vijest da će oni koji su zapalili Predsjedništvo biti optuženi za terorizam. Kako će nazvati nekoliko stotina ljudi koji su stajali na tramvajskoj stanici preko puta famoznog Predsjedništva? Da li će i oni biti optuženi za saučesništvo u nesumnjivom posmatranju “terorističkog” akta?

Da li će nas nekoliko stotina, ako ne i čitavu hiljadu, optužiti za nesprečavanje antidržavnog čina? Jer toliko ljudi je tu stajalo, dok su se neki popeli na zid od parka odakle su imali bolji pogled da vide jedinstvenu sliku kada je prestao da postoji bilo kakav oblik državnog autoriteta.

Ljudi su stajali na zidu jedni pored drugih kao ptice na žici dalekovoda u nadolasku sutona. Iako sam to već jednom napisao, napisaću opet: niko od stotina ljudi koji su posmatrali kako se pali i kako gori zgrada Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine nije reagovao niti se pobunio protiv toga.

Moguće da je bilo ljudi kojima je to bilo mučno, kao i meni što je bilo mučno u jednom trenutku, ali ne zbog paljevine zgrade, nego zbog ljudi koji su se iznutra očajnički borili na život i smrt, samo što niko nije izustio ni slovo. Što se tiče paljevine zgrade Kantona Sarajevo tu nije bilo nikakve samilosti. Na fotografijama koje imam mogu se vidjeti samo ozarena lica ljudi koji gledaju kako gori ova neomiljena zgrada što personificira vlast u Kantonu Sarajevo.

Bitno je da policija u Sarajevu hapsi ljude koji prelaze ulice mimo pješačkog prelaza i za to im naplaćuje 45 KM. Uredno dobiješ uplatnicu na tu sumu koju moraš uredno platiti kao što plaćaš vodu ili struju. Imao sam jednom tu čast da me pozornik velikog stomaka okiti jednom takvom čestitkom od 45 KM.

Pozornici stoje preko puta Bičakčića na Marijin Dvoru i hvataju nesavjesne građane, onda kada žele napuniti kantonalni budžet ili kakvu drugu glupost za što postoje građani Sarajeva. Lutajući internetom naletim na fotografiju koja pokazuje da je na tom mjestu nekad zaista i bio pješački prelaz, ali su ga dobri Bošnjani nakon rata ukinuli, vjerovatno je u pitanju bio neki arhitekta „amiđić“ od nekog dobrog Bošnjaka na funkciji.

I tako to onda ide prema nekoj maksimi premudrog Izetbegovića, da više voli glupog a neobrazovanog Bošnju, jer glup počesto može biti i pošten. A poštenje je moralna vrijednost koju imaju jedino mrtvi i većina građana ove zemlje koji žive u siromaštvu ili na rubu siromaštva.

Tako će neko najebati zbog prelaska ulice, a ovi što se autima zalijeću u masu demonstranata protiv njih neće biti provedeni sudski postupci, jer su to stranački ljudi, pripadnici stranačkih paravojski zaduženi da zajedno sa policijom razbiju demonstrante. Pa zašto bi onda iko normalan poštovao policiju u ovom gradu. Ili njihove šefove koji valjaju gluposti u javnosti dodatno potpirujući postpaljevinsku psihozu.

Klasne razlike nastale bogaćenjem na kostima mrtvih iz rata i na kostima preživjelih nakon rata su se toliko povećale u korist vladajućih dobrih Bošnjaka da oni kada nas gledaju odozgo vjerovatno i ne vide ljudska bića. Vjerovatno im ličimo na žohare, ili jazavce kako su u Mostaru pripadnici specijalne policije neku noć nazivali demonstrante zabranjujući im marširanje kroz zapadni dio grada da ne bi slučajno uvrijedili dobre Bošnjake iz drugog konstitutivnog naroda.

Ogromne klasne razlike neće smiriti ukidanja nikakvih bijelih hljebova niti slični simbolički postupci kojima se želi odobrovolti sirotinja, tj. svi mi.

Duh slobodnog razmišljanja i javnog građanskog neposluha je pušten iz boce i ništa ga više neće zaustaviti, pogotovo ne gumeni meci, ni izjave policijskih službenika na granici parapsihologije. Možda je ovo što se nama dešava dio šireg globalnog procesa, ali kod nas su toliko lokalno zasrali da to neće biti lako počistiti taman kada bi se svi bh. milijarderi odrekli svog bogatstva.

A zašto bi kad oni kao i kraljevi smatraju da su bogomdani da se bogate na kostima poginulih boraca, ubijenih civila, i svih žrtava rata kojima ratne rane nikad neće zacijeliti. Jer lakše je biti depresivan i sjeban kada imaš nekoliko hiljada maraka na kartici koja ti služi samo za piće i cigarete.

Dok ljudi danas preživljavaju sa 400-500 maraka mjesečno. Zato vladajućim dobrim Bošnjacima stižu izbori kao budali šamar. Znači da će se dobrano raditi na medijskom potpaljivanju etničkih mržnji, straha od rata i svih inačica psihološkog ratovanja kojima se ljudi nacionalno homogeniziraju.

Uskoro će i svjetsko prvenstvo u fudbalu. Baš me zanima ko će od lokalnih sarajevskih političkih huligana skakati sa bh. fanatikosima u egzotičnom Brazilu, i uzvikivati imbecilni slogan (posuđen od slovenskih tifosa): "Ko ne skače mrzi Bosnu i tako dalje". Tad će fudbalska euforija prekriti sve probleme ove jedne zemlje. Sve dok opet ne budu gorjele zgrade za kojima ne prestaju suze liti dobri Bošnjaci.

(*Faruk Šehić*)



## GOOD BOSNIAKS AND FIRE

It seems that the police of Canton Sarajevo have nothing effective against demonstrators and plenum-people but lies and deceiving the public. Thus, media barbecues are turning news how those who burned the Presidency are going to be accused for terrorism. How will they call hundreds of people that were standing at the tram station across the street from the famous Presidency building? Will they be accused for complicity in the indisputable observation of a "terrorist" act?

Do we, a few hundred, if not even a whole thousand, be accused for failing to prevent an antistate act? Because so many people had stood there, while others climbed the wall of the park they had a better view to see a unique picture when there stopped to exist any form of state authority.

People were standing on the wall next to each other, like birds on a wire line in the arrival of twilight. Although I have already written it, I will write it once more: none of the hundreds of people who have watched the burning of the Presidency building of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not responded nor rebelled against it.

It is possible that there were people who found it painful, and sick at one moment, but not because of the burning, but of the people who inside themselves desperately fought for the life and death, just no one said anything. And about the burning of Sarajevo Canton building, there was no mercy. On photos that I have, I can only see beaming faces of people who were watching how this unpopular building that was personified as the government of Sarajevo Canton was burning.

But, it is important that the police in Sarajevo are arresting people who cross the street outside a pedestrian crossing and for that they get charged for 45 KM. You orderly get a payment slip to the amount that you have regularly to pay as you pay your water or electricity. Once, I had the honor that a big belly patrolman “decorated” me with such a “greeting card” of 45 KM.

Patrolmans are standing across “Bičakčić” on Marijin Dvor and catch reckless citizens when they want to fill the cantonal budget or some other nonsense for which they use the citizens of Sarajevo. Surfing at the Internet I run right into a photo which shows that at this place it really used to be a pedestrian crossing, but it the “good Bosniaks” abolished it after the war. It is likely that the architect was a relative of some Bosniak on a good position.

And then, so it goes, by a maxim of Izetbegović the Wise, which prefers more stupid and uneducated Bosniaks, because stupid can often be honest. And honesty is a moral value that only the dead ones have and most of the citizens of this country who live in poverty or on the brink of poverty.

So, someone will be fucked because crossing of the streets and those who run with their cars in the mass of demonstrators against them will conduct trials because they are people from political parties, members of the party paramilitaries that try to break up the demonstrators, together with the police. So why would any normal in this city respect the police. Or their bosses who wallow with the stupidity in front of the public, further fueling the post-burning psychosis.

The class differences incurred enrichment on the bones of the dead from the war and on the bones of the survivors of the war had increased so much in favor of the ruling Bosniaks that they, when they are watching us from above probably do not see human beings. Probably we look them like cockroaches, or badgers, as members of the special police in Mostar called some night demonstrators denying their march through the western part of the city that they would not insult the good Bosniaks from other constituent ethnicity.

Huge class differences will not call down after the abolition of any “white breads” or similar symbolic actions aimed to propitiate the poor, ie all of us.

The spirit of free thinking and public civil disobedience is released from the bottle and nothing will stop it anymore, especially not rubber bullets, or the statements of the police officers at the border of parapsychology. Maybe this what is happening to us is a part of a broader, global, process but in our country, they’re screwed us up locally that it will not be easy to clean it up even when every bh. Billionaires renounce their wealth.

And why should they, when they as kings, believe that God gave them to get rich on the bones of fallen soldiers, killed civilians, and all the victims of war, which wounds will never heal. It is easier to be depressed and fucked up when you have several thousand marks on the card that you use only for drinks and cigarettes.

While people today are surviving with 400-500 marks monthly. Because the ruling “good Bosniaks” the elections are coming as a slap for the fool. So it will be done well in the media for firing up the ethnic hatred, fear of war, and all versions of psychological warfare which people are being ethnical homogenized.

Soon, the football World Cup will come. I wonder which of the local political hooligans from Sarajevo with jump together with BH Fanatikos in exotic Brazil, and shout the imbecile

parole (borrowed from the Slovenian fans): "Whoever does not jump hates Bosnia and so on." Then, the football euphoria will cover all the problems of this poor country. Again until the buildings on which do not stop the tears pour "good Bosnians" will not start to burn again.

# SOLIDARITY

UKRAJINA/UKRAINE:



SRBIJA/SERBIA:





MAKEDONIJA/MACEDONIA:



## HRVATSKA / CROATIA:



## SLOVENIJA / SLOVENIA:



## MORE LINKS

- #19: Anarchists In Revolt, From Bosnia to Peru  
<http://www.crimethinc.com/podcast/19/>
- Anarchists in Bosnian uprising  
<http://oplopanaxpublishing.files.wordpress.com/2014/02/anarchists-in-the-bosnian-uprising.pdf>
- Интервью с боснийскими анархистами  
<http://revbel.org/2014/02/intervyu-s-bosnijskimi-anarhistami/>
- Интервью с Боснийской Анархисткой  
<http://shraibman.livejournal.com/989820.html>
- Ein Interview mit der Anarchistin über die sozialen Proteste in BH  
<https://linksunten.indymedia.org/node/106584>
- Συνέντευξη με μια Βόσνια αναρχική  
<http://aruthlesscritiqueagainsteverythingexisting.wordpress.com/2014/02/19/συνέντευξη-με-μια-βόσνια-αναρχική/>

\*NOTE: Neki naši drugovi će držati diskusiju o ustanku u BiH na Anarhističkom sajmu knjige u Češkoj u pragu – 19/20. april

\*NOTE: Some of our comrades will hold discussion about uprising in Bosnia on Anarchist Bookfair in Czech Republic in Prague – 19/20th April

LONG LIVE ANARCHY



„TUCI PO VELUŠIĆIMA, TAMO NEMA  
AUSTRIJSKIH BANAKA“ – *Inzko, OHR i  
sudbina Franca Ferdinanda*