## Contents

**Damir Arsenijević**  
Introduction  
7

**Emina Busuladžić**  
Why?  
11

**Miralem Ibrišimović**  
My Union Fight  
27

**Zlatan Begić**  
War, Peace and the Protests  
35

**Damir Arsenijević**  
Protests and Plenum: The Struggle for the Commons  
45

**Emir Hodžić**  
Jer me se tiče – Because it Concerns Me  
51

**Aleksandar Hemon**  
Beyond the Hopelessness of Survival  
59

**Haris Husarić**  
February Awakening: Breaking with the Political Legacy of the last 20 years  
65

**Adis Sadiković**  
February Stirrings  
71

**Emin Eminagić**  
On the University of the People: Protests and Plenums as Sites of Education  
79

**Igor Štiks and Srečko Horvat**  
The New Balkan Revolts: From Protests to Plenums, and Beyond  
83

**Stef Jansen**  
Rebooting politics? Or, towards a <Ctrl-Alt-Del> for the Dayton Meantime  
89
Larisa Kurtović
The Strange Life and Death of Democracy Promotion in Bosnia and Herzegovina 97

Edin Hajdarpašić
Democracy in the Conditional Tense: On Protests in Bosnia and Herzegovina 103

Eric Gordy
From Antipolitics to Alterpolitics: Subverting Ethnokleptocracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina 111

Asim Mujkić
The Evolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s Protests in Five Theses 119

Jasmin Mujanović
The Baja Class and the Politics of Participation 135

Jasmina Husanović
Traumatic Knowledge in Action: Scrapbooking Plenum Events, Fermenting Revolt 145

Selma Tobudić
Protests and Plenums—A Remembering 155

Vanessa Vasić Janeković
Remembering Work as Political Sovereignty 165

Nigel Osborne
The Plenum Brain 173

Contributors 181