

Andreja Kulunčić

Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia

"Anti-monument: The Way to a Forgotten Historical Event". Participation as a Tactics for Creating New Memory

Abstract: In this text, I will address historical memory as an ethical obligation and a means of intervening in the process of social change, with a particular emphasis on the problem of excluding women from main historical narratives. My analysis is set in relation to the marginalized historical episode of the political camp for women in Goli Otok and Sveti Grgur. I will explore how tactics of socially engaged artistic practice can effectively bring this forgotten historical episode into public focus and integrate it into institutional frameworks. Special attention will be given to the concept of the anti-monument as an innovative critical approach to the memorialization practices of violent heritage. The anti-monument involves the public in the process of memory transmission, allowing everyone to seek information and respond according to their own interest, and by building their own memory, become carriers of memory, and take responsibility for the future.

For the purpose of this paper, I will refer to the case study "850 Women for 850 Women", which I initiated and have been leading since 2021 within the artistic project "You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It", as a concrete example of participatory building of a collective anti-monument and repositioning towards memory. This participatory practice indicates how artistic interventions can actively transfer memory from the past through present collective action into the future. The paper provides insight into ways artistic tactics establishes connection with marginalized histories and strengthens collective memories with the idea of historical justice and inclusion.

Keywords: anti-monument; socially engaged art; 850 Women for 850 Women; political camp; women; Goli otok; Sveti Grgur.

In presenting the thesis that an anti-monument more effectively brings traumatic and untold histories closer than conventional monuments, I rely on several key theoretical approaches: theories of memory in cultural studies, memory activism as a strategic marking of contested pasts, feminist critique of male historicism, and participatory artwork. Theories of memory in cultural studies enable understanding the formation and transmission of collective memory through cultural practices and

their impact on identity and collective consciousness. I analyze memory activism as a means of destabilizing dominant historical narratives and opening space for marginalized voices, contributing to the creation of a more just and inclusive society. Through the feminist critique of male historicism, I explore how gender dynamics shape historical memory and commemoration, especially in the context of women's neglected histories. Participatory artwork offers a methodological approach in creating an anti-monument, opening space for community involvement in the process, thereby empowering marginalized voices and creating new forms of collective memory. Memorialization in this context is seen as a dynamic agent of social change, not just as an act of commemoration. Memory becomes a means of critical intervention with the idea of historical justice and inclusion and the establishment of new cultural practices. As a case study, I consider the marginalized historical episode of the political camp for women in Goli Otok and Sveti Grgur, which operated from 1950 to 1956 and imprisoned over 850 women. Through the collection and interpretation of existing documents, information, recorded statements, records, and interviews with collaborators – anthropologist Renata Jambrešić Kirin and psychotherapist Dubravka Stijačić – and the participatory actions of invited participants in making clay sculptures over several years, we have built a web and physical archive as two different tactics of creating, interpreting, and preserving memory. This text documents participatory work as a possible way of intervening in the social fabric, exploring how an anti-monument can actively participate in shaping one's present and future, critically positioning itself towards memory and forgetting.

Memorialization in the contemporary context

Societies that actively work on remembering and forgetting, identifying memorialization with some kind of ethical obligation, reposition themselves concerning the past, present, and future.¹ According to Aleida Assmann, memory is an important resource for reimagining national collectives and for constant transformation of cultural norms in society.² Conventional monuments erected in the name of a ruling ideology are one-dimensional in their interpretation of one's past and cannot replace responsible memory.³ Besides obliging us to remember a specific historical event, monuments also give us a clear interpretation and gesture, that is, corporeality towards such a distinguished memory. This raises the question of not only what we remember, but also how we remember and what kind of social and cultural practices we develop. Rituals of mourning and commemoration are often associated with a collective performative act during which memory is built and a sense of belonging to the community is created.⁴

¹ Alaida Asman, *Oblici zaborava* (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2018), 6–10.

² Aleida Assmann, "Foreword," in *The Routledge Handbook of Memory Activism*, ed. Yifat Gutman and Jenny Wustenberg (New York, London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2023), 1.

³ James E. Young, "The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today," *Critical Inquiry* 18 (Winter 1992): 267–96.

⁴ For newer interpretations of the performativity of commemoration, see Marija Đorđević, *Jugoslavija pamti*

We live in a historical moment in which memorialization accompanies the strengthening of national narratives supported by authoritative governments, while conversely (or in parallel with it) in socially responsible communities, it becomes an agent or tool of social change.⁵ Memorialization in the contemporary context can take on the task of rethinking already existing and building new material objects of memory with the idea of historical justice and inclusion and the establishment of new cultural practices. In their *Handbook of Memory Activism*, Yifat Gutman and Jenny Wüstenberg write about memorialization in the contemporary context and define memory activism as a "strategic marking of the contested past" that aims to achieve political changes.⁶ Memory thus becomes a way of intervening in the process of social change. Memory activists, emphasizing the forged nature of official narratives, offer an alternative that disrupts the existing social and political order. Activist practices can have unwanted and long-lasting consequences even in those cases where they failed to change the official narrative.⁷ Certain dominant historical narratives are reinterpreted, and marginal and neglected historical events are included. Such an approach to memory, besides reinterpreting history, implies finding contemporary material objects of memory and performative acts with new reference frameworks.

The state in which I live was formed by the violent dissolution of the previous one, which opens many questions of marginalized, forgotten, ignored, erased, hidden, silenced, and similar strategies towards the past.⁸ One of the marginalized and less important historical directions in such a framework is certainly women's history, particularly that which was violent and found itself outside the historical lines that ensure the legitimacy of the order. Marginalized women's histories are not utilitarian, they are not homogeneous and cannot be monopolized. Rather, they could be said to disturb. They are fragile, silenced, fragmented, often present in traces, mostly silenced and ignored.⁹

Critique of omitted histories: HERstory

Her story (HERstory) is rarely inscribed in his (HIStory). While HIStory is predominantly shaped from a male perspective, HERstory is often perceived as opposed or marginalized. Male patriarchal society and its constitutions are established by the fact that "woman does not exist", meaning she is not a bearer of historically significant events, discoveries, artistic works, or important everyday activities. This

(Belgrade: Evropa nostra Srbija, 2021).

⁵ Assmann, "Foreword," 1.

⁶ Yifat Gutman and Jenny Wüstenberg, *The Routledge Handbook of Memory Activism* (New York, London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2023), 5.

⁷ Gutman and Wustenberg, *The Routledge Handbook of Memory Activism*, 353.

⁸ See the strategies of forgetting in Asman, *Oblici zaborava*, 19–23.

⁹ See *Rat nema žensko lice* (Zagreb: Edicija Božinović, 2019), a book by the Nobel Prize laureate Svetlana Aleksijević, about the shame that decorated Soviet female fighters feel today for their active contribution to the victory in the Second World War.

approach continuously reinforces gender stereotypes. Promoting *her story* focuses on women's historical narratives, experiences, and contributions while simultaneously raising questions about gender equality and inclusion. Introducing the female perspective opens up the possibility for reinterpretation of gender roles, but also the way we remember historical events. In other words, women's history is not the adoption of a male perspective but the awareness of one's personal experience, the subjectivization of bodies interacting with trauma and personal actuality.

Critical consideration of the historical representation of women's roles simultaneously calls for the integration of a multidimensional analysis that takes into account the complexity of gender identity.¹⁰ Reinterpreting the dominance of white heterosexual male narratives, considering various forms and overlaps of identity – race, class, sexuality, disability, ethnic origin, and other possible dimensions – deepens the understanding of the complexity of human experience and different perspectives. Following previous considerations about conventional monuments, the question arises whether they can depict all the complex aspects of life and actions throughout history? Should we think differently about historical representation, simultaneously raising questions about multiple possibilities for visualizing memory? Reinterpretation and expansion of traditional methods of commemoration through anti-monuments allow for a deeper and more inclusive understanding of the past.

Anti-monument: a critical approach to violent past

I consider the concept of the anti-monument an innovative critical approach to the memorialization practices of violent heritage, a possible strategy for the aforementioned question of recontextualizing history towards justice and inclusion. The anti-monument involves the public in the process of memory transmission, whereby each individual, depending on their interests, seeks information and answers, and by building their own memory, becomes a transmitter of memory, simultaneously taking responsibility for the future.

The very concept of anti-monument (counter-monument, contra-monument) emerged in contemporary art as an opposition to conventional monuments, that is, to the monumentalization of the past. The term was developed in 1992 by historian James Young in the text "The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today"¹¹ explaining how conventional monuments do not replace responsible memory because they are one-dimensional in interpreting the past from the perspective of those who erect them, say the state in the name of the ruling ideology. In contrast, anti-monuments de-monumentalize the ambiguous symbolism of emptiness, giving multi-perspectivity by including memories of the marginalized as well as active participation of their visitors. Anti-monuments use materials and rituals that are transitory, relying on the power of words and gestures rather than the power of depicting

¹⁰ See Françoise Vergès, *Dekolonijalni feminizam* (Zagreb: Multimedijalni institut, 2023).

¹¹ James E. Young, "The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today," *Critical Inquiry* 18 (Winter 1992): 267–96.

war or triumph.¹² The political content is redefined; testimonies become part of life.¹³ According to sociologist Todor Kuljić, conventional monuments celebrate the cult of war, heroes, victory, etc. through a one-dimensional ideological matrix; contrary to them anti-monuments are multidimensional, oriented towards alternative memories, antiheroes, and society. Anti-monuments do not impose but seek memory, leaving space for a more democratic collective memory. By including personal experiences of the marginalized and the visitors themselves, they decentralize a specific memory by insisting on self-reflection. With such an approach, Kuljić believes, visitors themselves become the monument.¹⁴ It is problematic to close memories "in monuments" because in doing so, we also relieve ourselves of the duty of remembering, and thus of re-analyzing the past and the victims of crimes we ourselves committed.¹⁵ By coining the term counter-monument, Young stimulated a rich debate about monuments, both conventional and anti-monuments. Topics such as deconstruction of memory, aesthetics of monuments, ethics of memory, political instrumentalization, introduction of a more democratic procedure for erecting monuments, etc. were discussed. These discussions also include an analysis of possible risks of counter-monuments to remain insufficiently noticed, marginal, in some cases too conceptual or abstract.¹⁶

Curator and art historian Bojana Pejić¹⁷ considers collective amnesia an important aspect of a particular national identity as well as collective memory. Working on memory depends on class, gender and power relations that determine what is remembered or forgotten, who remembers and with what intention. In other words, the construction of collective memory or amnesia always involves a certain politics of memory. Individual and collective forgetting, according to Assmann, functions as a graphite pencil, we draw an image we have of ourselves, we shape a biography. In other words, what we have forgotten (or remembered) together is the foundation of a national identity.¹⁸

In the countries created by the breakup of Yugoslavia, monuments often serve to record and objectify history as forms of material testimony, regardless of the accuracy of the narrative itself. Monuments become evidence in constructing stories of heroism or national suffering. However, what happens with women's history, especially that which preceded the fall of the previous state, history that is fragmented, changed, silenced or adapted to political needs?

¹² Marcio Seligmann-Silva, "Anti-monuments: Between Memory and Resistance," *Between X.20* (November 2020): 152.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 166.

¹⁴ Todor Kuljić, "Antispomenik," in *Tanatopolitika* (Beograd: Čigoja, 2014), 333–65, <http://www.zsf.rs/autori/antispomenik/>, acc. on January 5, 2024.

¹⁵ Young, "The Counter-Monument."

¹⁶ For a more detailed discussions about the monuments, see Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003) or Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz, ed., *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010).

¹⁷ Bojana Pejić, "Spomenik Zoranu Đinđiću: Kultura sećanja i politika zaborava," *Vreme* 866 (9. 8. 2007), <https://www.vreme.com/kultura/kultura-secanja-i-politika-zaborava/>, acc. on December 10, 2023.

¹⁸ Asman, *Oblici zaborava*, 24.

Unspoken stories

Within my research, I use a specific historical topos – a political camp for women in Goli otok and Sveti Grgur – observing it as a place of realization of the repressive action of the state party apparatus at a certain historical moment. The Goli otok political prison camp was created as a result of Josip Broz Tito's opposition to the Cominform's policy.¹⁹ The goal was to "re-educate" members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia who were disloyal or critical of the regime. It is a historical event with strong social consequences²⁰, which completely excluded women's history and hence established once again the domination of a patriarchal society. The historical case is all the more interesting because it shows how communism adopted patriarchal models of gender role division, regardless of the existence (and later abolition) of the Antifascist Front of Women (AFW) and declarative gender equality.²¹

The political camp for women in Goli otok and Sveti Grgur was established in 1950, a year after the men's camp, and it was closed in 1956. It was a place of suffering and humiliation for over 850 women from all parts of socialist Yugoslavia. Brought without trial, female prisoners underwent a particularly harsh camp torture; many of them were forced to show cruelty to fellow inmates by torturing them in order to save their own lives. Silence, shame, humiliation, and harassment marked them for life. Ignoring gender-specific traumatic historical heritage, considering it either unimportant or equal to male experiences,²² results in the withdrawal of women from the public sphere, especially politics and social movements in the fight for a more just and humane society, warns anthropologist and feminist theorist Renata Jambrešić Kirin.²³ The historical lesson that repeats itself is a reminder of the traditional (patriarchal) place of women in society as mothers, wives, friends, or sisters of fighters. She is an accompaniment, a shadow, a support. Jambrešić Kirin writes about this specific historical case, "The structure of the convicts shows that this was not merely an aping of Stalinist methods and *Russian camps for relatives of 'traitors of the Homeland*, but punishment, by and large, of politically fully fledged and self-aware women, most of them members of the Communist Party, who believed that they really were equal to their (powerful) comrades in their hold on the levers of power."²⁴ She concludes that

¹⁹ Cominform was the coordinating body of the communist parties of nine countries under the domination of the USSR. In 1948, due to disagreement with the policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, a resolution was issued declaring the actions of the Yugoslav leadership to be anti-Soviet and hostile.

²⁰ For a detailed account of the Goli otok political camp, see Martin Previšić's book, *Povijest Goli otok* (Zagreb: Fraktura, 2019).

²¹ For an analysis of the complex dynamics of gender (in)equality during and after the Second World War in Yugoslavia, see Jelena Batinić, *Women and Yugoslav Partisans: A History of World War II Resistance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

²² In the men's political camp in Goli Otok, over 13,000 people were imprisoned, and the tortures they endured were harsher and more monstrous. There are over 200 books and several scientific papers that testify to this.

²³ Renata Jambrešić Kirin, "Šalje Tito svoje na ljetovanje! kažnjenice u arhipelagu Goli," in *Dom i svijet* (Zagreb: Centar za ženske studije, 2008), 80–124.

²⁴ Renata Jambrešić Kirin, "The Reeducation of Women of the islands Grgur and Goli – Moral Corruption and Ideological Indoctrination" in *You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It*, ed. by Irena Bekić, Renata Jambrešić Kirin, and Andreja Kulunčić (Zagreb: MAPA, 2021), 10–23.

the consequences of such an attitude towards women are still reflected in today's distribution of political power.²⁵

As part of our project, we created a database of interviews, testimonies, written texts, lists and individual biographies of female prisoners.²⁶ After the research work, the archive of testimonies about the life and consequences of living at the camp, I got actively involved in the artistic project "You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It."²⁷

(Excerpt from the archive)

Ženi Lebl ended up in Goli otok after recounting jokes about Comrade Tito: "On your hump, St. Gregory, the classic question 'To be or not to be?' began. If you beat – you will be, if you don't beat – you will be beaten."²⁸

Vera Winter's testimony on the prisoners' daily moral dilemma: "The one who beat harder, got out faster. Those who resisted stayed longer, but we were all beaten, and we all beat others. In the end we all became executors on some level."²⁹

This is how Winter describes the pointless and hard work at the camp: "We carried the stones from the sea to the top of the hill. When the pile on the top would become big enough, we would carry stones back to the sea."³⁰

Jelka Zrnić's testimony on the living conditions: "There were days when we got four sips of water before going to sleep. One would count: one, two, three, four... counting meant drinking."³¹

²⁵ For more information on the issue of introducing women's history into the dominant historical narrative, see discussion "History/HERstory: Discussion on Women in the History of the Goli Otok Political Camp" between anthropologist Renata Jambrešić Kirin and historian Martin Previšić, <https://www.zene-arhipelag-goli.info/discursive/history-herstory-discussion-of-women-in-the-history-of-the-political-camp-goli-otok/>, acc. on August 21, 2024.

²⁶ A list of prisoners, interviews, testimonies, written texts are available on the project's website <https://www.zene-arhipelag-goli.info/zatvorenice/>, acc. on December 10, 2023.

²⁷ For more details on the work, see Andreja Kulunčić, "You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It," (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, Academy of Fine Arts, 2023).

²⁸ Ženi Lebl, *Ljubičica bela* (Gornji Milanovac: Dečje novine, 1990), 26.

²⁹ Testimony from video recordings within the project *Osobna sjećanja*, Documenta – Center for Dealing with the Past, which was provided for the project's website http://www.zene-arhipelag-goli.info/za_tvorenice-txt/intervju/, acc. December 10, 2023.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Dragoslav Simić and Boško Trifunović, *Ženski logor na Golom otoku* (Beograd: ABC product, 1990), 138.

The lack of political rehabilitation stigmatized these victims and left them forgotten. The silence regarding their traumatic history further burdened both prisoners and their descendants. However, as long as forgetting is mixed with memory, it is not absolute. Through traces, processes, and strategies, we can prove its existence.³²

Case study: "850 Women for 850 Women"

This case study aims at showing how a forgotten historical episode can be effectively positioned in the public focus and included in institutional frameworks through a socially engaged artistic practice. It is a participatory action that demonstrates how artistic interventions actively transfer memory from the past through present collective action into the future. Unlike most conventional monuments with the primary function of preserving a historical event in a materialized object, collective participatory action does not close, monumentalize, or postpone memory.

Participatory construction of a collective anti-monument through the artistic action "850 Women for 850 Women", which I initiated and have been leading since 2021 within the research-art project "You betrayed the Party just when you should have helped it"³³, aims to raise the issue of the invisible women's history. The question that we had was how to leave a memory trace that would prevent the erasure, neglect, and re-forgetting of a specific historical episode. In the words of Aleida Assmann, "only if the framework of memory changes in society can memories that had no place before be reintegrated and become subject for reflection."³⁴

At the project's exhibition in the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Rijeka and at organized workshops in various cities in Croatia, I invited women to create one clay sculpture for each of the prisoners who went through the camp repression in Goli otok and Sveti Grgur. The construction of a collective anti-monument, for me, is artistic tactics that creates a visible artifact for a forgotten historical event but also inscribes a memory trace into the bodies of the participants during the process of making figurines. Working with clay opens an active way for the participants to transfer their experience of encountering a traumatic historical event into a collective artefact. Clay carries a certain corporeality, performativity, and tactility. As the exhibition's curators, Irena Bekić and Anca Verona Mihuleţ, emphasize, "[...] the creation of figurines also becomes a social ritual that allows women participating in the workshop to filter collective memory around a traumatic past. Through the gestures of modeling clay resembling caressing, a new perspective on the representativeness of the female body is brought."³⁵ Used in this way, clay carries the potential for care when in contact with another person's suffering.

³² Asman, *Oblici zaborava*.

³³ For more information about the project, see <https://www.zene-arhipelag-goli.info/antispomenik/>, acc. on January 8, 2024.

³⁴ Asman, *Oblici zaborava*, 46.

³⁵ Irena Bekić and Anca Verona Mihuleţ, "Stvaranje antispomenika," in the exhibition brochure *You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It* (Zagreb: MAPA, 2022). Available on the project's website: http://www.zene-arhipelag-goli.info/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/MMSU_izložbaRijeka_deplijan_HR_TISAK.pdf, acc. on January 8, 2024.

Working with the body, with clay, thinking about what the prisoners went through, imagining oneself or someone close in that position, changes the paradigm of memory, and becomes nurturing and supportive. It changes the relationship towards memory and collective history. Nurturing is the opposite of politicization. It is important not to forget, and if we do not forget, then the question arises of how we remember. Making sculptures opens a possibility for a different way of remembering, embedding the emotion of care and nurturing, turning the collective encounter into social psychotherapy for a historical trauma that has no public memorialization.

After the process ends – with the participation of 850 women in the workshops – the collective work will be exhibited as an artefact at contemporary art exhibitions and donated to museums. This act symbolically places the suffering of women in Goli Otok and Sveti Grgur into an institutional context (collection, cataloging, archive, museum), which is guerrilla tactics for a permanent institutionalization of a historical episode.

Conclusion: participation as a tactics for creating new memory

The presented case study provides insight into how artistic tactics establishes a connection with marginalized history and strengthens collective memory with the idea of historical justice and inclusion. It shows how participation in collective creation transforms participants, enabling them to actively engage in sensitizing a forgotten violent historical event. By working with clay, they create bodily memory, which they later transfer as agents to their environment. The significant transformation occurs in the participants and the opening towards further networked becomings. Participants transform while working on sculptures without a predetermined and guided outcome. Changes do not need to lead to some envisioned goal; the essence is in the continuous happening and participation. Dragana Stojanović believes that human body continuously and inevitably merges with its surroundings, becoming a *sensorium*, “the extended set of bodily operations tied to its sensorial, perceptual, and performative aspects.”³⁶ This, according to the author, could be particularly important in the case of post-memorial histories connected with trauma, as it extends the learning process beyond cognitive material. In the case of the project participants, they create a permanent material – an artefact – fragile, fragmented in material, a peripheral object like the historical episode they dedicated themselves to. Their bodies, the atmosphere in the workshops, collective conversations, my presentation of the prisoners’ fates, collective reading, and listening to interviews are part of the materiality through which new memory traces on a forgotten historical event are built. The mode of learning shifts to sensory and experiential, relying on what the body goes through during the process, contrary to the usual hierarchical transfer of knowledge. We remember by doing.

³⁶ Dragana Stojanović, “Offline Education and Its Immersive Potential: Memory, Post-memory, and History in the Informational Age”, paper presented at the conference “Why Still Education”, October 5–7, 2022, Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade; accepted for publication in *Humanism, Post-humanism, Anti-humanism: Educational Perspectives*, London: TransNational Press, 2024.

Through such collective participatory action, a material trace is made where it was left to erasure and oblivion. The material trace in the artefact and the bodies of the participants are in synergy with all other processes made within the project "You betrayed the Party." It has spread and inscribed information into the space of the present moment on multiple levels.

Time is performative and not linear, memory works through tangible and transformative acts of remembering, where in terms of participants the past becomes the present and is open to further reconfigurations.³⁷ The change of paradigm that occurs during that process is important. It matters how we feel and what we do with each other and alongside each other while remembering. Through the process of making clay sculptures, history is imprinted in the body as emotion, producing further narratives and affecting the way previous narratives are received. The way of remembering changes, striving to preserve the understanding that we cannot touch the past. The goal is not to absolutely identify with someone who went through Goli Otok and Sveti Grgur, but to maintain an ambivalent position of someone entering from a contemporary point, immersing in the past while retaining one's presence in the moment that we live in. The question arises, how do we co-exist with the past? The point is not to erase the past; on the contrary, the point is to face up to the past, but from this place here – in one's body – together with other bodies that inscribe themselves into our memory through their actions.

Constant questioning and changing tactics in the creation of each new anti-monument are seen as one of the key methods of preventing the unambiguous integration of a historical episode into any of the present ideologies. The anti-monument does not offer only one narrative, does not offer one solution, does not offer one conclusion. It disperses too much, being constantly at the intersection of art – participatory actions – history – memory – testimony – legacy – collective body. It is segmented. We could say that the large number of different materializations successfully avoid one-dimensional narrativization with intent.

³⁷ Ibid.



Antimonument: terracotta figurines created within the artistic project "850 Women for 850 Women", 2022–2024. Photo credit Andreja Kulunčić



Antimonument: detail. Photo credit Andreja Kulunčić



Antimonument: collective action, MMSU Rijeka, 2022. Photo credit Ivo Martinović



Antimonument: collective action, Korenica, 2022. Photo credit Ivo Martinović



Antimonument: detail, Lopar, 2023. Photo credit Ivo Martinović



Antimonument: detail, Tenja, 2022. Photo credit Ivo Martinović

References

- Aleksijević, Svetlana. *Rat nema žensko lice*. Zagreb: Edicija Božinović, 2019.
- Asman, Alaida. *Oblici zaborava*. Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2018.
- Batinić, Jelena. *Women and Yugoslav Partisans: A History of World War II Resistance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Bekić, Irena i Anca Verona Mihuleš. "Stvaranje anti-spomenika." In exhibition brochure *You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It*. Zagreb: MAPA, 2022.
- Documenta – Centre for Dealing with the Past. *Osobna sjećanja*, video recordings provided for the project's website <http://www.zene-arhipelag-goli.info/zatvorenice-txt/intervjui/>. Accessed on December 10, 2023.
- Đorđević, Marija. *Jugoslavija pamti*. Beograd: Evropa nostra Srbija, 2021.
- Huysen, Andreas. *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- Jambrešić Kirin, Renata. "The Reeducation of Women of the Islands Grgur and Goli – Moral Corruption and Ideological Indoctrination." In *You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It*, edited by Irena Bekić, Renata Jambrešić Kirin, and Andreja Kulunčić, 10–23. Zagreb: MAPA, 2021.
- Jambrešić Kirin, Renata. "Šalje Tito svoje na ljetovanje!: kažnjence u arhipelagu Goli." In *Dom i svijet*, 80–124. Zagreb: Centar za ženske studije, 2008.
- Kuljić, Todor. "Antispomenik." In *Tanatopolitika*, 333–65. Beograd: Čigoja, 2014.
- Kulunčić, Andreja. "You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It." PhD diss., University of Zagreb, Academy of Fine Arts, 2023.
- Lebl, Ženi. *Ljubičica bela*. Gornji Milanovac: Dečje novine, 1990.
- Pejić, Bojana. "Spomenik Zoranu Đinđiću: Kultura sećanja i politika zaborava." *Vreme* 866, 2007. <https://www.vreme.com/kultura/kultura-secanja-i-politika-zaborava/>. Accessed on December 10, 2023.
- Previšić, Martin. *Povijest Golog otoka*. Zagreb: Fraktura, 2019.
- Radstone, Susannah, and Bill Schwarz, ed. *Memory: Histories, Theories*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2010.
- Seligmann-Silva, Marcio. "Antimonuments: Between Memory and Resistance." *Between X.20* (November 2020): 149–69.
- Simić, Dragoslav, and Boško Trifunović. *Ženski logor na Golom otoku*. Beograd: ABC product, 1990.
- Stojanović, Dragana. "Offline Education and Its Immersive Potential: Memory, Post-memory, and History in the Information Age," paper presented at the conference "Why Still Education," October, 5–7, 2022, Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade; accepted for publication in *Humanism, Post-humanism, Anti-humanism: Educational Perspectives*, London: TransNational Press, 2024.

Verges, Françoise. *Dekolonijalni feminizam*. Zagreb: Multimedijalni institut, 2023.

Yifat, Gutman and Jenny Wüstenberg. *The Routledge Handbook of Memory Activism*. New York, London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2023.

Young, James E. "The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today." *Critical Inquiry* 18 (Winter 1992): 267–96.

Web site of the project "You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It" <https://www.zene-arhipelag-goli.info/>. Accessed on October 10, 2023.

Article received: April 28, 2024

Article accepted: June 21, 2024

Original scholarly paper