

SUMMARY

The theses of this work is mainly focused on understanding and reconstructing of the political camp on Goli otok between 1949. and 1956., that existed in former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The main idea of this project is to properly denote and to give a lost meaning to a island which was a place of complete isolation, hard physical work, poor living conditions, thirst, hunger, epidemic diseases, physical and mental abuse and the absence of any human rights, by designing a memorial center. Through the reconstruction of the past camp and the research of individual and collective memory as well as understanding of importance of reviving it, the solution came. The result is space that speaks about repression, teaches us to properly deal with the past and place where memory becomes a memorial.

INTRODUCTION

Not so long ago, the history of the territory of today's Republic of Croatia was being written under a different system, name and leader. After severing friendly relations with the USSR in 1948, the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia founds one of the most brutal labour camps on the island Goli otok in the summer of 1949. Often called the "Croatian Alcatraz," Goli otok remained the symbol of the communist regime's clash with its dissidents.¹

Hit by bora winds, bathed in salt in the Velebit bay of the Adriatic Sea, it is no wonder the island was left untouched and completely bare until 1949. Strategically selected due to its lack of infrastructure, the bare stone and karst become a correctional facility for the first 100 convicts from all parts of the former Yugoslavia. In the following six years, around 16,000 convicts² passed through the island, subjected on a daily basis to poor living conditions, hard physical and mental abuse, hungry, thirsty and sick, suffering through severe weather conditions. 300 to 400 prisoners³ never made it home, while those who survived remained scarred forever. Today the island lies corroded by salt, completely untouched and forgotten.

Some 60 years later, a question arises – is it necessary to leave the area of Goli otok untouched, at the mercy of time that erases traces along with our memory, or is it necessary to emphasize and commemorate the suffering that marked Goli otok? Why and how to remember a crime of this kind? How to keep the memory of inhumanity, heartlessness and sacrifice alive? Is it worth it and necessary to reopen the long suppressed issues?

That is precisely the topic of this paper which is trying to find an answer and the right solution through the analysis of the island's condition and the reconstruction of history. Creating a space on Goli otok functioning as a memorial centre would allow us to face the reality that Tito's regime brought. It would open up the opportunity to properly cope with the memories and the past. For that reason, the importance of this memorial space is indisputable, because today, after a long period of time, it is necessary to develop a space that speaks of repression, sends a message to never forget or repeat, a message for the present, but also the future generations.

1.MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE

“Too much memory in one place, too much forgetting in other”⁴

Ricoeur

As one of the oldest forms of architecture, memorial architecture continues to represent an important role in the society because it allows people to materialize their basic instinct, “memory,” in the only possible way, and gain a space to channel and examine their thoughts and feelings. By providing a way to materialize and localize memories, memorial architecture is also a communicator of history that allows every society, group and individual to resist the strategy of forgetting, to which we are constantly exposed. It is also important because it sends the most important message, the message of reconciliation and a more positive look into a more peaceful future filled with coexistence and understanding. That is why it is significant, even a hundred years later, to talk about the truth and send a clear message to never forget and never repeat.⁵

1.1.THE NOTION OF “MEMORY”

In order to understand memorial architecture, which is a reflection of the materialization of memory, it is especially important to understand the concept of memory and to separate it from the concept of history. Memory and history are not synonyms, and, as Pierre Nora, a French historian explains, they are in complete opposition. He states that memory is life because it is transferred by living humans and it is sensitive to appropriation and manipulation, susceptible to long dormancies and sudden revivals, while, on the other hand, history always remains an incomplete reconstruction of the past.⁶

In order to understand memorialization more precisely, it is necessary to distinguish two types of memory: on the one hand, memory as a multi-significant mental ability of reconstruction, and on the other hand, memory in a cultural sense, which includes concepts such as “social and collective memory,” “material or medial memory” and “mental or cognitive memory.” Although they are two different procedures, cognitive interpretation of memory is metaphorically transferred into the sphere of cultural memory.⁷

It is important to explain the term “collective memory” which was first used by a sociologist Maurice Halbwachs⁸, who, already in the 1920s, researched the forms of social memory in different sociological groups, and on the basis of it came up with a thesis that people do not actually build, in a strict sense of the word, any individual memories, but that they are always involved in a collective memory.⁹Jan Assmann¹⁰ represents a similar thesis, believing that memory never develops in isolation and that it is already socially directed towards other individuals and their group connection which reacts and affects other collective memories.¹¹

Official commemorations as well as memorials make up the connective tissue of collective memory. The forms of collective memory ask for participation and are able to provoke emotions in the participants, and therefore can influence or even become personal memories. Memorial objects and buildings, along with fine art, film and literature, are the basis of cultural memory, because they are intertwined with the process of memory and therefore a direct means in building identity. They are an indelible part of collective and personal memory because they provide a way of localizing the memory itself. Investing cultural memory in monuments and memorial centres is of extreme importance because it is a type of memory that can be prolonged in time and transferred to the next generation, so they should be understood as inseparable parts of the dynamic process of memory, as confirmed by the prolific history of memorial architecture.¹²

1.2.THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MONUMENT AND MEMORIAL

Throughout history, as well as today, memorial architecture has included a great spectre of different objects and buildings. From the oldest original forms of memorial architecture such as Stonehenge and Maeshowe in the United Kingdom or Newgrange in Ireland, to different tombs such as Taj Mahal in India and different shapes of pyramids. Monuments with sepulchral function were very important and used in every culture and religion. In the 18th century, however, there is a popularization of monuments to famous people, popular heroes or the ones commemorating significant historical events, while the 20th century brings a different understanding of monuments as well as the emergence of memorials as the result of historical events that marked the century. After the First World War, monuments were still in the service of celebrating victory, but the Second World War changes that image and understanding of monuments. The term memorial is now used more often, and it is primarily in the service of memory and honouring the victims, and that is why it is important to mention the different understandings of monuments and memorials.¹³

1.2.1.MONUMENTS

“There is nothing in this world as invisible as a monument.”¹⁴ This Robert Musli’s thought may best describe the process of neglecting the strength that monuments carry. Memory’s collaborators become invisible in the wake of public neglect. In 1930, referring to the traditional concept of a public monument, Musli describes monuments as buildings dedicated to memory of a person or an event, which are usually in the form of a sculptural work installed on a pedestal. The discussion about the invisibility of the monument implies that there is an expiration date to the monumental presentation of memory, which refers to a complicated set of circumstances that put the monument in the first place. With reference to Musli’s observation, Young notices that the reason for the monuments’ invisibility is their own essential stiffness and that they turn supple memory into stone. In that sense, monuments represent the act of cessation because they are rarely erected in one’s lifetime. The affective nature of monuments has the task of keeping memories alive for future generations, and it is precisely that nature which is often neglected, and it is a tendency that Young recognized, claiming that “too often, a community’s monuments assume the polished, finished veneer of a death mask, unreflective of a current memory, unresponsive to contemporary issues.”¹⁵

According to Alois Riegl, an Austrian art historian who published *Moderne Denkmalkultus: sein Wesen und seine Entstehung* in 1903, monuments are in their original and oldest form human creations, erected for the purpose of preserving individual human acts or events in the thoughts of future generations.¹⁶ According to Riegl, the perception that the future generations will have towards monuments depends on the existing context, norms and values or “Kunstwollen”¹⁷ of the epoch. He recognizes three types of monuments: intentional, unintentional and monuments that possess age value. Intentional monuments fall in a specific category because they have a more or less protected status throughout history. Unintentional monuments memorialize the person that existed in many cultures and is usually left for the future generations. During Renaissance, when beauty gained its place, people started to realize the value of memory as a part of heritage, and not as a mere display of patriotic memory. Intentional monuments are not just informative structures from a certain historical period, but also interesting buildings permeated with living memories. Works of art that remind of a certain moment or of complex moments in the past belong to this category.¹⁸ Much later, Horst Janson, an art historian,

categorized the three types of Western monuments: tombstones, monuments of historical events, and monuments honouring the greats.¹⁹

Commemorative monuments were always built with the intention to last, however that usually proved impossible and led to monuments ending up as signs of failed infrastructures of memory, turning them into a mysterious and an unwanted reality.

1.2.2.MEMORIALS

Studies that deal with memory often use the term “memorial” interchangeably with the term monument, and make a barely visible distinction between the two. Similarly, in architecture architects also often intertwine the two terms. Doss points out that in the context of English language, two words are used to describe different commemorative projects, from traditional stone obelisks to other content including parks, roads, libraries, museums etc. This is the legacy of the post-World War II discussion about “living memorials.” At the same time, Doss claims that the word “memorial” is becoming more popular because many recently built projects, such as the Pentagon Memorial (2008), or the Oklahoma City National Memorial (2001), are indicated as memorials. The indication also exists in the perception of designers and architects who see monuments as celebratory, and memorials usually as spaces of contemplative nature that can offer more possibilities.²⁰ This distinction in purpose and content was also recognized by Arthur Danto who explained: “Monuments make heroes and triumphs, victories and conquests, perpetually present part of life. The memorial is a special precinct extruded from life, a segregated enclave where we honor the dead. With monuments we honor ourselves.”²¹ Danto finds his argument in the discussion about Washington Monument (1885), a symbol of victory, and Lincoln Memorial (1922), a temple for channelling emotions, but it cannot be taken as a formula because monuments can call for retrospection while at the same time memorials do not necessarily have an uncelebratory character. The opposing attitudes and heated debates about the connection and the appearance of the two terms have been permeating literature to this day.²²

In his scientific paper, David Todd Norman classifies memorials in three groups: form and symbolism, landscape, and historical marker.²³

Memorials characterized by form and symbols use chaotic but simple symbols, while the meaning is reflected through elements that create a sense of monumentality. Different forms, such as walls, pillars, arches, can be used to create the sense of monumentality and to convey the message to the public. An example of a memorial characterized by form and many symbols is the Memorial to Jews, victims of fascism at the Sefard cemetery in Belgrade. The goal of the architect Bogdan Bogdanović was studying Jewish symbolism which fascinated him from the beginning. Apart from the usual Jewish symbols such as the Star of David and the menorah, there are also symbols and forms from other cultures. The central gate consists of two pylons which remind of ancient temples from the classical period. The architect designed stone pillars on the front so that they remind of Moses' commandments tablets. The exterior profiles of the two wings have the classic proportions of Doric pillars which, according to Greek beliefs, represent a young man's development. The interior profile is modelled after the ionic pillars which represent the ideal shape of a young woman. At the access to the monument there is a metaphoric fountain, a symbolic association to a ritualistic bathroom in Judaism, but also an ancient symbol of nearly every civilization.²⁴

Landscape represents another typology of memorials whose goal is to create a narrative journey. In order to create an insight into a narrative journey, elements such as paths, points worth stopping for, monuments,

symbolic and other features that carry meaning are used. As opposed to other forms of memorials, landscape memorials have a tendency to always go a step further in establishing a set of perceptive experiences as well as moods by creating a series of events that evoke different emotions and associations in the visitors.

The third group of memorials are historical markers, according to David T. Norman. They exist in places of primary importance, which are marked by a historical event and speak out about the past and the losses. The ruins, parts from the past, contain within them a story and the visitor can easily receive information by looking at the remains. They are considered markers and witnesses of the past.²⁵

The perfect combination of a landscape memorial and a memorial that is also a historical marker is the Goran Lederer Memorial, called "Broken landscape," developed by the NFO architecture studio in cooperation with the sculptor Petar Barišić. The Čukur hill in Croatia, the place where Lederer took his last photograph during the Croatian War of Independence, was selected as the location. The memorial consists of an access path and a broken camera lens. The path, made out of concrete slabs, was designed as a symbol of Lederer's life. Every concrete slab is framed in black steel frames and engraved with a year of Lederer's life in negative as an interpretation of film frames. The path goes tensely through natural terrain leading to the last slab, a memorial plateau, without a number, representing the last year of his life, and at the same time indicating the end of the path and a final view in a figurative and the real sense. The view towards the lens directs the visitors' view towards the Una river valley, just like Goran Lederer confronts them with the reality of events that took place there when he took his "last shot."²⁶

1.3.BRIEF HISTORY OF MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE

After residential architecture, memorial architecture represents the oldest form of construction. It was an indispensable, and often the most important part of ancient civilizations' architecture. It represented the only material bond between humans of the earth and the divine world. The first structures of memorial architecture such as Stonehenge or Maeshowe, and the roman Pantheon were and still today are a great inspiration.²⁷

When it comes to the history of memorial architecture, it is important to mention the 18th century when monuments celebrating personality gain popularity. Studies such as Pierre Patte's work *Monuments eriges en France a la gloire de Louis XV* influenced its popularity. They were usually influenced by the forms and compositions derived from ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome and Byzantine. In accordance with that, Egyptian pyramids were the usual inspiration for many tombstones and memorials across Europe. It can be concluded that neoclassicism was adopted by French architects as an ideal language for celebration and memorialization. The period after the French-Prussian war (1870-71) was marked together with the spread of nationalism and an increased occurrence of public monuments. The decades before the First World War were marked with *Denkmalkultur* that developed in Europe and especially in Germany where a great affinity towards monuments arose. It is called *Denkmalsflut* – a flood of monuments, while in France a similar occurrence starts in 1871, and is called "statuomania" because many public sculptures were dedicated to historical figures.²⁸

Through history, memorial architecture gained different forms, social meanings and ideological background, but during the 20th century it receives a completely new meaning.

The time after the First World War represented a period of recuperation and a search for modern society after such great tribulations, but that period, the 1920s and 30s, was also significant as a period of defining memorial architecture. In 1918, heroic monuments, national sanctuaries and other war features appear in nearly every place strongly affected by war. The goal of memorialization after the First World War was to locate war as an

event of great significance within a historical period and to give an example of collective service and duty for the future generations. Monuments to unknown fighters of the First World War become a new form of memorial architecture; these monuments were at first imagined as monuments celebrating victory, but soon become places that represent the suffering of millions of people who never returned home. Individual identity was replaced by symbolic representation, and with it became a monument to “every mother’s son.”²⁹

The epochal break and turn in modern history of mankind was brought by the year of 1945 – the year of the defeat of fascism and National Socialism, as the bloodiest totalitarian orders in human history. The Second World War changed the understanding of collective memory and refined the sensitivity to the ethics of memory. After the Second World War, the concept of memorial architecture is based on gathering living memories that materialize people’s suffering and the escape from destruction, providing a place where people can channel their emotions.³⁰

The term *Manhmal*, as a concept of memorial architecture, along with the new rhetoric of peace and reconciliation of the entire warfare, which resulted in numerous civilian victims, acquired a prominent place in the post-war reality defined by ruins. Since there was no precedent for commemorating civilian victims, a discussion arose in the affected countries about an appropriate form of memorialization. They had to be built around the war ruins which were strictly preserved as a warning of war crime.

Already in the early 1950s, first memorials are erected across Europe – from *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation* by Georges-Henri Pingusson to *Jasenovac Memorial Centre* by Bojan Bogdanović and *Risiera di San Sabba* in Trieste by Roman Boico.

After 1985, the public is faced with memorial projects whose goal is to destabilize the very idea of memorials of the time. Counter-memorials, as a new generation of memorials dominated by German artists such as Jochen Gerz, aim to encourage active participation of the visitors. The best example of a counter-memorial is the *Monument against fascism* designed in Hamburg in 1989, when

the artists, Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev Gerz, invited citizens to write their own names on the monument and therefore be directly connected with the work itself.³¹

A similar example of citizens’ active involvement was made by Gerz in Graz in 2010 designing a memorial named “63 Jahren danach,” when the citizens were invited through the media to collect photographs from the Second World War which were then selected through the newspapers by the citizens and used as memorials at 12 locations in Graz.³²

1.4.DEFINITION AND IMPORTANCE OF MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE TODAY

In every society there are attempts at leaving the traumatic past behind, repressing the memories and creating a sense of moving forward or leaving the past in the past. According to Liz Sevckenko, memory is the basic human instinct and cannot stay repressed because it will usually come out in one form or the other. This is precisely where memorialization comes in and the importance of the very act of memorialization to use the memory and therefore learn a history lesson in order not to repeat it.

According to Ereshnee Naidu from the Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in Braamfontein, South Africa, memorialization has different forms that include a series of processes and commemorations. Memorialization as a process satisfies the desire to honour victims and becomes a means of questioning the past.

In today's hectic life monuments and memorials are still mediators and communicators of historical messages, and architects and artists are capable, through monumental complexes, of mediating and evoking an emotional reaction, but also hope for a smarter and more compassionate future. Memorial architecture today, as well as the process of memorialization itself, play a great role in the society. Apart from allowing the materialization of memory and the creation of a place for channelling emotions, memorialization promotes reconciliation, providing a new form of national identity or repairing strained relations between different groups. It encourages civic engagement as well as the educational program to include a wider social community in the dialog about the past, and also encourages a discussion about a better, more peaceful future based on coexistence.³³

Today, building memorials differs from other architectural projects in the way that architecture becomes the centre, and not just a place for collecting artefacts of memory. Memorial is a place filled with memories, a place that causes the visitors to reminisce about events that affected or scared them, and to find new meaning and peace. The power of true memorialization is the ability to create places where countless individuals, more or less connected to the event itself, can exist simultaneously. The power of memorialization also lies in the possibility of combining a diverse program that deals with the needs of several different groups of people. James Young explains: ". . . it is not that we are sharing a common memory, it is that we are sharing a common place of memory."³⁴ Creating a place that is at the same time universal and specific, a place for education but also healing, a place that remembers not only the historical event but also the victims, the heroes and the survivors.³⁵

2.GOLI ISLAND

2.1.GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

Goli Otok belongs to one of the northern islands of the Kvarner archipelago of the Adriatic Sea. It is situated between the northeastern part of the densely-forested island Rab and the coast in the northern part of the Velebit Channel. The island St. Grgur (St. Gregory) which used to be a Correctional Institution for Women from 1948. until 1988. is located to the west in relation to the Goli Otok, while to the north is the island Prvić.³⁶

The name Goli, meaning naked, truly describes the island. Together with the neighboring St. Grgur it belongs to the limestone massif which extends parallel with Kamenjak massif on the island of Rab and the island Prvić. It is located 6km from the mainland and 5km from Rab. The total area of the island is 4.53 km², and the total coastline is 14.2 km. Its north and east coast are steep, gorgeable and high without bays and shelters while the southwestern coast is low and accessible with its bays, Senjska and Tetina. The westernmost is rocky cape Sajalo while the southernmost is low cape Blažna with the islet Mali Goli with its only but large population of seagulls. In the northeast is the highest peak of the island, Glava- Head, with its 223 m in height.³⁷

Almost all the island is covered in bare rocky slopes with sparse undergrowth. Only along the west coast you will find neglected pine parks and Chinese pittosporum, forcedly planted by former prisoners in this rocky and inadequate area. Goli Otok is largely barren and has no permanent residents. Without natural sources of water (streamless), surrounded with strong sea water currents, without greenery, it is exposed to high temperatures during the summer as well as strong bora wind in the winter.

The temperatures on the island are not systematically monitored, but together with the surrounding area its climate belongs to the zone of moderate warm humid climate with hot summers. It belongs to the perimediteranskom transitional zone with the influences not only from the Mediterranean, but also from the continent. Summers are hot, but because of its contact with Mountain Croatia it has abundant precipitation and cooler winters.³⁸

Its geographical location together with harsh climatic conditions were crucial in choosing the Goli Otok for the location of the camp. Being close to the mainland (6km) and major urban centers like Senja (47 km), Rijeka (80km) and the port of Pag (13 km), as well as the Velebit mountain³⁹ were essential for the creation of a productive economic system under the disguise of the company Velebit that was in the property of Udba. At the same time, the harsh climatic conditions and strong currents prevented people from escaping. Its coastal bluffs and rugged and inaccessible coast facing the mainland hid the other secret story of the more accessible south-western part of the island.

2.2.BRIEF HISTORY OF GOLI ISLAND

It is very little known about the history of Goli Otok. It is not certain when it was first mentioned and how it got its name, but according to the maps from 1774 to 1887, it is evident that at the time there was no infrastructure on the island.⁴⁰ As well there were no settlements until the World War I, when the Austro-Hungarian Empire made camp for Russian prisoners from the Eastern Front.

In the interwar period, Goli island belonged to a wealthy merchant from Brinja, Rade Vuković who under the impression that the island is rich in bauxite, approved the excavations on Goli Otok to Italian companies for

commercial purposes. The investment has brought little profit due to the poor quality of the ore. At the mining site of bauxite ore during the conflict with the IB in 1950., so called Peter's Hole (Petrova rupa) emerged, a camp for irreversible prisoners. Rade Vuković's possession was confiscated in 1945.⁴¹

In 1939, the Yugoslav general of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Dušan Simović, proposed for the Goli island to be converted into a concentration camp for communists.

The proposal was rejected, however ten years later a similar fate marked the island.⁴²

Under the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia after World War II the Goli island started to form its history, a history that will mark it to the present time. In 1948, Yugoslavia was expelled from Cominform-consultative and coordination bodies of nine of the communist and workers' parties (the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Italy and France). With this it terminates the extremely friendly relations with the Soviet Union and Stalin. Due to the confrontation with supporters of Stalinism within the Yugoslav Communist Party, a camp on Goli Otok was established in the summer 1949.

According to Vladimir Dedijer, academic, historian and publicist, Goli Otok was encountered by the head of the Croatian UDBA⁴³ Ivan Krajačić-Stevo and a sculptor Antun Augustinčić while looking for a quality marble for a sculpture. The supreme body was informed about their findings and after discovering that the island is barren with minimal chances of escape, in the first half of 1949 the decision was made on the establishment of political camps. The construction of the camp began in June 1949 and it operated until 1956 when it was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. Throughout the six years the island received around 16000 convicts, of which 300 to 400 never returned home.⁴⁴

During the jurisdiction of the Federal Republic of Croatia it served mainly as a prison for political prisoners, as well as for the persons who have committed criminal acts (murder, theft, etc.) Later on it was converted into a juvenile correctional facility. The prison was shut down in 1988 and it was completely abandoned a year later.⁴⁵

Today, 60 years after its terrible fate, the island eroded by salt is completely untouched and forgotten, visited only by shepherds from the island of Rab and not a lot of tourist during the summer season.

2.3.FORMING AND GENESIS OF SPACE

INTERWAR PERIOD

According to current informations, there are no records of any infrastructure on Goli otok until the establishment of the camp by the orders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the summer of 1949. However, it is important to mention the interwar period when the Italians, in pursuit for bauxite ore, dug a hole 7-8 meters deep with a diameter of 20 meters that later in 1950-1952. has been repurposed to the most brutal camp called Petrova rupa(Peter's hole).⁴⁶

YEAR 1949./

The first fifteen barracks of the first camp "Wire" builds up before the arrival of the first group of prisoners on Goli otok in 1949. For its construction were in charge the prisoners from Lepoglava familiar with building crafts. After the arrival of the prisoners, the number of barracks just kept growing. The camp was surrounded with a wire and under constant surveillance, while the administration was outside the camp. The year 1949 is important because of the construction of the first stone object called "Stone building" in the bay Tetina where, in the first phase of the camp, were situated interrogators and the camp administration. ⁴⁷

YEAR 1950./

The year 1950 was marked by the construction of other camps which existed on Goli otok. Thus, in the earlier mentioned Peter's hole, a result of searching for bauxite, was built the cruellest camp consisted of two wooden barracks- bedroom and kitchen. In the same period, on the eastern side of the island were constructed the facilities for the women's camp. Due to the increasing number of prisoners, the first camp "Žica" (Wire) becomes too crowded and requires building of a new camp "Big Wire" in the bay Vela Draga. It is also important to mention the construction of the first surface for collecting rainwater near the camp Žica. The same year in bay Tetina was built a facility named Hotel where the administration was transplanted.⁴⁸

YEAR 1951.

The year 1951 was significant for building the infrastructure related to agriculture as well as transforming the area of the camp "wire" into a workshop space that will in the following years reach its full potential. The big wire is still in process of upgrading due to lack of capacity. Nearby the Big wire was built the second and also the largest area for collecting rainwater. Near the facility called Hotel was built a restaurant by the sea for the camp administration along with the facility called "bowling alley" that was used in their free time.⁴⁹

YEAR 1952.

Year 1952 was marked by building even greater number of facilities for wood, stone and metal production as well as the construction of shipyard facilities on the north-west coast of the island. During this year the women's camp was relocated to the contiguous island Sv. Grgur (St. Gregory) while the Petrova rupa (Peter's hole) moves from the bauxite hole to the surface. The positions of the objects on the surface is no longer familiar.⁵⁰

YEAR 1953.

The 1953 was the year when the camp on Goli otok got its final form. At that time the only new facilities were the library and the facility for visits along with smaller service facilities in the area for workshops and shipyard.⁵¹

PERIOD BETWEEN 1956 AND 1968

After 1956. the camp on Goli otok stopped existing and was replaced with jail for political and other prisoners. The difference in infrastructure is primarily seen in building materials, stone is replaced with concrete. The only major construction projects were facilities north of the Velika Žica (Big Wire) with various functions like hospitals, libraries and vocational schools.

PERIOD AFTER 1968. UNTIL TODAY/

In the period from 1968 until 1988 Goli otok was completely abandoned it is evident that the existing pavilions and the elementary appearance of the Velika Žica (Big Wire) was disrupted. The pavilions were completely destroyed and in the foothill are built concrete prison complexes. There are some visible changes in the bay Tetina where the few concrete objects were built as well as workshop expansions. Today, most buildings are in a very poor condition due to lack of maintenance and extreme conditions such as sun, salt and wind.

3.POLITICAL CAMP GOLI ISLAND 1949-1956

3.1.THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CAMPS ON GOLI OTOK

The decision on the establishment of the camp was made in the first half of 1949 and the same year the construction of the camp began. The first eleven wooden prefabricated barracks with the associated facilities were built by the convicts from Lepoglava who were brought to Goli island by UDBA for the particular occasion. The convicts spent a month on Goli Otok during which the first camp known as The Old Wire was formed.

The first group of convicts, or better to say, the opening group, came to Goli on 7th of July in 1949. Over the next six years 16 groups of men have been transported on the island. According to UDBA's register from the Croatian State Archives the nationalities were mostly Serbs (44%) followed by Montenegrins (21.5%), Croats (16%), Macedonians (5%), Slovenes (3.5%), Albanians (3%) and others (7%).

The organisation of the camp started from scratch and the first task of the administration was to set up the basic conditions for daily operation of Goli Otok. The initial camp regime was quite liberal and and it is hard to recognize it compared with the coming period. Convicts were engaged in the construction of the infrastructure (docks, new barracks, roads, etc.) while all their free time they could spend hanging out with each other . After these first liberal months the change for the worse began with the arrival of the Bosnian group, so called Bosnians. Little is known about their origin, however, this group was crucial for the creation of the sadistic system of " political re-education " in the camp. With their arrival every aspect of life on Goli Otok was changed, starting with the work, food and relationships among convicts. Heavy physical work in extreme weather conditions, disease, thirst and hunger have become a part of their everyday life, and the gauntlet as the 'welcoming' act to Goli Otok remains deeply embedded in the memories of the prisoners. ⁵²

3.2.LIFE ON THE GOLI OTOK

"There are no Seagulls that fly above this island, but our working troops that tend to its land!
These granite rocks we shall destroy and upon the Party and Tito's path deploy!
Where once strong winds roared, our cultural homes shall be restored.
These granite rocks we shall destroy and upon the Party and Tito's path deploy!"⁵³

Life on the Goli Otok was characterized by a monotonously traumatic everyday regimes. Working hours were from 8 a.m. to 12, sometimes even longer. The arrival to and departure from work was routinely followed by the same ritual: epsalier, singing and obscene shouting and cantillating. Relocation of the concentration camp Stara Žica (Old Wire) to Velika Žica (Big Wire) triggered development of natural resource economics and industry resulting in growth of the Goli Otok as a productive economic and industrial system, now dealing with more than internment of pro-Soviet members. The main branches of inudstry with a range of sub-branches dealt with wood-, metal- and stone working. Craftsmanship was an advantage as the alternative was stone-breaking. Along with day-to-day hard labour there was a problem with scarce food resources and thirst during sultry days.

After each working day there were lectures on politics held simultaneously, in order to politically rehabilitate the prisoners. Except leaving for work, it was strictly forbidden to leave Velika Žica and all the entrance activities

were planned and carefully surveilled. All the prisoners had to be in bed by 10p.m. and were not to leave the sleeping pavilions until the next morning. Even in cases they had to use the bathroom urgently, the inmates had only a container in front of pavilions in which they urinated. Another hardship was related to poor sanitation and crowded living conditions – there were up to 250 prisoners allocated in the pavilions; in each three-storey box three rows of people were put.

Aperiodic showers and wearing the same clothes for long periods of time led to an epidemic of „Jail fever“ or epidemic typhus that took many lives. Other diseases included dysentery, hemeralopia, scorbout and other dermatological conditions as a result of vitamin B3 deficiency. Non-working days were a rare occurrence and only three holidays were celebrated: New Year, First of May (International Workers' Day) and the Republic Day. Prisoners do however remember periods of relaxation, laughter or at least temporary respite. Among the activities included were movie and theater projections, sketches and frequently music shows. At these moments the Island exuded a semblance of normal life.⁵⁴

3.3.POLITICAL RE-EDUCATION-LABOUR AND PUNISHMENT ON GOLI OTOK

3.3.1.LABOUR ON GOLI OTOK

“Working is rearing, and we need rearing as a sick man needs the morning light, as a flower needs water, and as the starving need bread. For us, those numbers and charts are the poetry of creative work, a captivating experience of the rearing power of competition. As a man cannot live without water, air and bread, so we here on Goli otok cannot, and will not, live without work and competition. With our, and only our hands, we will turn this naked island into a blooming garden. When we do it, along with certain other tasks that our Party and comrade Tito should put in front of us, we will be able to prove through our work whose side we are on – our work will speak – only on Tito's and on Tito's forever. Let us enjoy the rearing and creative sense of competition and let us expose those hidden enemies who see boredom and stupidity in competition.”⁵⁵

In order to further understand the infrastructure of Goli Otok, it is important to note that labour at the island had a dual purpose: firstly - political rehabilitation and secondly and more importantly – economical purpose. There is a stereotypical and unimaginative view that the labour done on the Island was purposeless and pointless, made up by the concentration camp's management to break the inmates' spirit and will. However, it was only seemingly so . Apart from serving a purpose of political rehabilitation, as well as being a tool for coercion and support for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, labour played a big role in creating the complex economical system covered up as „Poduzeće Velebit“.⁵⁶

The organised labour started with an extension of the first concentration camp at the Bare Island. In July and August 1949., the inmates were engaged in road building, making crushed stone, building piers and afforestation of the once completely vegetation free zone. Skilled tradesmen such as carpenters, cooks, electricians, stonemasons and bakers were consistently in demand. A new cycle of manual labour began in spring 1950, along with the construction of the new concentration camp; the inmates were engaged in development of the new concentration camp's infrastructure (Velika Žica), as well as construction of larger objects such as the first building – the stone building, a hotel, water tanks, docks etc.

During the relocation of „Stara Žica“ to „Žica“ the labour at the Island went through a reorganisation, with a new fundament of economical and industrial; from that point onward the Island transformed into a productive and profitable economical system that dealt with more than just interment of pro-Soviet members, as aforementioned. As of fall of 1950 and by the end of the same year, „Stara Žica“ was adapted into a manufacturing facility with emphasis on three main industrial branches – wood-, metal- and stonework – including an array of manufacturing sub-branches. Workshops for wood handling manufactured furniture, one of the fundamental products. Additionally, various wooden ornaments and objects of everyday use such as chests, cigar cases, cigar holders etc. were produced. Mass production started in 1953 and continued up until the disbandment of the Prison in 1988. Furthermore, it is significant to mention the functioning of the great sawmill that was located at the southwest coast of Goli Otok, nearby the workshops. Timber was transported from Velebit, where a group of inmates were stationed and were involved in tree harvesting. Wood logs were transported near the coast and shipped to the dock. Harvested wood was of high quality and was at the time one of the most important exported natural resources in Yugoslavia.

Considering the abundance of stone on the Island it was only logical for stonework to be the second most important industry. Mass production of terrace tiles, mostly ceramic and stone ones, began in 1953 – the tiles were used for covering of all public and private facilities in Yugoslavia. For years the manufacturing facilities on Goli Otok were the single source of terrace tiles in Yugoslavia. Apart from these, other stone objects were manufactured including ashtrays, numerous ornaments, jardiniers and so on. At the same time existed a stonemasonry workshop, where talented inmates made stone busts dedicated to Yugoslavian leaders, in addition to making gravestones and monuments.

Metal work comprised fine and rough processing and in that context it is of importance to mention a shipyard at the southwest coast of Goli Otok. Majority of repairs and remounting took place therein, simultaneously with small shipbuilding. Other diverse workshops existed at the Goli Otok – ones for tailoring, shoemaking, mechanic stalls – and were located in the vicinity of organisations for Prison management such as booking office, typist office and an accountant's office, as well as other lower bureaucracy jobs. Noteworthy is the fact that the labour in all workshops and bureaucracy jobs alike were considered a privilege, so only $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$ of inmates had the luxury of participating. They did somewhat less-demanding physical work and had higher quality meals, shorter working hours, more cigarettes, option of singing during work and more general liberty in their work. On the other hand, the disadvantageous work in the stone pit / quarry consisted of mining a suitable rock deposits and breaking the removed rock down to smaller pieces using crushers to obtain the desired size. A portion of the manufactured crushed stone was used at the Island, whereas the other part was shipped away for selling.

Particularly ostracized inmates used mallets, pickaxes, hammers and even other stones for stone breaking and had a daily norm of one cubic meter. Sand from seabeds was extracted at the Goli Otok and the nearby Rab Island for camp construction, but also for other manufacturing purposes. Sand extraction had its benefits during the summer, but it was a hardship during winter and fall months due to low temperatures and strong bora winds, and it was reserved for the ostracized inmates. One of the toughest aspects of the Goli Otok prison was the thirst. For this reason one of the privileged positions at the Island was being a waterboy.

Every pavilion had two waterboys, whose assignment was to bring drinkable water from water tanks to the pavilions. In addition, there were waterboys who delivered water across the Island, to meet the needs

of workers. Many found this position an ideal one, because they had an opportunity to surreptitiously drink the water.

Unhealthy inmates, especially the older ones, were assigned with less-demanding jobs such as doing the laundry, cooking, potato peeling, camp cleaning, breaking stones while sitting etc. The inmates were just coerced workers of the „Poduzeće Velebit“, who only got three decent daily meals and scant supplies of water insufficient for survival, whereas at the same time the management and the income from the industry was exploited by the State Security Administration (UDBA).⁵⁷

3.3.2.PUNISHMENT ON GOLI OTOK

Boycott was not only a type of punishment, but also the reflection of inmate's hierarchical status and was delivered by the pavilion. It was characterized as being inhuman and mirrored the Goli Otok's inborn sadism. The amount and level of violence broke the inmates both physically and mentally, simultaneously forcing them to confess secrets pertaining to pro-Soviet members on the run. Boycott manifested through minimized amounts of cigarettes and food in general, sleeping on the floor, harder labour, half the time provided for sleep; the inmates often had to hold their heads above the container in which they urinated. One could recognize such inmates by the different uniform they wore; the uniform was a signal for other inmates to freely batter them. The boycotted inmates weren't allowed to talk to others and were to hold their heads bowed down. Two worst parts of the punishment were the hard labour and day-to-day physical and mental molestation in form of the espalier in which all inmates were involved (200 to 250 of them). Boycott lasted from 15 days to a couple of months, depending on the boycotter's attitude – whether or not he confessed that he was or wasn't a pro-Soviet member. Inmates showed their changed attitudes during the political classes and this was an important torturing tool after hard day's work. In this fashion, confessing mirrored the court holding. At the pavilion, the inmate would have to introspectively present his pro-Soviet history and activities and due to the pressure many had to lie and make up stories. The variety of punishments at the Goli Otok functioned in order to politically reeducate the inmates – which was the basic function of the Goli Otok itself; punishments included the espalier as a way to welcome newcomers, classes on politics, attitude revisions, boycott etc.⁵⁸

3.3.3.RUNNING THE GAUNTLET

3.3.3.1. HISTORY OF RUNNING THE GAUNTLET

In Croatian language the word for running the gauntlet is „špalir“ and it comes from a German word Spalier, referring to rows of soldiers at each side of the path an honored person walked as he or she was about to be honoured.⁵⁹ Historically, the likes of gauntlet root back to ancient times, where running the gauntlet was referred to as Xylokopia. In Ancient Greece, this was a way of military punishment for soldiers who committed criminal matters. The convicted ones had to run through the gauntlet with their back bare, while they were insulted or physically molested. In the Roman army this method of punishment was reserved for soldiers who tried to escape the army as deserters.

A similar way of punishing was depicted in Josta Ammana's wood engravings in 16th century and Merian Matthause's engravings in 1525. Running the gauntlet was employed throughout the following centuries by the Prussian, Netherlands and British army. It was also described in Tolstoy's novel *After the Ball*, as well as in Dostoyevsky's *The House of the Dead*. In his novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, Hemingway describes the use of espalier as a punishment method for nobles during the Spanish Civil War. The espalier was also a subject elaborated in movies – Stanley Kubrick depicts it accurately in his movie *Barry Lyndon*.

In Western World running the gauntlet was forbidden as a method for punishment in 19th century. Today it solely exists as an initiation ritual in sports and similar communities.⁶⁰

3.3.3.2. RUNNING THE GAUNTLET ON GOLI OTOK

Running the gauntlet was the punishing method of choice for newcomers inmates and it is considered to be introduced with the coming of so called Bosnians. Running the gauntlet had multiple other names such as „toplizec“,

„šiba“ or „stroj“ and was recalled by the inmates as one of the most stressful events to be witnessed. Except for the physical molestation, the espalier caused a great deal of shame and had an effect on the mental state of the inmates.

The gauntlet was established sometime during the middle of September 1949 and was the most fearsome and brutal during the greatest conflict between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. It used to span almost half a kilometer and included almost all the inmates residing at the Goli Otok at the time – depending on the period the number was as high as 3500 to 4400 inmates. It began immediately after landing from the ship and ended at the top of the camp. The inmates' clothes were taken beforehand, so they would pass through the espalier completely naked – sometimes they had to take their clothes off only at the end of the espalier. The double convicted inmates had it worst, as they were supposed to pass through the espalier two times in a row – this was known as the „vrući stroj“ (literally „the hot machine“).

The gauntlet was a rough primary trauma and a pointer towards the brutal life that awaited the inmates.⁶¹

3.4. CAMPS ON GOLI OTOK

Locations of the working camps at the Goli Otok were strategically chosen depending on the geographical position and accessibility. The first built camp „Stara Žica“ (Old Wire) was located at an embayment Mala Tetina, where the ship Punat built by the prisoners (but not the inmates at the Goli Otok) could dock. All other facilities and infrastructure were built by the inmates at the Goli Otok. Since the capacity of „Stara Žica“ became too small, a bigger camp was built at a nearby embayment Vela and was called „Žica“; after the finalisation of construction works, the inmates were transferred from „Stara Žica“ (Old Wire) to „Velika Žica“ (Big Wire). Working camp 101 – Petrova rupa was located at the bauxite hole that came to be during the interwar period, away from the looks of other inmates at Goli Otok, while the female camp was the only one at the other, less accessible side side of the Island, at the embayment Senjska. The inmates at these remote camps never came in contact and were for a long time unaware of each others' existence. The final configuration of the camps was established in the period between summer 1950 and 1953. Apart from the four camps, other facilities

were built and served as administration buildings for members of the State Security Administration and the police. Other facilities, intended for staff only, included football fields and tennis courts. New Hospital building was constructed in 1952, whereas there's a probability that the library and a facility for visitors were built in 1953. Supposedly, during the encamping at the Goli Otok, 60 hectares of land were afforested along with the construction of most of the Island's infrastructure and administrative facilities.⁶²

3.4.1. THE FIRST CAMP-OLD WIRE

The foundations of the first working camp were laid out with the arrival of inmates from Lepoglava, who are attributed to building the first eleven barracks. The number of barracks grew until the fall of 1950, when the new camp was constructed. The camp consisted of 15 barracks, with two separated from the others. These two were intended for inmates who were about to be liberated or were to go to work actions. Out of 15, only one barrack functioned as self-administration facility – the so called „Centar“ – while the others were assigned to inmates. The camp included a kitchen, a dispensary, a barrack for investigators and interrogators and a barrack for the police forces, who guarded the camp. The camp's name was a reference to the three meter high wire fence that surrounded the camp along with concrete piles and watchtowers. The inmates' barracks were physically separated from the ones belonging to the police and members of the State Security Administration, by means of wire fences. A port and a warehouse were built at the Velika Draga embayment, as well as the largest facility at the Island called „Kamena zgrada“. This facility served as an administration building for staff and interrogators during the first phase of camp construction.

Illustrations by the painter and graphic designer Alfred Pal most accurately represent the layout of the camp „Stara Žica“, since up till today the camp blueprints and photographs are unavailable. Camp „Stara Žica“ was enclosed in multiple layers of wire fence and five to eight watchtowers 50 meters apart. The dimensions of the enclosed area were approximately 150 by 60 to 80 meters.

First three buildings at the tip of the camp functioned as medical dispensaries. Beneath these were wooden barracks in a row; one of the barracks was the „Centar“ and an atelier for inmates who were painters and sculptors. Three barracks in the right were assigned to inmates and resembled (in function and appearance) the ones constructed for accommodation of the army, in the projects for postwar Yugoslavia reconstruction. Area in between was referred to as the „street“. Beneath the main entrance to „Stara Žica“ there were two barracks – so called working brigades – meant for inmates that were preparing for leaving the Island. At a certain point in time, these were additionally enclosed in wire fences. The camp also had associated facilities such as a facility that functioned as an outdoor toilette, a kitchen, a bakery and a laundrette.

Area that was physically separated from camp grounds was intended for interrogators, police and camp's administration. Following the construction of the „Kamena zgrada“, whole camp's administration moved to the new building and the abandoned barracks were used as warehouses and workshops. With the arrival of new inmates a new timber structured port was built and was used for ship docking, discharging cargo and debarkation. Because the persistent shortage of water was a constant problem at the Goli Otok, soon a first water tank was built for collecting and storing rainwater.

During 1950s, as the conflict between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union grew, the number of arrested people rose accordingly. The capacity of „Stara Žica“ was soon enough insufficient and therefore, during the summer of 1950 began the construction of a bigger camp later named „Velika Žica“ or simply „Žica“. Construction of a facility called „Hotel“ in the vicinity of „Stara Žica“ took place simultaneously – it was a brick-walled building

where interrogators moved to and had their offices. The administration of the camp also moved to „Hotel“ building, whereas the police in charge of camp security moved to „Kamena zgrada“. ⁶³

3.4.2. THE BIG WIRE

As the number of convicts grew, and the Old Wire's capacity was surpassed, the construction of a bigger camp started in the autumn of 1950, and it was called The Big Wire (or simply The Wire).

The camp was surrounded with two layers of wire, bunkers and watchtowers. It consisted of 19 brick barracks, 17 of which served as accommodation for the convicts. The size of each pavilion was 10x15 meters and they had wooden gable roof covered with tiles. A single door and the window of the room's senior were located on the main facade, while there were six smaller double casement windows without grids on the side of the pavilion oriented towards "the street". The stalls inside the pavilions had three floors that measured 2,5 meters in height, and were made out of planed, reinforced wooden planks.

The hospital was located in two pavilions that didn't serve to accommodate prisoners. In the year 1952, it was moved to another location. The Small Wire was a space surrounded with wire that was above the bunkers with the convicts. After a typhoid outbreak in 1951, three barracks were constructed to serve as a quarantine. The convicts could sometimes meet in the space between the pavilions, called "the street", and they ate their breakfast, lunch and dinner in front of the pavilions, where occasional gauntlets happened as well. A "serving room", a place for preparation and storage of rations and cutlery, was located behind every pavilion.

The penitentiary's self-administrative headquarters and the superintendent's office were located beneath the first pavilion on the right, in the building called The Center. This building was used to manage convicts' files, determine their number, for censorship of mail and other necessary administrative work.

There was an open space below the pavilions, called "the square", with a kitchen and a bakery. Inside The Big Wire, below the pavilion, the convicts that were a part of the art section could perform music and theater numbers, watch movies and give speeches on "the stage". There was a barrack behind the stage in which they could prepare and rehearse their performances.

There were two stone facilities, probably functioning as warehouses, located right on the shore of the Vela Draga bay. The dock was built right next to the ground floor longitudinal building which had many purposes over the years: floor tiles were manufactured there, groceries were stored, and pasta was made in it. Above that building was a road that led to the Big Wire's entrance. The Big Wire's administrative building was separated from the whole complex that was surrounded with wire. It was positioned west of the concentration camp, elevated on a hill so that the camp could be easily monitored. Beside the wire, the camp was also secured with watchtowers and concrete bunkers. 80 to 100 people were in charge of securing the camp, and not even the Yugoslav People's Army officers could enter it.

After the year 1956, some major changes happened regarding the Big Wire buildings' functions. Concrete buildings were constructed to serve as a legal prison that was open until 1988. The pavilions that held Cominform members were torn down, with just foundations and retaining walls remaining to date. The two stone facilities mentioned above were kept intact, as well as the Big Wire's administrative building. ⁶⁴

3.4.3.CAMP 101-PETAR'S HOLE

During the first half of 1950, a mysterious and never fully disclosed camp was built at the Goli Otok. It was called „Radilište 101“ because of the starting number of inmates, and amongst the inmates was known as „Manastir“ or „Petrova rupa“, named after the professor Petar Komnenić, the chairman of the Parliament of Montenegro and one of the first inmates at this camp. A camp in a camp was a top secret kept from other inmates and today it is recalled only by its survivors. There are no archived documents on the camp, and neither the remains were found, so this represents a problem in determining its definite location.

This camp was located at a site that was actually a hole made during the interwar period, as a consequence of bauxite exploitation. Since the ore was never found, a hole measuring 20 m in diameter and 7 to 8 meters deep was leftover up until 1950, when the staff of State Security Administration decided to use it in order to build a new and most cruel camp.

Nikola Golubović, a former inmate at „Radilište 101“, made a model of the camp based on his recollections. At an assembly of the former inmates in 1990 in Montenegro, Podgorica he presented his model and his work was verified by other inmates who were there at the time. „Petrova rupa“ was spherical in shape and was approximately 600 to 800 meters away from „Velika Žica“ and 500 to 600 meters apart from water tanks.

According to the model it is evident that the structure can be divided into two parts, one outside and the other inside the hole. The structures around the hole consisted of a wall about 2 to 3 meters high, on which a commander patrolled, then there was a barrack where the staff were accommodated, as well as a barrack where interrogators were situated.

Beside the wall was a small reservoir with water that was delivered by inmates from „Velika Žica“ to satisfy the needs of inmates at „Rupa“. At the west side of the hole was a stairway that led into the hole. Facilities inside the hole were designed solely for inmates. Wooden barrack for inmate accommodation was at the bottom of the hole and had two-storey boxes. The kitchen was located at

the southeast of the inmates' barrack. Path between the inmates' barrack and the kitchen was used to establish running the gauntlet.

According to the testimonies of „Radilište 101“ inmates, the inside part of the hole was active in the period between July 1950 to 1952 and was moved to the surface from then onward and until its shutdown in 1954. The new camp was in the close vicinity to the hole (somewhat about 10 meters) and consisted of a wooden barrack measuring 20 by 6 meters, a dispensary measuring 10 by 5 meters and a kitchen measuring 5 by 2 meters. Two rows of wire fence reaching up to 2 meters in height and a wall of similar height enclosed the area of the new camp, that measured 70 by 30 meters.⁶⁵

3.4.4.THE FEMALE CAMP-„RADILIŠTE V

The female camp (named also „Radilište V) was the only female working camp at the Goli Otok that existed between 1950 and 1951. Afterwards, the female inmates were transported to another nearby prison at the Island of Sveti Grgur, where the climate and geographical conditions were somewhat less harsh. According to the recollections of Eva Grlić, female inmates were retransported for only a short time to Goli Otok, during the construction of various stone buildings. „Radilište V“ was the only camp located at the east side of the Island,

at the embayment Senjska, oriented towards Velebit. This was definitely a far more crueler position in contrast to the southeast side, where most infrastructure development took place.⁶⁶

According to Dragutin Vajdić, only a few inmates knew about the female camp and those were the ones who were in charge of water transport to this part of Island – and mr Vajdić was one of them. Due to strong bora winds, the boat „Izvor“ that carried the water tanks wasn't able to dock at the eastern part of the Island often, therefore the men were responsible for delivering water supplies from their water tank using copper cauldrons that they carried on their back to the top of the Goli Otok. Here they left the cauldrons without any contact with female inmates. Afterwards, the female inmates accompanied by the guards came and took the cauldrons, further carrying them across a very rocky and steep terrain towards their camp.⁶⁷

Owing to testimonials of Eva Grlić and Vera Winter, the former female inmates at „Radilište V“, we can conclude that the female camp was organised in a similar fashion to male camps. There the camp had its main administration, as well as a notional but far more important, lead by chosen and suitable inmates.

Running the gauntlet was a common occurrence, not only when welcoming newcomers but often after dinners and due to sinning or some figment. Running the gauntlet was used far more often in the beginning than at the shutdown of the camp.

Labour included working in a stone pit/quarry, carrying rocks and sand to given destinations, unloading cargo, mixing concrete and mortar, knitting, making handicrafts, guarding, cleaning and maintaining the boats – all labour was conducted without regards to weather conditions.⁶⁸

3.5.CAMP ORGANIZATION ON GOLI OTOK

The penitentiary's fictitious self-administration began its formation in the end of August of 1949, when so-called Bosnians (they were in fact assassins) came to Goli otok. It's worth mentioning that neither members of UDBA nor members of Yugoslav police were actually present in the buildings where prisoners were kept. They didn't perform any kind of physical punishment themselves. The closest authorities were the guards that monitored the wire surrounding the prison camp.

The convicts were the only people inside the area protected with wire, which meant that they organised their lives in a specific manner. A so-called Center was at the top of a rigid hierarchy pyramid, in charge of many things concerning the organisation of life in the camp. The Center was a link between the convicts inside the camp and real camp authorities (UDBA) that were located outside of it. Those in charge of managing the penitentiary had some privileges: they didn't have to perform manual labor, other convicts didn't punish them physically nor psychologically, they could enjoy new clothes from time to time, they could eat, drink and move freely. The Center building was located on the square, below the first pavilion, and it remained the same to date. It's shape and architectural construction differ from other facilities inside The Big Wire, mostly due to the three pillars on the main porch, although the porch doesn't have its authentic appearance anymore.

The second level of the camp's self-administration were those in the "barrack management" or in the "pavilion headquarters". There was one of those assigned to each pavilion. "Pavilion headquarters" were led by "room supervisor", or "room seniors", to translate it more closely to camp's slang. They were crucial to everyday functioning of convicts: they were in charge of organising workgroups, distributing food and beverages, dividing the cigarettes, and correcting of undesirable behavior. The room supervisor was connected to UDBA that made the decisions about the treatment of convicts, and then they had to implement it.

A physical model of the architectural organisation of the pavilion, made from convicts' memories, shows clearly how the room seniors had privileges: they had private little rooms with beds, shelves, food and cigarettes.

Besides the room supervisors, pavilion headquarters also had educational and cultural assistants as well as project supervisors.

The third level of penitentiary's self-administration consisted of many jobs performed by convicts, important for day-to-day functioning of the camp. Depending on UDBA's decisions, the convicts could become convict waiters, convict barbers, cooks, water suppliers, convict accountants, electricians, gardeners and everything else that could ensure the normal functioning of a prison camp.⁶⁹

3.6. INFLUENCE OF NAZI CAMPS ON ORGANIZATION OF CAMPS ON GOLI OTOK

When comparing former prisons of Kingdom of Yugoslavia with Nazi, fascist and Soviet prisons, the main resemblance can be found with German Nazi camps. Although they were a lot bigger and more complex than the one on Goli otok, the structure of camp's organisation is very similar.

As well as the Nazi camps, Goli otok also had two main levels of authorities. The Nazi camps had SS (Schutzstaffel) as actual authorities, and then the fictitious prison authorities. The camp was led by a commander (Lagerkommandant) with the authorities of a superintendent in Goli otok camp. In order to minimize the number of SS officers, many convicts had different functioning positions. A hierarchy of fictitious prison authorities was built by those suitable convicts, and was led by "camp's senior" (Lageraltester), similar to "the Center" in Goli otok camp. They had similar duties: implementing orders and decisions from the real authorities and organising the rest of camp's self-administrative functioning. The lowest rank of Nazi prison self-administration were "unit seniors" (Blokaltester) that had to implement decisions made by higher ranked members of self-administration. On Goli otok those were room seniors. Workgroups of Goli otok were organised in the similar way to those in Nazi camps: a foreman (Vorarbeiter) was in charge, and Kapo or Oberkapo (Funktionshäftling) was right below him. You could compare Nazi foreman (Vorarbeiter) and Kapo to a "commander of work force" on Goli otok: they administered manufacturing processes.⁷⁰

Both camps had some suitability criteria: in Nazi prisons that was your mother tongue, race and ethnicity; Goli otok favored repentant members of UDBA and members of the defeated collaborationist armies. These suitable convicts had some privileges in both camps: better clothes, better food, no manual labor, and private space.

Similarities between Goli otok and other Nazi prison camps can be found in spatial organization as well. Nazi camps were also surrounded with two layers of wire; the real authorities were outside that enclosed area; prisoners were located in wooden or brick pavilions (on Goli otok, wooden or stone pavilions). Architectural structure of the pavilions is very similar: ground floors with wooden gable roofs. Each of the pavilions could accommodate somewhere between 250 and 400 prisoners which slept on three-floor wooden planks, often having to share one floor with two to four people. The same accommodating situation could be found on Goli otok.

One other similarity was the open space between the pavilions: in Nazi camps it was called Appelplatz, and on Goli otok it was called "the square". They would count prisoners in those open spaces, but in the Big Wire it was also a place where prisoners could perform theater acts, give speeches or play movies.⁷¹

4.MEMORIAL CENTER GOLI OTOK

The main idea of the project Memorial center Goli otok was to fairly emphasize and give back the real significance to the island that was a place of isolation, hard physical labor, poor living conditions, thirst, hunger, epidemics, physical and psychological mistreatment followed up by the complete absence of human rights. In order to design a space that speaks about repression, teaches us how to properly deal with the past and how to create a space where memory becomes memorial.

Expect designing memorial interventions on the island, it is very important to provide a sustainable component of the whole area. When talking about Goli otok we should not think about memorial center in terms of traditional context but more broadly. It was of great importance to think about developing features that will contribute to the further development and maintenance of the island, which Goli otok certainly deserves so that memorial center does not remain abandoned and forgotten by the people.

Considering the fact that during the summer time Goli otok in current state is visited by the 50 000 tourists, this island as a memorial center except memorial places must afford to the visitors other designed contexts.

Required accommodations were designed as a part of buildings that were built after 1956. Those objects do not have any cultural or historical value. The bay Tetina where the ships can sail into will have the same function in the future, and buildings nearby the cove that have historical and cultural value with a proper restoration, will be used as a space for workshops, lectures, exhibition areas or spaces for artist. Taking into the consideration the fact that this island with its cultural

heritage offers the variety of possibilities as well as liability to speak about various topics and covers a lot of professions. It also gives opportunity for maintenance of architectural and urban workshops, as well as workshops that are aimed toward preserving the cultural heritage (stonewalls, old stone buildings etc.) and workshops that have political, sociological and historical character.

Beside already mentioned workshops the aim is to revive the trades that were active during the political camp on Goli otok. There dominates mostly workshop of wood or stone, then workshops that engage with the metal. In the former workshops buildings would be renewed spaces with the same function that would allow the maintained this type of trade. The very broad and interesting space along the coast where was located shipbuilding industry in recent years demands restoration according to laws of the profession. All areas of former camps, as well as stonepits are planned to represent memorial marked spaces with minimal urban and architectural interventions. This work presents two important points of this island; the space of Velika Žica (Big Wire) and elevated area on the imaginary border between male and female camps.

4.1.THE BIG WIRE MEMORIAL CENTRE

The Big Wire camp, located in a valley with access to the Vela Draga Bay, was the second, but also the largest camp built on Goli Otok. Construction began with the increase of prisoners, already in 1950, and gained its final form by the end of 1951. The original camp with 19 stone pavilions and the so called square at its foot was ruined in the years after 1968. Today, the concrete prison objects do not represent a clear image of its previous state. Apart from the administrative building and the two storage objects, nothing in the valley was preserved in its original form and the pavilions were completely demolished. The only visible

objects are the plateaus and the foundation walls that awaken memories of the previous state. Today, the area of the Big Wire is not only interesting due to the topography of the camp's location but also due to the historical weight it carries. Cultural and memorial value of the Wire radiate out of every hand-carved rock and that is why it was imagined and designed as a memorial centre where it evokes emotions and memories in visitors and tries to reconstruct the past, while they walk through different spatial structures and interventions.

The Big Wire memorial centre project was primarily imagined in order not to disrupt all the objects that have cultural and historical value and to preserve the raw nature that surrounds the camp in its original form with minimal intervention.

The first intervention in the space refers to the objects built in the period of legal prison after 1956, which block the view with its position and also the insight into the camp's previous state. The first venture that allowed the visitor easier visualization of the camp and better walking lines and perspectives, was the cutting of prison concrete objects only in the necessary proportion. The view on the pavilions, which were the most significant parts of the camp, was opened. 10x15x2.5 in dimension, located on a cascading terrain surrounded by barren rocks and wire, they were the home of up to 4000 people in very poor living conditions. Outlining the layout of the pavilions with a glass canvas 2.5 meter high, the space of memorial significance was marked. The glass, completely transparent, allowed for everything to remain untouched and visible, but at the same time gave a very clear indication of the previous state. Glass was selected as the material because it is transparent and open, everything that Goli Otok was not at the time when it was a political camp. The last intervention in the area of the Big Wire is marking a great event that stayed deeply rooted in the memory of every person that lived on Goli Otok, the so called running the gauntlet (Croatian špalir), a form of corporal punishment. Using the terrain's natural slope, a 2-meter high stone trench was carved, 100 meters long with different widths. At some places, sudden narrow passages evoke the sense of discomfort in the visitor, symbolizing the discomfort that every inhabitant of Goli Otok experienced when arriving at the island. Running the gauntlet gradually continues onto the existing path that leads to the memorial object in the middle of the path to the women's prison, in the opposite bay of Senjska. A platform was envisaged at the gauntlet's exit, which allows a clear view of the pavilion area from above.

4.2. MUSEUM AS A PART OF MEMORIAL CENTRE VELIKA ŽICA

The museum, an expositional and educational contribution to the Great Wire Memorial Centre, is located in the camp's former administrative building. The one-storey object, 40mx12m in dimension, located on a narrow terrain a little higher in relation to the rest of the camp, demands attention with its rich stone facade which today has significant value.

The project task, which included preserving the outer layer of the building, allowed the manipulation and reorganization of the interior which resulted in an interesting solution. Airspace was placed in the south part of the building, and it runs through the entire height of the object, opening a view to the basement space that formerly functioned as a dungeon. At the same time, while climbing, the visitor's view is directed

and framed towards the Great Wire. At the north side of the museum there is a permanent exhibition space while the same area on the upper floor was imagined as a space for temporary exhibitions.

Thinking about the sustainable factor of the museum, the entire object is multifunctional due to the new concrete skeleton construction which has also strengthened the existing stone walls and allowed a complete freedom of the interior.

4.3.MEMORIAL BUILDING

A place where one world meets the other. A place where men's and women's camp meet. A place of necessity. Located at 79 meters above sea level on the path between the men's Velika Žica (Big Wire) camp and women's camp, it represented the only source of potable water for the female prisoners. The weather conditions did not allow the boat with water to sail into the women's camp.

The memorial object that dives out of water, 10m x 2,5m x 15m in dimension, coated with dark terrazzo panels is a vertical composition that stands out from its surroundings, calling to be visited. Neither the dimensions nor the object's material were selected randomly – they all carry great symbolic value. The pavilions of the Velika Žica (Great Wire) were of the same dimensions, but placed horizontally and housed over 250 people. Using the same dimensions, the visitor can understand the state in which the prisoner was with 249 more people.

The object's interior is simple and, on the one hand, also brutal and honest. Two opposite spiral staircases symbolize the arduous path. The path that both male and female prisoners had to cross in severe weather conditions and harsh terrain. One spiral staircase symbolizes the path the men had to cross to bring water, and the other symbolizes the women's path. The highest platform of the object symbolizes the peak where the object itself is located. A meeting place.

With an open view of both the men's and women's camp, the visitors have the possibility to feel the harsh world where the prisoners, men and women, existed surrounded with rock.

5.FOOTNOTES, REFERENCES AND FIGURES

FOOTNOTES

¹Vlg. o.A.,radio.hrt.hr/radio-zadar/clanak/video-goli-otok-hrvatski-alcatraz/99865/lg, 15.02.2016.

²Vlg. Previšić, 2014,132.

³Vlg.o.A.,www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/udbin-popis-objavili-imena-16.101-zatocenika-golog-otoka/847201/, 15.02.2016.

⁴Tanović, 2015, 37.

⁵Vlg. Lidija Butković Mićin,http://www.zarez.hr/clanci/arhitektura-sjecanja, 20.01.2016.

⁶Vlg. Nora, 1989,135-140.

⁷Vlg. Erll, Nunning, 2010, 77-127.

⁸Maurice Halbwachs was a French philosopher and sociologist known for developing the concept of collective memory

Vlg. Olick, 2007,7-8

⁹Jan Assmann is a German Egyptologist. He workes very close with his wife Aleida Assmann, who also studied Egyptology and English literature. Together they have very much influenced and formed the discourse about the existence of a collective memory-a cultural memory.

¹⁰Vlg. Winter, 1999, 71-77.

¹¹Vlg. Tanović, 2015, 16-18.

¹²Vlg, Tanović, 2015, 126-177.

¹³Adorno,1977,177-195.

¹⁴Young,2003, 245.

¹⁵Vlg. Riegel,1982,21.

¹⁶Kunstwollen or "artistic will" according to Riegel

¹⁷Vlg.Tanović, 2015, 33.

¹⁸Vlg. Janson, 1976, 1.

¹⁹Vlg. Doss, 2010, 37-48.

²⁰Doss, 2010, 39.

²¹Vlg. Doss, 2010, 37-48.

²²Vlg. Prasad Rai, 2011, 11.

²³Vlg. Bogdan Bogdanović i njegova filozofija razaranja, www.jergovic.com/ajfelov-most/bogdan-bogdanovic-i-njegova-filozofija-razaranja, 25.01.2017.

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²⁵Vlg. Slomljeni pejzaž-Spomen obilježje Gordanu Ledereru,pogledaj.to/arhitektura/slomljeni-pejzaz-spomen-obiljezje-gordanu-ledereru, 25.01.2017.

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²⁸Vlg. Tanović, 2015, 131-137.

²⁹Vlg. Pašić, 2011, 80-81.

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³¹Vlg. 63 Jahren danach von Jochen Gerz, www.gat.st/news/63-jahre-danach-von-jochen-gerz, 07.01.2017.

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³³Young, 2003, 150.

³⁴Vlg. Barsalou, Baxter, 2007, 4.

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³⁶Vlg. Cvijetanović Starac, 2011, 5-7.

³⁷Vlg. Cvijetanović Starac, 2011, 8.

³⁸Vlg. Goli otok, nekadašnji Alcatraz, smart-travel.hr/goli-otok-nekadasnji-alcatraz-na-jadranu, 18.12.2016.

³⁹Vlg. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, mapire.eu/de, 20.12.2016.

⁴⁰Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 94.

⁴¹Vlg. Giulia Rocco, storybuilder.jumpstart.ge/ka/goli-otok-zaborava, 20.12.2016.

⁴²The State Security Service, more commonly known by its original name as the State Security Administration (UDBA or UDSA), was the secret police of Yugoslavia. Best known at all times simply by the acronym UDBA,] in its latter decades it was composed of six semi-independent secret police organizations, one for each of the six Yugoslav federal republics, coordinated by the central federal office.

⁴³Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 132.

⁴⁴Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 94-95.

⁴⁵Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 255.

⁴⁶Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 115-116.

⁴⁷Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 115-127.

⁴⁸Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 115-127.

⁴⁹Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 118-127, 132.

⁵⁰Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 213.

⁵¹Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 93-102.

⁵²Previšić, 2014, 152.

⁵³Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 148-158.

⁵⁴Previšić, 2014, 106-207.

⁵⁵Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 167-227.

⁵⁶Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 167-227.

⁵⁷Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 185-189.

⁵⁸Klaić,1983,1302.

⁵⁹Vlg.o.A.,www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/run-the-gauntlet,27.12.2016.

⁶⁰Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 102-106. ⁶¹Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 109-129.

⁶²Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 109-129.

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⁶⁶Vlg. Grlić, 2001,189-218.

⁶⁷Vlg. Tasić,1990, 60.

⁶⁸Vlg. Grlić, 2001,189-218.

⁶⁹Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 134.

⁷⁰Vlg. Previšić, 2014, 140.

⁷¹Vlg.o.A.,www.theholocaustexplained.org/ks3/the-camps/how-were-the-camps-run/architecture-buildings-and-sub-sections/#.WG-elfnhDIU, 07.01.2017.

FIGURE 2. THE MONUMENT AGAINST FASCISM, Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz, HAMBURG, 1986

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FIGURES

FIGURE1. THE DETAIL OF GOLI OTOK BY MARCO MENSA

<https://storybuilder.jumpstart.ge/ka/goli-otok-zaborava>

FIGURE 2. THE MONUMENT AGAINST FASCISM, JOCHEN GERZ AND ESTHER SHALEV-GERZ, HAMBURG, 1986

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FIGURE 3. CANADIAN MEMORIAL VIMY RIDGE

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FIGURE 4. MONUMENT DEDICATED TO JEWISH VICTIMS OF FASCISM, BOGDAN BOGDANOVIĆ, 1952.

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FIGURE 5. MEMORIAL “BROKEN LANDSCAPE”, NFO ARCHITECTURAL STUDIO + PETAR BARIŠIĆ,2015.

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FIGURE 6. STONEHENGE

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FIGURE 7. RISIERA DI SAN SABBA MEMORIAL, ROMANO BOICO

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Trieste-Risiera_di_San_Sabba-DSCF1482.JPG

FIGURE 9. MAP OF CROATIA WITH MARKED GOLI OTOK BY MIA-MARTINA HREN

FIGURE 10. EAST PART OF ISLAND BY MARCO MENSA

<https://storybuilder.jumpstart.ge/ka/goli-otok-zaborava>

FIGURE 11. GOLI OTOK BY MARCO MENSA

<https://storybuilder.jumpstart.ge/ka/goli-otok-zaborava>

FIGURE 12. GOLI OTOK BY MARCO MENSA

<https://storybuilder.jumpstart.ge/ka/goli-otok-zaborava>

FIGURE 13. GOLI OTOK FROM THE SPACE

FIGURE 14. FORMER WORKSHOPS BUILDINGS BY MIA-MARTINA HREN

FIGURE 15. FORMER RESTAURANT BUILDING BY DRAŽEN HREN

FIGURE 16. FORMER SHIPBUILDING SPACE BY MIA-MARTINA HREN

FIGURE 17. AREA FOR COLLECTING WATER BY DRAŽEN HREN

FIGURE 18. FORMER SPACE OF VELIKA ŽICA (BIG WIRE) BY DRAŽEN HREN

FIGURE 19. SCULPTURE IN STONE, AUTHOR UNKNOWN BY MIA-MARTINA HREN

FIGURE 21. BUILDING CALLED "KAMENA ZGRADA", AUTHOR UNKNOWN

Doktorski Rad Povijest informbiroovskog logora na Golom otoku 1949.-1956.Sveučilište u Zagrebu,2014.

FIGURE 22. BUILDING CALLED "HOTEL", AUTHOR UNKNOWN

Doktorski Rad Povijest informbiroovskog logora na Golom otoku 1949.-1956.Sveučilište u Zagrebu,2014.

FIGURE 23. THE FIRST PORT ON GOLI OTOK, AUTHOR UNKNOWN

Doktorski Rad Povijest informbiroovskog logora na Golom otoku 1949.-1956.Sveučilište u Zagrebu,2014.

FIGURE 24. WORKSHOPS, AUTHOR UNKNOWN

Leševi s Golog, David Tasić

FIGURE 25. SLOGAN'S REMAINS, AUTHOR UNKNOWN

Leševi s Golog, David Tasić

FIGURE 26. ILLUSTRATION "SUFFOCATION IN WATER", NIĐO ERCEG

<http://www.cro-eu.com/forum/index.php?topic=1382.0>

FIGURE 27. ILLUSTRATION "RUNNING THE GUANTLET", MIROSLAV ACIĆ

<http://hdlskl.hr/svjedocanstva/banja-luka/>

FIGURE 28. MAPS OF FORMER CAMPS BY MIA-MARTINA HREN

FIGURE 29. ILLUSTRATION OF THE FIRST CAMP "STARA ŽICA" (OLD WIRE); ALFRED PAL

Doktorski Rad Povijest informbiroovskog logora na Golom otoku 1949.-1956.Sveučilište u Zagrebu,2014.

FIGURE 30. CAMP "VELIKA ŽICA" (BIG WIRE); AUTHOR UNKNOWN

Doktorski Rad Povijest informbiroovskog logora na Golom otoku 1949.-1956.Sveučilište u Zagrebu,2014.

FIGURE 31. PAVILION IN CAMP "VELIKA ŽICA" (BIG WIRE),AUTHOR UNKNOWN

Leševi s Golog, David Tasić

FIGURE 33. FEMALE CAMP

http://factum.com.hr/hr/filmovi_i_ autori/novi_filmovi/goli

FIGURE 34. DETAIL ON GOLI OTOK, MIA-MARTINA HREN

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