



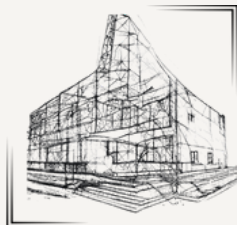
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DOCUMENTA
CENTAR ZA SUOČAVANJE S PROŠLOŠĆU

ANDREJA KULUNČIĆ: *YOU BETRAYED THE PARTY JUST WHEN YOU SHOULD HAVE HELPED IT*





(IN)VISIBLE TRACES.
ARTISTIC MEMORIES OF
THE COLD WAR

**YOU BETRAYED THE PARTY JUST WHEN YOU SHOULD HAVE HELPED IT -
NEW PRODUCTIONS FOR THE EXHIBITIONS**

Documenta – Center for Dealing with the Past

May 2025

Co-funded by the European Union.

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Andreja Kulunčić: *You Betrayed the Party When You Should Have Helped It* (Bucharest, Romania)

The exhibition *You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It* by Croatian artist Andreja Kulunčić was held at the Anca Poterașu Gallery in Bucharest from December 17, 2024, to January 26, 2025. Exhibition delves into the complex interplay of personal responsibility and collective ideology. Andreja Kulunčić, a prominent voice in socially engaged art, explores the tension between loyalty, betrayal, and the pressures of political conformity. Through multimedia installations and participatory projects, the exhibition invites visitors to reflect on historical and contemporary narratives of dissent and compliance within systems of power. Kulunčić's work challenges us to reconsider the dynamics of individual agency and the moral ambiguities of allegiance in politically charged environments.



Opening in Bucharest

Artwork prepared for the exhibition in Bucharest

Asociația Română pentru Artă Contemporană - The Romanian Association for Contemporary Art

Andreja Kulunčić
Curators
Irena Bekić, Anca Mihuleț



Ați trădat partidul
tocmai când ar fi
trebuit să-l ajutați

You Betrayed the Party
Just When You Should
Have Helped It

**Căram bolovanul
de la malul mării
până în vârful
dealului. Când
grămada de pe
vârf se făcea
suficient de
mare, căram
bolovanii înapoi
la mal.**



18.12.2024 - 26.01.2025
Opening - 17.12.2024

Anca Poterașu Gallery
28, Popea Square Street, Bucharest

Organizator: ARAC | Documenta | Finanțator: LG

După experiența de la Goli Otok mi-am pierdut toată încrederea în mine. Eram îngrozită. Mi-era teamă să spun ce cred cu voce tare, convinsă fiind că fiecare cuvânt de-al meu va fi denunțat.

Translated Vinyl Letters

Trebuia să ieși de acolo invalid spiritual – dezgustat și rușinat de propria persoană, să suferi toată viața...Nu am coșmaruri de la Ravensbruck sau Auschwitz, dar Goli Otok și tot ce am trăit acolo nu-mi dau pace nici astăzi.

Translated Vinyl Letters

Andreja Kulunčić: „Ați trădat partidul tocmai când ar fi trebuit să-l ajutați”

(declarația uneia dintre supraveghetorele lagărului Goli Otok)

Colaboratoare: Renata Jambrešić Kirin, antropolog, Dubravka Stijačić, psihoterapeut
Colaboratoare pentru ediția din România a expoziției: Claudia-Florentina Dobre
Curatoare: Irena Bekić, Anca Mihuleț
Coordonare și management: Anca Poterașu
Manager de proiect: Camelia Ducaru
Producție și logistici: Rafaela Birlișteanu
Traducere în limba română: Iris Rusu
Design grafic: Andrei Șendrea

Expoziția „Ați trădat partidul tocmai când ar fi trebuit să-l ajutați” este parte a proiectului „Urme (In)vizibile. Memorii artistice ale Războiului Rece”, inițiat de Documenta din Zagreb și organizat împreună cu Asociația Română pentru Artă Contemporană din București; Blockfrei din Viena și Memorialul Bautzner Straße din Dresda.

Axat pe suferința a peste 850 de condamnate din lagărele de prizonieri politici pentru femei Goli Otok și Sveti Grgr din foste lugoslavia în timpul regimului președintelui Josip Broz Tito, acest proiect de cercetare artistică își propune să ofere modalități de activare a memoriei. Regimul din lagăre a pus în pericol sănătatea reproductivă a femeilor încarcerate acolo, ignorându-le caracteristicile anatomice și a încercat să le diminueze simțul responsabilității etice și grija față de ceilalți. Condamnatelor erau obligate să se pedesească, controleze și întregească reciproc, ceea ce, împreună cu munca asiduă, a dus la traume profunde și la tăcerea îndelungată a acestora. Prin prisma unor intervenții artistice la Goli Otok și Sveti Grgr, expoziții, un website, o publicatie și o serie de ateliere și discuții, proiectul deconstruiește amnezia vădită cu privire la istoria femeilor deținute pe insula Goli în încercarea de a deschide un pasaj înveștat memorie. În acest fel, proiectul urmărește o formă de comemorare subversivă – un anti-monument – care nu forțează aducerea aminte a acelor experiențe, ci le caută în (re)împregnarea constantă a amintirilor tulburi, a cunoștințelor și sentimentelor publicului.

Proiectul se concentrează pe transformarea corpului feminin atunci când acesta este supus la opresiune sau traumă. Expoziția este împărțită în două stații: spațiile principale ale galeriei sunt menite a fi zone de reflecție, gândire complementară și participare, conținând materiale vizuale – ilustrații și fotografii care prezintă câteva dintre rezultatele cercetărilor artistice, împreună cu rezultatele acțiunii participative dezvoltate în colaborare cu publicul; și sala video, care funcționează ca un loc pentru interpretarea gestuală a torturilor zilnice îndurate de femeile de pe Goli Otok și Sveti Grgr sub forma unei instalații de imagine în mișcare. Prin punerea în scenă și participarea activă a publicului, expoziția evocă ideile de lagăr și anti-monument ca simboluri ale existenței politice a femeilor de-a lungul modernității. În interiorul spațiului galeriei, vizitatorul devine, succesiv, custode al memoriei colective, participant la procesul artistic și martor al unei istorii contingente.

Andreja Kulunčić: „You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It”

(statement of one of the wardens of the Goli Otok camp)

Collaborators: anthropologist Renata Jambrešić Kirin, psychotherapist Dubravka Stijačić, Collaborator for the Romanian edition of the exhibition: historian Claudia-Florentina Dobre
Curators: Irena Bekić, Anca Mihuleț
Coordination and management: Anca Poterașu
Project manager: Camelia Ducaru
Production and logistics: Rafaela Birlișteanu
Translator: Iris Rusu
Graphic design: Andrei Șendrea

The exhibition “You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It” is a part of the project “(In)Visible Traces. Artistic Memories of the Cold War”, initiated by Documenta in Zagreb and organized together with the Romanian Association for Contemporary Art, Bucharest; Blockfrei, Vienna and The Bautzner Straße Dresden Memorial, Dresden.

Focused on the suffering of more than 850 convicts on the Goli Otok and Sveti Grgr women's political prison camps in former Yugoslavia during the times of present-day Josip Broz Tito, this art research project aims to deliver ways of activating memory. The regime in the camps systematically threatened their reproductive health, sense of ethical responsibility and care for others, and excluded their sexual specificities. The convicts were forced to punish, control and interrogate each other, which, along with hard labour, resulted in the deep traumas experienced and the long silence kept by the women. Through artistic spatial interventions at the sites of Goli Otok and Sveti Grgr, exhibitions, a website, publication and a series of workshops and talks, the project deconstructs the deliberate amnesia concerning the history of women on Goli Otok to open a passage to memory. In doing so, it reaches for a subversive commemorative form – an anti-monument – which does not impose remembrance but seeks it in the constantly renewed permeation of disputed memories, in the knowledge and feelings of the audience.

The project is centred on the transformation of the female body when subjected to oppression or trauma. The exhibition is divided into two stations: the main spaces of the gallery are constructed as areas for reflection, complementary thinking and participation, containing visual materials – drawings, together with photographs showing some of the outcomes of the artistic research, together with the results of the participatory action developed in collaboration with the public; and the video room, which acts as a site for the gestural interpretation of the daily tortures endured by the women on Goli Otok and Sveti Grgr in the form of a moving image installation. Through the set up and the active participation of the audience, the exhibition evokes the ideas of camp and anti-monument as epitomes of the political existence of women throughout modernity. Inside the space of the gallery, the visitor becomes, successively, keeper of memory, participant in the artistic process, and witness of a contingent history.

Text - Intro

Știu că era o fată tânără, studentă la filosofie, foarte frumoasă și cuminte, Zora.... A murit. Întrebam dacă vor veni ai ei să o ia acasă, să o înmormânteze. Cei din administrație mi-au spus că nu se poate – n-au trecut cei doi ani de condamnare, trebuie să-și ispășească pedeapsa aici, chiar dacă e moartă.

Gallery from Bucharest





Opening in Bucharest

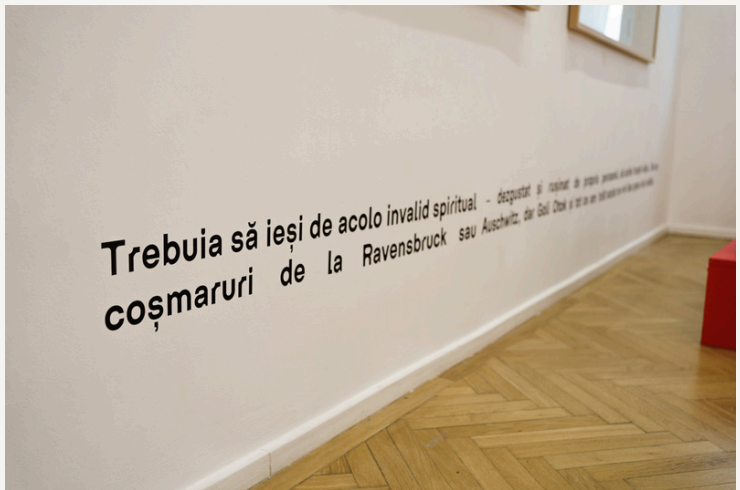


Opening in Bucharest





Trebuia să ieși de acolo invalid spiritual – dezgustat și rușinat de propria persoană, să suferi toată viața...Nu am coșmaruri de la Ravensbruck sau Auschwitz, dar Golî Otok și tot ce am trăit acolo nu-mi dau pace nici astăzi.



The Romanian Association for Contemporary Art presents

Andreja Kulunčić You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It

Collaborators: anthropologist Renata Jambrešić Kinn, psychotherapist Gabriela Trăniță,
Coordinator for the Romanian edition of the exhibition: historian Claudia Tureanu-Călin

Curators: Irena Bekić, Anca Mihailescu
Coordination and management: Anca Poterasu
Project manager: Camelia Ducaru
Production and logistics: Rafaella Birădeanu
Translation: Iona Rădu
Graphic design: Andrei Pandrea

This exhibition "You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It" is a part of the
project "Communist Trauma: Artistic Memories of the Cold War, Initiated by Doornik
to organize and implement together with the Romanian Association for Contemporary
Art, the exhibition "You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It" in
order to discuss social, economic, educational, political, and citizens' role
in the communist and post-communist Romanian cultural heritage. Following an agreement
between the two institutions.

Erau zile în care primeam patru
înghițituri de apă înainte de culcare.
Număram: unu, doi, trei, patru... chiar și
acum, atunci când beau apă, număr.



Trebuia să ieși de acolo invalid spiritual - dezgustat și rușinat de propria persoană, să suferi toată viață...Nu am
coșmaruri de la Ravensbruck sau Auschwitz, dar Goli Otok și tot ce am trăit acolo nu-mi dau pace nici astăzi.



Andreja Kulunčić: *Činiti svijet boljim mjestom* (Making the World a Better Place)

Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb – May 15 to October 12, 2025

The Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb presents *Činiti svijet boljim mjestom* (Making the World a Better Place), a comprehensive retrospective of Croatian artist Andreja Kulunčić, running from May 15 to October 12, 2025. This exhibition offers an in-depth look at Kulunčić's socially engaged art practice, spanning from the 1990s to the present, highlighting her commitment to addressing social injustices and fostering critical public discourse.

A one of central focuses of the retrospective is the project *You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It*, which delves into the overlooked experiences of over 850 women imprisoned in the political camps of Goli Otok and Sveti Grgur during the Yugoslav era. Through multimedia installations, participatory workshops, and anti-monumental interventions, Kulunčić confronts the systemic erasure of women's traumas from historical narratives.

Visitors are invited to engage with the "850 Women for 850 Women" initiative, a participatory project that encourages the creation of clay figurines as a form of collective remembrance and healing. This initiative serves as a contemporary memorial, fostering dialogue and reflection on the legacy of violence and the importance of acknowledging suppressed histories.

The exhibition not only showcases Kulunčić's artistic journey but also serves as a platform for education and community engagement, featuring workshops and discussions that encourage active participation and critical thinking on key social issues.

For more information, visit the Museum of Contemporary Art's official website: [MSU](#)



Impressum

Andreja Kulunčić:
Cinisi svijet boljim mjestom |
To make the world a Better Place
Muzej suvremene umjetnosti |
Museum of Contemporary Art
15.5 – 12.10.2025

Kustosica izložbe | Exhibition curator:
Martina Munivrana

Autorice koncepta | Concept authors:
Andreja Kulunčić, Martina Munivrana
Kustosica istraživanja i suradnja | Curatorial
research and collaboration: Irena Bekić
Hrvatska | Croatia), Amanda de la Garza
Mata (Meksiko | Mexico), Anca Verona
Mihuleț Kim (Rumunjska | Južna Koreja |
Romania/South Korea), Katharina
Schlieben (Njemačka | Germany)
 Dizajner | Designer: Dejan Dragosavac, Ruta
Arhitektura izložbe | Exhibition architecture:
Antun Seveček, Damir Gamulin,
Organizirano oblikovanje
Kustosica za rad s publikom | program |
Curator of audience and programme
engagement: Renata Fildić
Diskurzivno-educativni program | Discursive
educational programme: Irena Bekić,
Renata Fildić, Martina Munivrana
Grafički dizajn za diskurzivno-educativni
program | Graphic design for Discursive
Educational Programme: Martin
Peranović
Asistentica izložbe | Exhibition assistant:
Buga Kranjčević

Producentica | Producer: Morana Marković
(MSU, Zagreb)
Konzervacija-restauracija | Conservation-
restoration: Leda Grabičanin, Tomica
Paradi (MSU, Zagreb)
Tehnička služba | Technical assistance:
Dalibor Cvećara, Mirjana Grab, Nenad
Lalović, Renato Mladjenović, Ivan Tudek,
Silvio Strelec, Filip Zima, Aleksandar
Milošević (MSU, Zagreb), Damir Martinec,
Morana Nešek (Kunsthallen Zagreb), Marin
Kovačević

Multimedija | Multimedia: Valent Bašur,
Hirovolica Đukić, Ivan Slipčević,
Branimir Stučić, Ana Šerić,
Stolarski radovi | Carpenter: Umjetnički obrt
Atelier MP, Hobler, Andrija Bilić
Maketa: Model: Deminutiv studio,
Organizirano oblikovanje
Tisak | Print: Arhitektura, Print Studio, Kvik
Print
Odnosi i javnosti | Public relations: Inesa
Saličić (MSU, Zagreb)
Asistenti za odnose i javnosti | Public
relations assistants: Marko Drmač, Dora
Mletrčević
Marketing: Zvezdana Murseli (MSU, Zagreb)

Uvodni tekstovi | Introductory texts: Martina
Munivrana
Legende | Captions: Irena Bekić, Amanda de
la Garza Mata, Anca Verona Mihuleț Kim,
Martina Munivrana, Katharina Schlieben,
Ivana Završki
Predvoditelja na engleski jezik | English
translation: Mirka Jurij
Lektorica za hrvatski jezik | Croatian
proofreading: Dunja Aljarić Lončarić

Stručna suradnica na projektu Muzejski
vrt | Javni muzej | Expert collaborator
in the project: Museum Garden / Edible
Museum: Petra Pavleka
Koordinator suradnje za Veleposlanstvo
Republike Indonezije u Zagrebu |
Coordination coordinators for the
Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia
in Zagreb: Derian Antonio Daniswara,
Marina Preković

Suradnice za indonezijsku kulturu |
Collaboration coordinators for
Indonesian culture: Widad Habsy: Murni
Nyairisti
Suradnica za program o gamelanu |
Collaboration coordinator for the
gamelan programme: Julija Novosel
Koordinatorice suradnje za filipinsku
kulturu | Collaboration coordinators for
Filipino culture: Vida Kliska, Jeica
Girgic

Koordinatorica suradnje za
Veleposlanstvo Republike Filipina u
Beču | Collaboration coordinator for the
Embassy of the Republic of the
Philippines in Vienna: Orysol Siaté
Istraživanje o socijalnoj distanci u
odnosu na strane radnike (inkorporirano u
projekt O stanjju nacije) | Research on the
social distance in relation to foreign
workers (incorporated into the project
On the State of the Nation) | Margareta
Jelić

Sajepnik za dizajn prostornih elemenata
Vi ste pobjegli izdalek onako | do je trebalo
do | project organizer | prostor Migration
| Advisor for the design of spatial
elements for You Betrayed the Party
Just When You Should Have Helped it and
Migration: Kieu Kim

Izložbe je realizirano u suradnji s
institucijama i organizacijama na
pojedinačnim projektima | The exhibition
is actualised in collaboration with
institutions and organisations in
individual projects:

index: žene | women, index – Muzej grada
Zagreba / Zagreb City Museum
Kustosica izložbe | exhibition curator:
Marina Perica Krapljanov

Vi ste Partiju izdale onako kada je trebalo
do | project organizer | projekt realiziran u
suradnji s Proletoom – Centrom za
suvlađivanje s prošlosti: kao do projekta
(In)Visible Traces: Artistic memories of
the Cold War uz potporu Kreativna Europa |
You Betrayed the Party Just When You
Should Have Helped It – made possible in
collaboration with Documenta – Centre
for Dealing with the Past, as part of the
project (In)Visible Traces: Artistic
Memories of the Cold War supported by
the European Union through the Creative
Europe programme**

Kustosice projekta | project curators:
Irena Bekić, Anca Verona Mihuleț Kim

Mikroizvođače zajedništva stvaranje
rukovito bivanja skupo | Umjetnički
paviljon u Zagrebu | Udruga MAPA |
Micro-Situations of Togetherness:
Creating the Experience of Being
Together – Art Pavilion in Zagreb and
MAPA Association

Kustosica projekta | exhibition curator:
Irena Bekić; **koordinatorka projekta |**
project coordinator: Ivana Završki
Interkulturni program dobrodošlice
sufinanciran su sredstvima Grada
Zagreba | Inter-cultural Welcoming
Programmes have been co-funded by
the City of Zagreb.

Posuđbu građe (pubzno su omogućili |
The loan of the works was made possible
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Indonezije u Zagrebu | Embassy of
the Republic of Indonesia in Zagreb
(Gemeint), Galerija umjetnina Split |
Museum of Fine Arts Split (Kreativne
strategije | Creative Strategies),
Veleposlanstvo Republike Filipina u
Beču | Embassy of the Republic of the
Philippines in Vienna (Tiolak)

Zahvale | Acknowledgments: Dario
Jurčić (Zeleni inkubator), Ivica Pešić
(Zagrebački maslinarski institut), Stella
Poljak

Izložba je organizirana sredstvima
Gradskog ureda za kulturu i civilno
društvo Grada Zagreba, Ministarstva
kulture i medija RH i Turističke zajednice
grada Zagreba. | The exhibition has been
made possible with support from the
Zagreb City Office for Culture and Civic
Society, the Ministry of Culture and
Media of the Republic of Croatia, and the
Zagreb Tourist Board.

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msu



Jutarnji list

večernji list

YAMAHA

VIDA

Kulturpunkt

BATEL

New Artwork - *Castings in stone*

The newly prepared artwork, as seen in the image, represents a significant addition to Andreja Kulunčić's ongoing exploration of trauma and memory. Created specifically for the retrospective *Činiti svijet boljim mjestom* at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb, the sculpture incorporates the stark and minimalist design language Kulunčić is known for, along with text that appears to reference personal or collective narratives.



New artwork

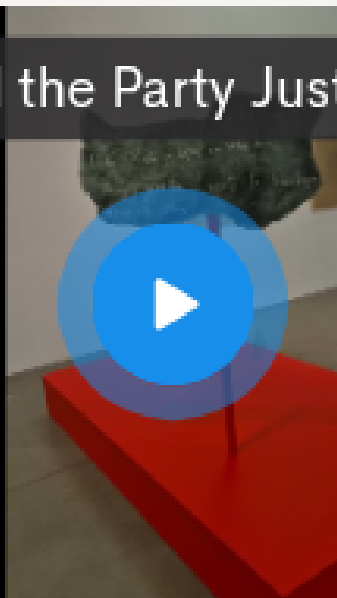
Description and Interpretation:

- ▶ **Material and Form:** The sculpture features a rugged, organic shape mounted on a bold, red pedestal. This contrast between the natural and the artificial highlights the tension between lived experience and institutionalized narratives. The rough texture of the central form evokes the harsh and oppressive conditions faced by women in Goli Otok, symbolizing their physical and emotional scars.
- ▶ **Text Integration:** Inscribed on the surface of the object are handwritten words, adding a deeply personal dimension to the work. These phrases may represent testimonies, fragments of memory, or symbolic reflections of the trauma endured by women imprisoned in the political camps of the Yugoslav era.
- ▶ **Color Symbolism:** The red pedestal draws immediate attention, symbolizing the urgency of addressing suppressed histories and the resilience of those who endured systemic violence. It serves as a grounding force, elevating the narrative of the work to a space of public acknowledgment and dialogue.

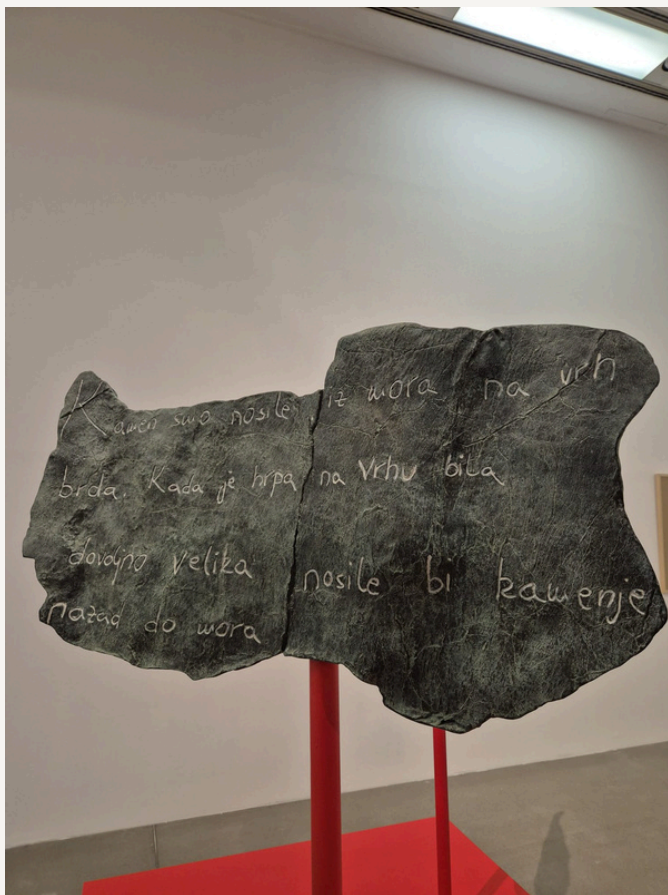


New artwork

ou Betrayed the Party Just When You Sh.



Video of new artwork, Zagreb



New artwork

Context within the Exhibition:

This piece serves as a focal point in the section of the exhibition dedicated to the You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It project. By combining sculptural abstraction with textual storytelling, Kulunčić invites viewers to confront the erasure of women's experiences from historical memory. The choice of materials and visual language emphasizes the fragility of memory and the necessity of preserving it against the forces of forgetting.

Participatory Element:

In line with Kulunčić's broader practice, this artwork may also engage audiences through interactive or participatory elements, inviting visitors to contribute to the collective act of remembrance and to reflect on their roles in shaping historical narratives.



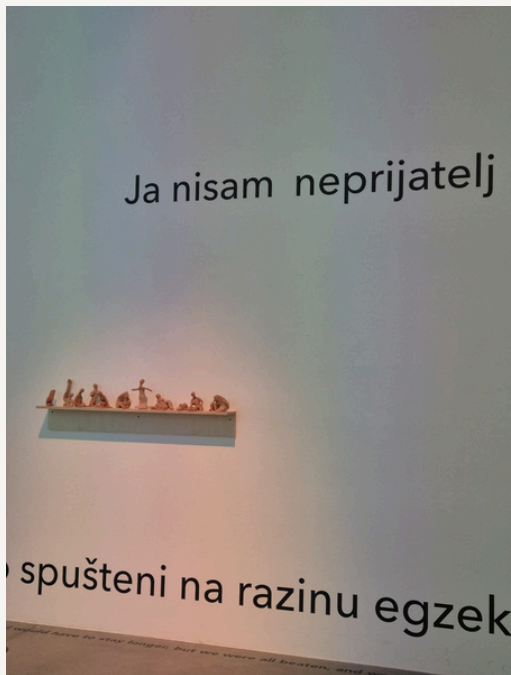
Part of the exhibition in Zagreb

Gallery from Zagreb



Opening in Zagreb

Znam bila je mlada devojka, studentkinja filozofije,
vrlo lepa i dobra, zvala se Zora. ... Ona je umrla.
Ja sam pitala da li će sad njeni doći da je nose kući
da je sahrane. Onda mi ove iz Uprave kažu - ne
može to, njoj nisu istekle dve godine, ona mora
tu odležati pa makar i mrtva.







Andreja Kulunčić is a visual artist, lives in Zagreb. Her art practice is based on exploration of new models of sociability and communication situations, an interest for socially engaged themes, engagement with different audiences, and collaboration on collective projects. She sets up her own interdisciplinary networks, seeing artistic work as a research, process of cooperation and self-organization. She often asks the audience to actively participate in the work. Some of Kulunčić's frequent subjects are correlations between economy, transition, feminism and racism. By operating in the marginal areas of opposition and focusing her critique on the central values of imaginary institutions of globalizing societies and divisions conditioned by them, her artistic production expands the capability of art to offer polemical grounds for the rethinking and dissolution of certain relations and the creation of new ones. Her work has been presented at major international exhibitions, such as Documenta11 (Kassel); Manifesta 4 (Frankfurt/Main); 8. Istanbul Biennial; Liverpool Biennial 04; 10. Triennale-India (New Delhi) among others. At collective shows in museums, including Whitney Museum of American Art (New York); PS1 (New York); Museo Universitario Arte Contemporáneo – MUAC (Mexico City); Palais de Tokyo (Paris); Museum of Modern Art in Saint-Etienne, etc. At solo shows, including: Museo Universitario Arte Contemporáneo – MUAC (Mexico City); Jorge B. Vargas Museum (Manila); Modern Gallery (Podgorica); Museo Madre (Napoli); Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Rijeka; Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade; Art in General (New York); Artspace Visual Arts Centre (Sydney); The Art Center Silkeborg Bad (Denmark); Darat Al Funun (Jordan); Gallery NOVA, Gallery Miroslav Kraljević, Gallery Forum, Gallery Prozori (Zagreb). She teaches at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb, Department of New Media.

Website: www.andreja.info



Andreja Kulunčić on Goli Otok during researche phase of the project *You Betrayed the Party Just When You Should Have Helped It* which started during 2019

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