

WWII-MONUMENTSEE

ASSESSMENT OF POST-WORLD WAR II MONUMENTS IN SOUTH EAST EUROPE IN ORDER
TO DEVELOP A NEW REGIONAL TOURISM PRODUCT/ CULTURAL ROUTE



The “Assessment of post-World War II monuments in Serbia for developing new SEE regional tourism product/ cultural route”



The “Assessment of post-World War II monuments in Serbia for developing new SEE regional tourism product/ cultural route” is realized within the project “WWII-MONUMENTSEE - Assessment of post-World War II monuments in South East Europe in order to develop a new regional tourism product/ cultural route”.

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Table of contents

Introduction.....	1
Brief summary	5
Description of the general state of WWII monuments.....	7
An expanded list of monuments	14
The description of potential WWII monument routes.....	34
Examples of detailed analysis of selected monuments	40
“Kadinjača” Memorial Complex	41
Monument to the Soldiers of Revolution.....	54

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Introduction

The project “WWII-MONUMENTSEE - Assessment of post-World War II monuments in South East Europe in order to develop a new regional tourism product/ cultural route” (herein referred as WWII-MONUMENTSEE) implemented by EXPEDITIO was financed through a grant provided by the Regional Cooperation Council’s Tourism Development and Promotion Project. The RCC’s project is funded by the European Union and implemented in an effort to contribute to the growth and competitiveness of the six Western Balkans economies by supporting development and promotion of joint regional cultural and adventure tourism offer. This assessment is one of the WWII-MONUMENTSEE project’s outputs.

The project WWII-MONUMENTSEE was carried out from November 2018 to June 2019.

Locations of the project: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo*, Montenegro, Serbia and the Republic of North Macedonia.

Post-World War II monuments found in South East Europe area represent important potential for the development of a regional cultural tourism route. These monuments, mostly built after World War II on the whole territory of former Yugoslavia and Albania primarily represent memorials to fighting against fascism, but they are much more than that and some of them possess exceptional artistic value. Following the changes occurring during the 1990s in South East Europe these monuments have been disregarded, which has led to their neglect due to lack of maintenance and in some cases to their devastation or complete destruction. Revived interest for these monuments started at the beginning of 21st century, since 2006, stimulated by foreign artists and researchers, as well as those from the SEE region. Furthermore, the importance of post-WWII monuments has begun to be rediscovered in connection with tourism, as well. However, all these initiatives and activities are sporadic, more often launched from abroad than by countries where the monuments are situated, and they are not synchronized, so that these monuments are not offered as a unique tourism product, neither at the level of individual countries nor of the SEE region. In addition, there are no data about these monuments collected at one place, nor a detailed analysis of their value, state and potentials for the development of touristic routes.

Specific objective of the project WWII-MONUMENTSEE is: Completed the initial stage in developing new SEE regional tourism product/ cultural route - post-World War II monuments,

* This designation is without prejudice to positions on status, and is in line with UNSCR 1244/1999 and the ICJ Opinion on the Kosovo declaration of independence

through carrying out an assessment. The **overall objectives** are: Developed new SEE regional tourism product/ cultural route - post-World War II monuments; Enhanced (employment and sustainability of the) SEE regional tourism through developing new tourism product/ cultural route; Contributing to economic growth in SEE region through strengthening regional tourism and cultural routes.

The **activities** realized during the WWII-MONUMENTSEE project include: Forming a regional team of experts and defining the concept and methodology of work; Research and data collecting in the six SEE economies and producing six individual “Assessments of post-World War II monuments in South East Europe for developing new SEE regional tourism product/ cultural route” by selected researchers; Organizing a one-day regional expert workshop; Producing a regional “Assessment of post-World War II monuments in South East Europe for developing new SEE regional tourism product/ cultural route”; and Distributing the results of the project to all the stakeholders.

The producing of **six individual “Assessments of post-World War II monuments in South East Europe for developing new SEE regional tourism product/ cultural route”** included the following activities and segments:

- **A review of the general state of the WWII heritage**, which was intended to provide a general picture of the treatment of this segment of cultural heritage in six economies, including: the legal framework regulating the protection, management and maintenance of the WWII monuments; institutions / key stakeholders responsible for the protection, management, maintenance, promotion of the WWII monuments; an official list / a database of WWII monuments; previous initiatives (artistic projects, researches, promotion, activism ...); an overview of stakeholders and a general review of the overall state of the WWII monuments: their protection, maintenance, use, management and touristic valorization.
- **Analysis of an expanded list of monuments** was carried out using the official lists of protected WWII monuments in individual economies, as well as a List of Proposed Sites for WWII Monument Route provided by the Regional Cooperation Council,

containing 40 pre-selected monuments that needed to be included.¹ The analysis of monuments was made using the established criteria².

¹ The list provided by the RCC included 40 monuments:

- *Albania*: Shkodër, Kamëz, Mother Albania (Tirana), Pezë e Vogël, Bërzhitë, Elbasan, Pishkash
- *Bosnia-Herzegovina*: Vraca Memorial Park (Sarajevo), Vogošća Monument, Battle of Neretva Memorial Museum (Jablanica), Mostar Partisan Cemetery, Sutjeska Monument (Tjentište), Zenica, Novi Travnik, Jajce, Sanski Most, Kozara (near Prijedor), Banja Luka
- *Kosovo**: Prishtinë/Prishtina (city centre), Brezovicë/Brezovica Monument, Mitrovicë North/Mitrovica, Partisan Martyrs Cemetery, Matičani Hill, Prishtina
- *Montenegro*: Dola Memorial Site, Nikšić Monument, Barutana Memorial (Podgorica), Kolašin Memorial Museum, Berane Monument
- *Serbia*: Jewish Cemetery (Belgrade), Memorial Park Jajinci, Kosmaj Monument, Čačak Memorial Site, Kadinjača Monument Site (near Užice), Bujanj Memorial Park (Niš), Šumarice Memorial Park (Kragujevac), Monument to the Revolution (Leskovac)
- *Republic of North Macedonia*: Skopje Earthquake Monument, Kičevo Ossuary, Makedonium (Krushevo), Prilep Monument, Veles Ossuary

² The following criteria were applied:

- **VISUAL AND AESTHETIC QUALITIES**: Abstract form; Forms that defies the convention of traditional monuments; Forms which hides deep symbolic and/or universal meaning behind its abstract shape; Created by famous, well-known or widely accomplished artists from the era
- **HISTORICAL & CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE**: Tell universal histories of overcoming adversity and enemy defeat; Focus of human-level/civilian victory or tragedy; Relate compelling histories that are little known outside the region
- **NATURAL BEAUTY**: Favor monument sites located in remarkable natural sceneries; Favor monument sites in close proximity to national parks, scenic rivers, etc.; Favor monument sites in serene locations away from other touristic crowds
- **TOURISM**: Promoting Tourism in Under-served Areas
- **CONDITION**: In areas free of political/religious/ethnic tensions or violence; In areas not affected by landmines or other dangerous devices; Relatively intact and not dangerous or risky to traverse; Existing in a reasonable state of order and maintenance; Not excessively defaced or vandalized
- **ACCESSIBILITY**: Within a reasonable proximity to well traveled & maintained roads and highways, Within a reasonable proximity to touristic services (lodging, food, fuel, etc); Reasonable to locate by tourists unfamiliar with the area; Fully accessible for majority of the year, except in cases of extreme weather conditions

- **A proposal of potential routes** for each of the economies was made using the expanded list of monuments. Possibilities for different levels of routes have been recognized: regional route/s, routes within the countries, local routes. Furthermore, different topics have been considered, including: artistic value, designer(s), famous persons, the size, possibilities for filming, possibilities for mountaineering, antifascism, etc. Possibilities for including these monuments in the existing routes or the area's tourism offer have also been considered.
- **Detailed analysis of selected monuments** was based on the already made analysis of up to 10-12 monuments in each economy contained in the List provided by the RCC, as well as the expanded list of monuments selected by the researches. The detailed analysis was made using a questionnaire prepared by a regional expert team.
- **A list of references and annexes** has been provided for each assessment, including, among other things, an official list of protected WWII monuments; a list of stakeholders; additional material important for reviewing the general state of the WWII heritage

Based on individual Assessments in six economies a **joint regional “Assessment of post-World War II monuments in South East Europe for developing new SEE regional tourism product/ cultural route”** was produced.

The **“Assessment of post-World War II monuments in Serbia for developing new SEE regional tourism product/ cultural route”** is one of the six individual assessments produced within the project. The author of this assessment is Marija Djordjevic.

This document contains **an excerpt from the Assessment of post-World War II monuments in Serbia**, including the key data, analyses and proposals, while the complete material with the accompanying documentation has been delivered to RCC.

Brief summary

The research conducted within the project *WWII MonumentSEE, Assessment of post-World War II monuments in South East Europe in order to develop a new regional tourism product/cultural route*, resulted in a general overview of the current physical condition, interpretation and use of WWII and anti-fascism monuments erected on the territory of the Republic of Serbia. Based on archival research, professional literature, official documents, and field research of their present state at the locations in Belgrade, Kraljevo, Kragujevac, Trstenik, Čačak, Šid and Leskovac, a general overview of the situation in Serbia has been articulated, covering in detail the selected monuments and defining the potential routes.

Based on this research, it has been determined that the studied monuments are mostly protected as cultural property, according to the provisions of the Law on Cultural Property, while their maintenance is also regulated by the Law on War Memorials. In most cases, the management of these cultural property sites is entrusted to local self-government institutions, while their promotion is carried out by the official tourist organizations of the municipalities in which they are located.

The increase in interest for WWII monuments has been evident in the last decade, primarily among foreign visitors who choose to visit the WB region precisely for their interest in architectural styles such as Brutalism, and Yugoslav plastic and monumental arts as the greatest examples within this artistic corpus.

However, it is important to note that even when these monuments get officially recognized as cultural heritage, this does not necessarily reflect on the objective condition in which they are. In a large number of cases, these monuments have been maintained only at the most basic level, while they are often completely unkempt. Only in rare cases are these sites actually used at present, regardless of the type of use, i.e. for commemorations, tourist visits, artistic performances or other types of activity.

After the collapse of the SFRY, the largest number of WWII and anti-fascism monuments (besides memorial sites such as the "Kragujevac October" Memorial Park, i.e. execution sites) have been almost completely excluded from the official remembrance policies in Serbia, and their appropriation was often carried out through the influence of Orthodox traditions, i.e. through the raising of sacral objects and the introduction of liturgies and solemn services for the repose of the victims. The situation has significantly changed since 2015, when the NOB and anti-fascism legacy was recognized once again as a value. Attempts to appropriate this heritage by the structures in power were expressed in the wave of monument reconstruction initiatives and commemorative practices of the thus far forgotten WWII monuments.

Bearing in mind the new wave of interest for these sites by the state and its institutions, as well as the very comprehensively defined propositions on cultural heritage in the context of the Strategy for the Development of Tourism in Serbia, it may be concluded that the present moment is favorable for establishing routes that would offer a chance for self-sustainability to the communities they cover, as well as ways to maintain and re-formulate WWII narratives

which, after the collapse of the SFRY, have been reduced to the narrative of the suffering of the Serbian people. In this way, the clear efforts of groups and individuals to approach Yugoslavia's heritage in an analytical manner would be supported, and would help find affirmative models that may be applied today through their popularization, and consequently, through the education of the broadest public.

Based on all the insights into the state of maintenance and into the existing narrative interpretations surrounding the covered monuments, a proposal has been articulated for routes to be offered to local and foreign tourists interested in WWII history, as well as to visitors interested in the development and aesthetics of the monumental plastics built in public space during the SFRY.

Description of the general state of WWII monuments

The WWII monuments in Serbia that have been selected from the expanded list of monuments covered by this research are in most cases under the protection of the state, in accordance with the Law on Cultural Property. This Law prescribes that the care for immovable cultural property – therefore including the activities related to the documentation, protection and maintenance – are carried out by the Institutes for the Protection of Cultural Monuments (on republic, provincial, regional and local levels). According to the current data of the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Serbia, a total of 2536 units of immovable cultural property have been listed in the Central Register of Immovable Cultural Property (classified into following categories: determined by their importance – cultural property, cultural property of great importance and cultural property of exceptional importance; and on their type: cultural monuments, spatial cultural-historical units, archaeological sites and landmarks). Up to now, 782 cultural property units have been categorized, out of which 200 as cultural property units of exceptional importance, and 582 as cultural property of great importance. In the category of cultural property of exceptional importance, there are 155 cultural monuments, 11 spatial cultural-historical units, 18 archeological sites and 16 landmarks, while 512 cultural monuments, 28 spatial cultural-historical units, 25 archaeological sites and 17 landmarks have been categorized as cultural property of great importance.

The Law on Cultural Property also defines a special category – property under prior protection. This type of cultural property is defined as *objects and products assumed to have the features of special importance for culture, art and history*, and enjoy protection in line with the provisions of this Law. Property under prior protection must be categorized in the Cultural Property Register within three years from the day of recording, or it cannot be subject to the provisions of this Law (primarily related to the provisions on the protection of cultural property).

The same Law prescribes that the protection of immovable cultural property and its protected environs and property under prior protection shall also be ensured based on regulations on spatial planning and development, construction of structures and environmental protection.

From the proposed expanded list of monuments dedicated to the events and persons from the World War II period, all monuments with the exception of the Jewish Cemetery, the Monument to the Kosmaj Partisan Unit, the Memorial Park “Popina”, and the Memorial Park “Fight and Freedom” in Čačak are included on the lists of immovable cultural heritage. The entire complex of the Jewish Cemetery, and consequently the unit dedicated to the victims of fascism which was created by Bogdan Bogdanović, enjoys the status of cultural property under prior protection and is managed by the Jewish community. The “Freedom” Monument on Fruška Gora is protected within the broader group of monuments located on the territory of Fruška Gora, and recorded as such in the list of the Provincial Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Novi Sad, which is under the supervision of the Institute for the

Protection of Cultural Monuments of Sremska Mitrovica. In addition, according to the provisions of the Law on Nature Protection from 2009, Kosmaj is protected as a landscape of exceptional characteristics, which by definition implies also the protection of the cultural and historical character of the area. The Monument to the Kosmaj Partisan Unit is protected under this type of property protection.

On 28 June 2018, the Serbian Parliament passed the Law on War Memorials which regulates the establishment and the prescribed maintenance of records, as well as other issues of importance for the protection of war memorials in Serbia and abroad. The Ministry of Labor, Employment, Veterans and Social Affairs is in charge of the protection of war memorials located on the territory of Serbia. This Law also regulates the issues and rules on who may maintain a war memorial, when and under what conditions. A particular emphasis is placed on the fact that the designated war memorials, as important segments of Serbian cultural heritage, are intended to become part of attractive tourist offers.

The maintenance of monuments and monumental complexes, primarily in the financial sense, falls under the responsibility of line ministries (as in the case of the of the “Liberators of Belgrade” Cemetery, which falls under the competence of the Ministry of Labor, Employment, Veterans and Social Affairs), local self-governments and private owners (i.e. in the case of cultural property unit that have been privatized after being previously state-owned, as in the case of the Memorial Centre “Boško Buha” at Jabuka near Prijepolje, owned by the company "Putnik Prijepolje LLC", which is currently in bankruptcy), while the line institutions for the protection of cultural monuments are in charge of the control over the way cultural property is maintained.

A number of the memorial complexes included in the expanded list of monuments covered by this project also include exhibition units and museum collections. In these cases, the exhibited objects and collections, as well as other activities of this type, are under the authority of larger local museum institutions. For example, in the case of the Concentration Camp “Banjica”, the museum that is part of the memorial complex is under the umbrella of the Belgrade City Museum, while the Museum of Yugoslav Pioneers and Youth within the Memorial Centre “Boško Buha” is under the authority of the National Museum Prijepolje. The situation is somewhat different in the case of memorial rooms, as for example with the Memorial Complex “Syrmian Front” in Adaševci (Municipality of Šid), where the exhibition area within the museum unit is treated as an integral part of the complex itself.

A significant number of WWII monuments from the expanded list covered by the project are now used for holding commemorations, and may be treated as places that keep alive the tradition of the remembrance of the National Liberation War, known more commonly by its

Yugoslav abbreviation NOB³, and the victims of fascism. The "Great School Class" commemoration and the "October Festivities" have, for example, been held continuously from the moment of their establishment until today, and they do receive some patronage from the national authorities, especially in the case of the "Great School Class". Commemorations are also held at other monuments listed herein, but with wavering frequency, which is nowadays (with the re-actualization of NOB in the public domain) based on the celebration of big, milestone anniversaries, or are part of independent initiatives of the organizations that succeeded the Union of Associations of Veterans of NOB (SUBNOR) in Serbia, and other non-governmental organizations. Also, it is important to mention the engagement of the families of fallen soldiers which, like in the case of the Memorial Complex "Syrmian Front", autonomously maintain certain parts of the complex and organize commemorative activities at its premises.

It is important to emphasize that the official status of cultural property, with its different categories and types as recorded on the official lists of immovable cultural property, does not entail proper maintenance and use. Likewise, their inclusion on the lists of cultural monuments does not attest to their importance in public discourse. For this reason, many monuments dedicated to World War II, NOB and the victims of fascism are neglected, and as such do not help preserve the memory of World War II events. In this sense, a difference had been made in the past in emphasizing the significance of commemorations of the suffering of "Serbian people" (as formulated in public discourse and official remembrance policies), such as the Memorial Park "Kragujevac October" in Šumarice, or the Memorial Park "Kraljevo October" in Kraljevo. In the context of the trend of the official revisions of the past which followed the collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), such a situation does not appear surprising. One of the active principles of the reinterpretation of monuments on the broader list of monuments from World War II in Serbia encompassed by this project is the construction of sacral objects (most often consecrated chapels) within the memorial complexes, or in the immediate vicinity of individual monuments, as well as the introduction of sacred rituals into commemorative activities at these locations.

Furthermore, cases of vandalism and destruction of the National Liberation War monuments are very frequent. Some of the vandalized monuments, such as the Memorial Park "Brdo mira" (the Hill of Peace) in Gornji Milanovac – vandalized in 2007, and reconstructed and re-opened to the public in the spring of 2018 – have been renewed by the local self-government in the last two years. Also, there is a growing interest in the monuments of the National Liberation War by tourist organizations in cities and municipalities that recognize the monuments as a potentially attractive addition to their tourist offer.

In the context of the use and revitalization of monuments devoted to National Liberation War and the victims of fascism in Serbia, it is important to mention the engagement of the non-

³ Socialist authorities developed a series of acronyms with meanings that are almost universally understood in the former Yugoslav lands: NOB – National Liberation War (Narodnooslobodilačka borba), and NOP – National Liberation Movement (Narodnooslobodilački pokret) being the most commonly used ones.

governmental sector, primarily in the field of cultural and artistic initiatives and social activism. In this context, these monuments are made part of the considerations on the legacy of anti-fascism and social equality, on the one hand, and in order to clearly articulate the artistic importance of certain monuments and monument complexes included on the broader list of monuments that are part of this research.

As the organization that succeeded the veterans' organization active until the breakup of the SFRY, the Serbian SUBNOR is still structurally organized in a similar manner to its predecessor, with the republic-level committee and committees at the levels of the provincial or local self-governments. Today, SUBNOR is a non-governmental organization which does not have its previous competences, but its activities follow the idea of preserving the memory of the achievements of the National Liberation War, and it is therefore a significant player in the use and interpretation of the NOB heritage. SUBNOR's activities include both commemorations and the tourist visits to monuments and memorial complexes dedicated to World War II. Their work has been carried out for a few years without much media attention. The situation changed in part in 2017, which can be interpreted in different ways that do not effectively change the fact that their role in official state memory policies is now of secondary importance.

Besides SUBNOR as the natural successor of the WWII veterans' organization, certain organizations that primarily operate in other fields are also engaged in activities concerning the monuments selected for the expanded list of this project. In this context, we may highlight the activities of informal scientific and academic associations, such as, for example, the Center for Applied History, which organizes a tour and a public history class for those interested in the historically important sites of WWII in Serbia. The founders of the Center for Applied History are members of the Forum for Applied History, which issued in 2013 a publication entitled "Places of Suffering and Anti-Fascist Struggle in Belgrade 1941-44 – A Guide to Reading the City", which was conceived, according to its editors, as a manual for understanding the sites in Belgrade precisely through the prism of the avoided narratives of the Holocaust. Guided partly by the idea of contextualizing spatial elements through their historical layers, the activities of the Center for Applied History focus on the history of the Holocaust and the Porajmos (the Romani genocide) in Serbia and, to some extent, on a broader definition of victims of fascism. The Center for Applied History is actively engaged in the issue of designating the Concentration Camp "Staro Sajmište" (the "Old Fairgrounds") as a memorial site and a heritage institution that would provide information about the historical events that happened there, which is still a topic that is carefully avoided both in the public discourse in Serbia, and by the official WWII remembrance policies.

The issue of the interpretation of NOB monuments and WWII as mostly unwanted heritage is also actively addressed by the organization Group of Architects, through its participation in the project of the regional platform *Inappropriate Monuments / Neprimereni spomenici*. In addition to the research activities linked to NOB monuments (through workshops, professional consultations, conferences and publications), and the organization of exhibitions in various museums and gallery spaces throughout former Yugoslavia, the platform also offers an online map of NOB monuments. This map can well be one of the starting points for the establishment

of the route that is planned to result from this research and the WWII Monuments SEE project. The Group of Architects also frequently organizes meetings at universities, insisting on the involvement of students in the process of reflecting about heritage, and on gathering their concrete proposals for the preservation and revitalization of monuments dedicated to World War II. In 2018, at the Center for Cultural Decontamination in Belgrade, a workshop for MA students was held under the title *MISSING KNOWLEDGE (On Forgotten Monuments)*, organized by the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Belgrade and the Berlin-based online platform *Architectuul*. The workshop was aimed at offering more complex considerations on WWII monuments as a form of common heritage, one that should be treated through knowledge-exchange and in a much wider context than the one prescribed by the regulations on cultural property protection.

After the break-up of the SFRY, the issues related to WWII legacy, both in a positive and in a negative context, have slowly shifted to the margins of the public domain, losing their footing in the collective consciousness of the present-day society. This type of marginalization was made possible first by a decrease, and then the loss of importance of these narratives in the primary and secondary schools' curricula in Serbia. In the last decade, the situation has changed with the consolidation of civil society organizations and the non-governmental sector, as well as through the activity of individuals that are committed to working with children and youth. In this context, it is worth to mention the work of the international non-governmental organization *Terraforming.org*, dedicated to improving teaching and learning about the Holocaust, which has been providing for some years now the means for primary and secondary school teachers to work on the history of the Holocaust in Europe and Serbia. We should also mention the educational platform "History Classroom", which resulted from the work of the history professor Aleksandar Todosijević with elementary school students from the fifth to the eighth grade, and is based on an active re-examination of the present through lessons from the past. In this context, the theater play "Invisible Monuments", written and directed by Jelena and Minja Bogavac, was created on the basis of an artistic-educational research done by the students of the Third Belgrade Gymnasium. The students examined the history of Europe, Belgrade and their own families during World War II, and the resulting play, as an independent production, was performed in theaters, museums and cultural centers throughout Serbia and the WB region, including some of NOB memorials.

In addition to a definite increase in interest and number of initiatives related to the legacy of WWII monuments in academic and educational frameworks, there are also a considerable number of artistic practices that deal with these monuments on their own terms, either by choosing them as setting or as their narrative template.

One of the examples is the Multimedia Mobile Colony, organized by the Zemun Small Art Center – ZMUC in the village of Baba at the foot of Mt. Kosmaj (in the Belgrade municipality of Sopot). In August 2014, in addition to using the space of the Monument to Kosmaj Partisan Unit (Kosmajska Zvezda / the Star of Kosmaj), the colony's collective initiated a reconstruction of the monument, which now showcases a significantly better condition and is treated as one of the more important monuments on the territories of the two city municipalities (Mladenovac and Sopot). During 2018, the project *Secret Mapping Experiment* by the

Hungarian artist Daniel Besnyo used the spatial arrangements on several NOB monument sites in the WB region for a mapping project, whose results were presented in Budapest in May 2019.

In the last decade, the number of artistic practices that address and use the legacy of the anti-fascist struggle has been on the rise in the entire region of the former Yugoslavia. David Maljković, Marta Popivoda, Igor Grubić, Dušica Dražić, the *Walking Theory* collective, BITEF theatre, Arna Mačkić, and Irena Škorić are just some of the authors who used and reaffirmed the monument legacy of the National Liberation War and the anti-fascist struggle in their artistic practice, bringing it closer to the mainstream public discourse. The reputation of said artists on the international contemporary art scene, as well as the *Toward a Concrete Utopia* exhibition in the MoMA Museum in 2018, have somewhat popularized the WWII monuments of the former Yugoslavia region in very specific tourist circles, as for instance among Brutalist architecture admirers. These groups focus on the limited number of monuments from a much larger group of monuments dedicated to World War II that can be classified as works of radical abstract modernism. This heightened interest of dedicated enthusiasts, primarily of foreign visitors, is precisely one of the key parameters for establishing at least one of the proposed WWII monument routes in Serbia.

Tourist interest in WWII monuments has been on the rise also due to their promotion through Jan Kampners' photo-project *Spomeniks* (based on which this word became the term for the monuments created in Yugoslavia) and Donalad Nejbila's online *Spomenik Database*. In this way, the monuments covered by this research are the object of interest of the adherents of specific architectural trends, first and foremost of Brutalism, which brought a significant number of foreign tourists to Serbia in the last few years. According to the information provided by the Memorial Park "Kadinjača" about the structure of foreign visitors to this complex, it is easy to detect an increase in the number of foreign tour operators whose tours include visits to some of the monuments covered by this research, such as the Memorial Park "Kragujevac October".

In addition to foreign tourists, the World War II monument heritage on the territory of Serbia has the potential to awaken the interest also of local tourists who are already incentivized on the state-level to increase tourist activity, and mobility in general, within the national borders. Furthermore, the school curricula, primarily in elementary education, envisage the organization of recreational classes at different locations in Serbia (while the study visits abroad are planned in the secondary education curricula). The interest in WWII monuments is also significantly high among amateur tourist groups. Such is the example of the Rutizam.com platform, which uses the photo-reportage format to present the tourist potentials of Serbia and its sights. Almost all monuments from the expanded list covered by this research are presented in detail on this platform. Despite the fact that public interest in these sites is undoubtedly on the rise, official organized tours are still relatively rare. One of the examples of a well-thought-out and successfully organized tourist route is in offer at the Eco-Hostel *The Užice Republic* in Užice, which has several options for touring the Memorial Park "Kadinjača" and other places around the town that are linked to Partisan units.

WWII monuments in Serbia were in many cases built at excursion sites, which offer the possibility for spending time in nature, and can therefore be recognized as attractive destinations for both the local population and tourists from Serbia and abroad.


Despite the clear potential for self-sustainability that an organized WWII monuments route can bring to local and state-level tourism offers that are already in place, and to the clear rationale behind the revival of this heritage is at the time present, it is necessary to carefully consider the interpretation frameworks in which they would function. It is important to clearly define the narrative to which these sites will contribute, and to present it in as uncontaminated format as possible. This is especially important bearing in mind the dominance of the historical revisionism that has marked the public discourse in Serbia in the last two decades. It is also essential to use the proposed activities to support, through awareness-raising efforts regarding the historical events and roles in Serbia, the efforts to finally open up and carefully consider the issues of Serbia's participation in the Holocaust and the Porajmos, not only from the point of view of the victim, but also from the one of the perpetrator. It is certain that the recognition of the lucrativeness of similar tourism projects would allow for a deeper work on the above issues, as well as for a more active attitude towards the preservation of the legacy of Yugoslavia and the undisputed reaches of the society it created after World War II, first and foremost in the fields of social protection, labor rights, emancipation and anti-fascism.

The centenary of the creation of Yugoslavia was marked in 2018, and it is certain that the conditions have been finally met to reflect on its heritage, in all its dissonant positive and negative aspects. These issues can be opened, thought-out, and even further popularized precisely by encouraging the development of tourist routes through the Yugoslav monument heritage. In this context, in order to achieve the full potential of the WWII monuments tourist routes, it is necessary to provide guided trainings for tourist guides, as well as to formulate a clear narrative that speaks of antifascism in exclusively affirmative tones, and not as the cause of past sufferings. It is now easier to focus on these narratives precisely because the monuments covered by this research in Serbia are, in most cases, already listed in official immovable cultural property registers, and because at present there appears to be a clear intention by the state to re-examine and pay greater attention to this type of heritage once again.


An expanded list of monuments

*Jewish Cemetery in Belgrade, apart from the “Monument to the Jewish Victims of Fascism”, designed by Bogdan Bogdanović, cannot be considered as a site dedicated to WWII. It is the old Jewish necropolis and a contemporary active cemetery. Therefore, it needs to be treated with an appropriate level of consideration of its current utilization.



** Monument to the Victims of the Concentration Camp „Staro Sajmište“, was built in 1995 (i.e. following the dissolution of SFRY), nevertheless it is a monument dedicated to WWII events, and is the only large sculptural mass at the site of the more or less neglected memorial site „Staro Sajmište“. That is why it is added to the proposed expanded list of monuments.

N O	NAME	DESIGNER	YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION	CITY/PLACE	EVENT IT MARKS	COORDINATES (Google Maps)	SHORT EXPLANATION	PHOTOGRAPH
1.	Jewish Cemetery *	Bogdan Bogdanović	1951-1952	Belgrade	Jewish victims of Holocaust	44°48'41.1"N 20°29'07.9"E	Site is the old Jewish necropolis, where the remains are buried following the traditional practice. The entrance to the site was designed by Bogdan Bogdanović. Only this segment of the site can be considered as part of the WWII monuments corpus.	



WWII-MONUMENTSEE

2.	Memorial Park "Jajinci"	<p>Entrance: Stevan Bodnarov</p> <p>Monument: Vojin Stojić</p> <p>Landscape and facilities: Branko Bon</p> <p>Brana Mirković</p>	<p>Entrance: 1951 (1960)</p> <p>Monument : 1988</p> <p>Landscape and additional facilities:</p> <p>1988-</p>	Belgrade (Voždovac)	Collective graves of the victims of Concentration camp "Banjica"	44°43'49.3"N 20°29'19.9"E	<p>Memorial park marks the collective graves of killed inmates of Concentration camp "Banjica". Having in mind the long duration of its making, with some construction still taking place today it serves as a good example of development and change in the approach to memorial architecture and sculpture, over the years. It is a good example of the total design principles applied in memorial architecture.</p>	
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WWII-MONUMENTSEE

3.	Monument to the Kosmaj Partisan Unit	sculptor: Vojin Stojić architect: Gradimir Medaković	1971	Belgrade (Mladenovac)	Monument dedicated to the Kosmaj Partizan unit	44°28'06.4"N 20°34'17.9"E	This monument is one of the most well-known monuments belonging to the era of abstract modernism as a dominant style for memorial sculpture (highly specific for the memorial art after 1948). It is built in white concrete and uses a five-point star as its formal point of departure. Its form has successfully dominated the wave of new interest in SFRY monuments, both within the region and internationally.	
4.	Memorial Park "Fight and Freedom"	Bogdan Bogdanović	1976 – 1980	Čačak	Dedicated to the fallen Yugoslav Peoples' Liberation Army (YPLA) fighters and to the Victims of Fascism	43°52'40.3"N 20°20'08.6"E	Site is built in the recognizable Bogdan Bogdanović's style, carved in stone. It belongs to the today rather well-known corpus of memorial sites built on the territory of SFRY.	



WWII-MONUMENTSEE

5.	Memorial Park "Kadinjača"	sculptor: Miodrag Živković architect: Aleksandar Đokić	1952 - 1979	Užice	Dedicated to the fighters of the Working battalion of Užice Partizan unit who died in 1941, and to Užička republika, the first liberated territory in Europe in WWII.	43°54'41.9"N 19°44'29.8"E	Site was designed by possible second most praised sculpture of WWII memorials in Serbia; for this memorial he used combined materials - concrete and stone, and a rather characteristic method for his work - breaching of monolith surfaces symbolizing "shooting towards the sun" as an act of revolution. The selected forms and their sizes, as well as the narrative the site is dedicated to, marks it as an important locus on a local, SEE Regional and international scale.	
6.	Memorial Park "Bubanj"	Ivan Sabolić	1950 - 1963	Niš	To the killed citizens of Niš and South Serbia	43°18'19.2"N 21°52'21.1"E	The form of sculptural masses symbolizes the fist of resistance, of fighters and of time, in which victims become victors. Together with the site of Memorial museum "February 12 th " it makes a narrative whole, dealing with the problematic history of the occupier and	



WWII-MONUMENTSEE

							collaboration activities in Serbia.	
7.	Memorial Park "Kragujevac October"	<p>architects:</p> <p>Mihajlo Mitrović Radivoj Tomić</p> <p>architects of the onsite museum:</p> <p>Ivan Antić</p> <p>Ivanka Raspopović</p> <p>sculptors:</p> <p>Ante Gržetić</p> <p>Vojin Bakić</p> <p>Miodrag Živković</p> <p>Nebojša Delja</p> <p>Jelica Bosnić</p> <p>Gradimir Bosnić</p>	<p>complex:</p> <p>1955</p> <p>sculptures</p> <p>1955 – 1994 (Orthodox Chapel was inaugurated in 2002, and finished in 2006)</p>	Šumarice (Kragujevac)	Dedicated to the civilian victims of mass killings in Central Serbia following the order of Wermacht issued by Fieldmarschal Keitel, in 1941.	44°00'57.4"N 20°52'46.6"E	<p>Site encompasses a large green surface in the suburban area of Kragujevac, and as such functions as a location for leisure activities. It holds works of very well-known artists of the time and it stands as a symbol of a site built by all people of Yugoslavia. What makes it especially interesting is that is still a site of living commemorations and it has been adjusted according to the needs of contemporary politics of remembrance. As a site it was never neglected but continuously used for definition and re-definition of WWII memory.</p>	



WWII-MONUMENTSEE

		Silvana Sajsl Nandor Gild Milorad Zorbić Anton Stojku						
8.	Memorial Park "Revolution"	Bogdan Bogdanović	1971	Leskovac	Dedicated to the YPLS fighters	42°59'02.6"N 21°56'34.0"E	Site belongs to the more the corpus of Bogdanović's more organic forms and can be considered as a master piece of memorial architecture.	
9.	"Liberators of Belgrade" Cemetery	sculptor: Rade Stanković Anton Augustinčić architect: Branko Bon	1954	Belgrade (Palilula)	Dedicated to the YPLA fighters and soldiers of the Soviet Army who died during the liberation of Belgrade	44°48'39.1"N 20°29'07.4"E	The site can be considered as belonging to the first wave of building WWII memorial sites. Having in mind that the city of Belgrade was regarded as a hero city this site carried a strong symbolic importance. As well, with its solution it belongs to the corpus of monuments of monumental socialist realism.	



WWII-MONUMENTSEE

		Aleksandar Krstić						
10.	Monument to the Victims of the Concentration Camp "Sajmište"***	Miodrag Popović	1995	Belgrade (Novi Beograd)	Monument marking the site of deportation of inmates from Concentration camp "Staro Sajmište" to Concentration camp "Banjica"	44°48'45.8"N 20°26'44.4"E	Old fair grounds and its surroundings were used as a Concentration. The named monument is the only onsite built monument of a clear dedication and visibility. On this one example the complexity of the relation towards the past of Holocaust and participation in the former (from a position of perpetrator) contemporary Serbian society is still facing.	
11.	National Heroes' Ossuary	Stevan Bodnarov and Slavoljub Stanković	1948 – 1954	Belgrade (Stari grad)	Dedicated to Ivan Lola Ribar, Đura Đaković, Ivan Milutinović and Moša Pijade	44°49'19.1"N 20°26'56.1"E	The socialist realistic ossuary is an important addition to the city's fortification. It suggests the continuity of the progressive ideas of equality and social revolution.	



WWII-MONUMENTSEE

12.	Concentration Camp "Banjica"	Frontside memorial marker: Nikola Kolja Milunović	1969	Belgrade (Voždovac)	Memorial built on the grounds of the former Concentration Camp "Banjica" dedicated to the victims of fascism	44°46'16.6"N 20°28'02.6"E	The memorial site is built on the grounds of the Concentration camp "Banjica". It holds the onsite museum with a recreated inmate room, and information regarding the victims of "Banjica" and atrocities of fascist occupier and its domestic collaborators.	
13.	Memorial Cemetery of the National Liberation War Fighters	Čedomir Radović	1984	Novi Sad	Memorial Cemetery of Partisan fighters	45°16'29.1"N 19°47'29.1"E	The cemetery is created in a unique style with a main oval monument and its formal replicas in smaller dimensions. The main form is approximately of human height and the surrounding masses are of hip length. It stands as a symbol of equal fight for freedom and most certainly belongs to the corpus of abstract sculptural solutions.	



WWII-MONUMENTSEE

14.	Monument to the Victims of Fascism - "The Family" (The Quay Monument)	Jovan Soldatović	1971	Novi Sad	Dedicated to the victims of Novi Sad raid in 1942	45°15'09.0"N 19°51'20.9"E	<p>The dominant verticality and distortion of the human body is characteristic for presenting a human form, in times after 1948. Alongside this principle being a result of dissociation from Soviet art, it was adopted as a manner for sculpturally expressing the suffering. It is a landmark sculpture of Novi Sad and its dedication places it to the corpus of broadly Holocaust memorials.</p>	
15.	Memorial Complex "Stratište"	Nebojša Delja	1970 - 1981	Pančevo	Dedicated to the victims of fascism shot between 1941 and 1944	44°55'43.8"N 20°38'01.7"E	<p>The site is one of the largest memorial complexes in Vojvodina and its visual solution fits with the ideas of sculptural abstract modernism, as do the used materials (concrete and iron). It evokes a shooting ground therefore directly implying the narrative it is dedicated to. The intentional grassing of the site was planned to occur over time, with a wish for the memorial</p>	


WWII-MONUMENTSEE

							to integrated into its natural surroundings.	
16.	Monument "Freedom"	Sreten Stojanović	1951	Fruška Gora (Iriški venac)	Dedicated to the YPLA fighters from Vojvodina	45°09'30.3"N 19°51'42.0"E	This memorial complex is the largest WWII monumental composition on Fruška Gora. It formally belongs to the style of socialist realism (or traditional visual solution used for memorial sculpture). While being in close proximity of the Memorial complex "Syrmian Front" it can provide a rather clear overview of approaches to making memorial plastic in SFRY, in a period of three decades.	
17.	Memorial Complex "Syrmian Front"	Jovan Soldatović	1988	Šid (Adaševci)	Dedicated to the YPLA fighters, Bulgarian and Soviet Army soldiers killed at Syrmian Front between	45°02'59.7"N 19°10'55.8"E	The site is one of the last erected large-scale monuments dedicated to WWII in Serbia. even though it is dedicated to one of the most important WWII combats in Serbia. The sculptural solution consists from a large plane with artificial elevations and recreations of the battle site. Alongside the monuments	



WWII-MONUMENTSEE

					October 1944 and April 1945		to Partisan combat units and the allee of Honor, it hosts a memorial room/on-site museum and since the year 2000 an Orthodox chapel.	
18.	Monument to NOB (Lighthouse) on Danube	Jovan Soldatović	1961	Stara Pazova	Dedicated to Peoples' Liberation Struggle (PLS) and marking the site of underground communication form two sides of Danube	45°04'20.2"N 20°19'47.3"E	Monument is placed on the bank of river Danube with an overview of the flow. In its form it resembles a Lighthouse and it stands as a symbol of a torch of freedom brought by the revolution. The sculptor behind the design is also behind designs of numerous WWII memorials in Vojvodina, including the "Syrmian Front" Memorial Complex.	
19.	Monument to the Fallen Soldiers and Victims of Fascism	Toma Rosandić	1953	Subotica	Dedicated to the fallen PLS and to the victims of fascism	46°05'57.3"N 19°39'33.2"E	The large sized memorial is designed in the spirit of traditional memorial plastic, clearly employing Anthropocene motives. It was designed by the second most relevant pre-WWII sculptors Toma Rosandić	


WWII-MONUMENTSEE

							and as such it carries a large significance.	
20.	Memorial Park "Kraljevo October" (Lager Cemetery)	Spasoje Krunic Dragutin Kovačević	1970	Kraljevo	Dedicated to the civilian victims of mass killings in Central Serbia following the order of Wermacht issued by Fieldmarschal Keitl, in 1941.	43°43'47.6"N 20°41'30.5"E	<p>The site marks one of two most unique WWII occupier retaliation tactics conducted in Kragujevac and Kraljevo. It was never fully completed and today only three sculptural compositions are standing. Two dated in the early years after the liberation and one from the 1970, characterized by abstract forms atypical for memorial plastic of this type. Most of the placed masses are between knee- and hip-length, which makes it somewhat atypical in the wave of at least human-size masses. Its narrative is one of universal affliction over the loss of innocent lives by it should not be considered as monument belonging to corpus of Holocaust memorials (same as Kragujevac).</p>	



WWII-MONUMENTSEE

21.	Memorial Complex "Slobodište"	Bogdan Bogdanović Svetislav Žujović	1965 - 1978	Kruševac (Bagdale)	Dedicated to victims of fascism and fallen PLS fighters in Kruševac	43°33'45.4"N 21°19'54.9"E	<p>The site carries all the traits of Bogdanović's distinctive style. Sculptural masses are scattered on the larger surface of the site. It is located in green park leisure area of the city. In so, following the principle of open-air classroom used in building WWII memorial sites. City of Kruševac already offers a variety of historical locations to be visited and this memorial adds another level to the semiotic rendering of the site.</p>	
22.	Memorial Park "Popina"	Bogdan Bogdanović	1978 -1980	Vrnjačka Banja	Dedicated to the one of the first resistance actions against the WWII occupier in Serbia, on October 13, 1941	43°37'51.8"N 20°57'29.8"E	<p>Site is also known under the name "Sniper" because its form is drawn from the main masses of a sniper gun, and the masses are arranged so the view resembles visor. Site is located on the hill above Vrnjačka Banja and through the sculpture's "visor" the surrounding green area can be seen. Additionally, it is located within one of the largest thermal-water centers in the country, with highly</p>	

WWII-MONUMENTSEE

							developed tourist infrastructure.	
23.	Memorial Park “Čačlica“	sculptor: Stojan Mišić architect: Branislav Stojanović	1962	Požarevac	Dedicated to the victims of fascism and fallen NOP fighters in Požarevac	44°36'49.2"N 21°12'04.0"E	<p>The central monument of the memorial park presents maybe the most diverse formal expression of the here presented list. Unlike the others the main material used is steal and the central sculptural mass is constructed from steal bars. In its fragility but still firm verticality it stands as symbol of both the innocent victims and of the WWII victory (nested in the symbol of five-point star). Alongside the star-shaped monument to “Freedom” the memorial holds a grave of Soviet soldiers, and a mass grave of the shot antifascists. The forest was planted surrounding the park, and the trees should be considered as a part of memorial practice.</p>	


WWII-MONUMENTSEE

24.	Monument to the Brave	<p>sculptor:</p> <p>Miodrag Živković</p> <p>architect:</p> <p>Svetislav Ličina</p>	1969	Ostra (near Čačak)	Dedicated to the reactivated Partisan unit in Čačak, and marking the site of combat taking place on March 5, 1943	43°54'41.5"N 20°30'59.7"E	<p>Monument is designed by Miodrag Živković who is one of the most encountered names when it comes to WWII memorial sculpture. It carries all the characteristic traits of the author's style, from bursting forms to white concrete as material. The base block of the monument is breached by rays striving towards the sky, making a very dynamic composition. The area surrounding the monument was for a long time neglected but has in recent years gained in popularity within certain circles.</p>	
25.	Memorial Park "Hill of Peace"	Autor of the Monument to internees in Norway, by composition the central one in the park:	1956 -	Gornji Milanovac	Several WWII monuments at the site: Monument dedicated to NOB fighters from the Region (1956),	44°01'46.2"N 20°27'14.4"E	<p>The site was envisioned as park-wood like area that will hold several monuments on the site. It included a conifer tree park planted by the Yugoslav youth. As in the case of "Čačlica" memorial the planted trees should be understood as a part of sculptural composition, slowly becoming a leading principle in conceptualizing</p>	


WWII-MONUMENTSEE

		Živorad Maksimović			Monument dedicated to the soldiers of the Soviet Army (1962), memorial conifer tree park (1961- 1966), Monument to the Internees in Norway (1973), Mountain house and Busts of National Heroes from the region		WWII related memory spaces. Almost all of the trees were pulled out in 2013, as an effect of three years of drought. The site was vandalized on several occasions and was finally completely reconstructed and opened for public in 2018.	
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WWII-MONUMENTSEE

26.	Monument to the Soldiers of Revolution	Vojin Bakić	1960	Valjevo	Dedicated to Stjepan Filipović and NOB fighters from Valjevo region	44°15'50.2"N 19°52'49.5"E	<p>Monument dedicated to the iconic figure of resistance – Stjepan Filipović. The posture selected for the monument main figures refers to one of the most well-known visual images of resistance – a photo of Stjepan Filipović holding his arms in the air before being hanged. This photo is placed above the entrance of UN in New York. Additionally, this sculpture is an introduction in what it is to come when it comes to the work of Vojin Bakić, here clearly rejecting the language of socialist-realism and approaching the figure in a different way. The monument is positioned so that the front end of the sculpture looks over the city of Valjevo in the bottom of the hill it is located on.</p>	
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WWII-MONUMENTSEE

27.	Memorial Center „Boško Buha“	Mira Letica Ljuboj Čabarkapa Drinka Radovanović	1964	Jabuka	Dedicated to the children and youth who died as fighters in WWII, and who were victims of the WWII combats. Center holds several monuments and an onsite museum. “Monument to Dolores” was destroyed in 1990.	43°21'01.5"N 19°30'40.6"E	Memorial center is one of a kind memorial site - dedicated to the active participation of children in WWII. Additionally, it was built through funding of “pionirski dinar”, i.e. its construction was funded by the children of Yugoslavia. The faith of the “Monument of Dolores” is a rare case of destruction of WWII monuments in early 1990s on the territory of Serbia (this is a later period trend). This act carries an even greater symbolism having in mind the narrative it embodied.	
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WWII-MONUMENTSEE

28.	Monument to the Shot Partisans	<p>Sculptor:</p> <p>Ana Bešlić</p> <p>Architect:</p> <p>Jovanka Jeftović</p>	1967	Zlatibor	Dedicated to 160 Partisan fighters who were shot and mutilated on November 28, 1941	<p>43°42'40.9"N 19°42'42.6"E</p>	<p>One of rare memorial sites conceptualized entirely by female authors.</p> <p>Built in concrete block as a trapezoid colossal mass, and can be located within the corpus of abstract modernist art works.</p>	
29.	Memorial Museum "12 th of February"	<p>Curators:</p> <p>Ivana Gruden Miletinjević and Nebojša Ozimić</p>	1967	Niš	Marking the site of Concentration camp Red Cross in Niš.	<p>43°19'49.7"N 21°53'20.3"E</p>	<p>The museum carries the information of the inmates of the Concentration camp, who are buried at the site of the memorial complex "Bubanj".</p> <p>In 1987, a documentary "Lager Niš" was made, as the only film of this type made during the existence of SFRY.</p>	

WWII-MONUMENTSEE

30.	Monument to Revolution	Bogdan Bogdanović	1975	Vlasotince	Dedicated to NOB fighters.	42°57'46.4"N 22°07'58.0"E	The central monumental mass carries all the traits characteristic for the visual language of Bogdan Bogdanović. It can be considered as smaller in size, but as a nuclear form of his memorial style.	

The description of potential WWII monument routes

Tourist routes proposed at this stage of the research have been framed and grouped based on three basic parameters – location, narrative and aesthetic specificity. Based on these criteria, three routes have been defined, which can be linked one to another, or connect with other routes proposed within this research, thus making a regional unit.

Each proposed route involves the creation of a very precise narrative for its participants, which can simultaneously point to the stylistic specifics of this segment of monument heritage, at the same time clearly positioning the region historically with respect to its contribution to the antifascist struggle and social revolution.

NOTE:

The location of the route, hereinafter defined as the Central and Western Serbia Route, and especially its segment in the vicinity of Užice, is complementary to the potential routes in Montenegro and/or Bosnia and Herzegovina.

WWII Monuments in Serbia: ROUTE I

The first route is divided into subgroups based on the geographical grouping of its monuments, namely:

1. The Vojvodina and Belgrade Route
2. The Central and Western Serbia Route
3. The South Serbia Route

Each of the subgroups tends to narratively embrace the memory of the anti-fascist struggle, as well as the memory of the civilian casualties in World War II.

1. The Vojvodina and Belgrade Route

Locations: Subotica, Novi Sad, Fruška Gora, Adaševci, Pančevo, Beograd and the surroundings.

Thematically covers narratives of the anti-fascist struggle and the civilian casualties. The selected monuments testify to the stylistic development of monumental plastic, and offer insights into the two sometimes opposed points of view on how the memories on combat and civilian casualties have been commemorated so far. The choice of monuments in Vojvodina and Belgrade raises up questions on problematic memory in the official memory policies today, and on our contemporary attitude towards history and the values of anti-fascism.

Suggested monuments:

- The Monument to the Fallen Soldiers and Victims of Fascism (Subotica)
- The Monument to the Victims of Fascism (Novi Sad)
- The Memorial Cemetery of the National Liberation War Fighters (Novi Sad),
- The “Freedom” Monument (Fruška Gora)
- The “Syrmian Front” Memorial Complex (Adaševci)
- The "Stratište" Memorial Complex (Pančevo)
- The “Liberators of Belgrade” Cemetery (Belgrade)
- The Memorial Park "Jajinci" (Belgrade)
- The Monument to the Victims of Fascism (Jewish Cemetery, Belgrade)

- The "Banjica" and "Staro Sajmište" Concentration Camps (Belgrade)
- The Monument to the Kosmaj Partisan Unit (Belgrade)

2. The Central And Western Serbia Route

Locations: Valjevo, Čačak, Kragujevac, Kraljevo, Požarevac, Vrnjačka banja, Kruševac, Užice, Jabuka.

Thematically covers the narratives of the uprising, antifascist struggle and the suffering of civilians in Serbia, with an emphasis on specific historical events and personalities such as Stepan Filipović, Boško Buha or Saša Božović. It also points to the significance of the Užice Republic as the first liberated territory in Europe during WWII and the participation of children in combat.

Suggested monuments:

- The Monument to the Soldiers of Revolution (Valjevo)
- The Memorial Park "Fight and Freedom" (Čačak)
- The Memorial Park "Kragujevac October" (Kragujevac)
- The Memorial Park "Kraljevo October" (Kraljevo)
- The Memorial Park "Čačlica" (Požarevac)
- The Memorial Park "Popina" (Vrnjačka Banja)
- The Memorial Park "Slobodište" (Kruševac)
- The Memorial Park "Kadinjača" (Užice)
- The Memorial Centre "Boško Buha" (Jabuka)

3. The South Serbia Route

Locations: Leskovac, Vlasotince, Niš, Pirot (Stara planina mountain)

Thematically coincides with the route number 1 and pursues to treat with equal attention the anti-fascist struggle and civilian suffering. As an addition to its territorial framework that is set out in the basic criteria of this research, it is proposed to include the Bulgarian monument Buzludzha, which is relatively easily accessible from Pirot, and provides a good example of the stylistic and narrative diversity of monuments built in two very different Socialist state structures.

*The South Serbia Route is infrastructurally well connected with the town of Užice and can therefore also cover monuments from the vicinity of the town itself.

Suggested monuments:

- The Memorial Park “Bubanj” (Niš)
- The Memorial Museum “12th of February” (Niš)
- The Memorial Park “Revolution” (Leskovac)
- The Monument to Revolution (Vlasotince)
- The Monument “Buzludzha” (Stara planina)

WWII Monuments in Serbia: ROUTE II

Locations: Novi Sad, Pančevo, Adaševci, Belgrade, Valjevo, Kragujevac, Gornji Milanovac, Užice, Jabuka, Niš i Leskovac.

The second proposed route entails the selection of monuments based on the specific nature of their narratives (both at the time of their creation, and today) and is characterized by a decentralization of locations. The route requires transfers from north to south of Serbia.

This thematic route implies the merging of the narratives of struggle and suffering, but in a wider context of Serbia's participation in World War II, and the most emblematic remembrance sites have been selected for this purpose.

Suggested monuments:

- The Monument to the Victims of Fascism - “The Family” (The Quay Monument), (Novi Sad)
- The Memorial Complex “Stratište” (Pančevo)
- The Memorial Complex “Syrnian Front” (Adaševci)
- The Memorial Park “Jajinci” (Beograd)
- The “Liberators’ of Belgrade” Cemetery (Belgrade)
- The “Banjica” Concentration Camp (Belgrade)
- The Monument to the Soldiers of Revolution (Valjevo)
- The Memorial Park “Kragujevac October” (Kragujevac)
- The “Kadinjača” Memorial Park (Užice)

- The Memorial Centre “Boško Buha” (Jabuka)
- The Memorial Park “Bubanj” (Niš)
- The Memorial Park “Revolution” (Leskovac)

WWII Monuments in Serbia: ROUTE III

Locations: Subotica, Fruška Gora, Novi Sad, Adaševci, Belgrade, Valjevo, Kragujevac, Vrnjačka Banja, Kruševac, Čačak, Zlatibor, Užice, Požarevac, Niš, Leskovac.

The third proposed route has been conceived as an overview of the stylistic development of the monumental plastics created after World War II on the territory of Serbia. The selected monuments are the works of the most important pre-war and post-war sculptors and architects, i.e. the emphasis is on the works of Jovan Soldatović, Miodrag Živković, Vojin Bakić and Bogdan Bogdanović. Within the monument heritage chosen for the third route proposed, a unique example is represented by the Monument to the Shot Partisans in Zlatibor, which is a rare example of a work designed entirely by female authors, Ana Bešlić and Jovanka Jeftović.

Suggested monuments:

- The Monument to the Fallen Soldiers and Victims of Fascism (Subotica)
- The Memorial Cemetery of the National Liberation War Fighters (Novi Sad),
- The “Freedom” Monument (Fruška Gora)
- The “Syrmian Front” Memorial Complex (Adaševci)
- The Monument to the Victims of Fascism (Jewish Cemetery, Belgrade)
- The Monument to the Kosmaj Partisan Unit (Belgrade)
- The National Heroes’ Ossuary (Belgrade)
- The Monument to the Soldiers of Revolution (Valjevo)
- The Memorial Park “Kragujevac October” (Kragujevac)
- The Memorial Park “Popina” (Vrnjačka Banja)
- The Memorial Park “Slobodište” (Kruševac)
- The Memorial Park “Kadinjača” (Užice)
- The Monument to the Shot Partisans (Zlatibor)

- The Monument to the Brave (Čačak)
- The Memorial Park “Fight and Freedom” (Čačak)
- The Memorial Park “Čačlica” (Požarevac)
- The Memorial Park “Bubanj” (Niš)
- The Memorial Park “Revolution” (Leskovac)
- The Monument to Revolution (Vlasotince)

Examples of detailed analysis of selected monuments

Out of **30 monuments** contained in an expanded list of monuments in Serbia, **16** were selected for which a detailed analysis was made using a previously prepared questionnaire. The detailed analysis was performed for the following monuments:

1. **Jewish Cemetery**, Belgrade; author: Bogdan Bogdanović
2. **Memorial Park “Jajinci”**, Belgrade (Voždovac); authors: Stevan Bodnarov, Vojin Stojić, Branko Bon, Brana Mirković
3. **“Monument to the Kosmaj Partisan Unit”**, Belgrade (Mladenovac); authors: Vojin Stojić, Gradimir Medaković
4. **Memorial Park “Fight and Freedom”**, Čačak; author: Bogdan Bogdanović
5. **Memorial Park “Kadinjača”**, Užice; authors: Miodrag Živković, Aleksandar Đokić
6. **Memorial Park “Bubanj”**, Niš; author: Ivan Sabolić
7. **Memorial Park “Kragujevac October”**, Šumarice (Kragujevac); authors: Mihajlo Mitrović, Radivoj Tomić, Ivan Antić, Ivanka Raspopović, Ante Gržetić, Vojin Bakić, Miodrag Živković, Nebojša Delja, Jelica Bosnić, Gradimir Bosnić, Silvana Sajsl, Nandor Gild, Milorad Zorbić, Anton Stojku
8. **Memorial Park “Revolution”**, Leskovac; author: Bogdan Bogdanović
9. **“Liberators of Belgrade” Cemetery**, Belgrade (Palilula); authors: Rade Stanković, Anton Augustinčić, Branko Bon, Aleksandar Krstić
10. **Memorial Cemetery of the National Liberation War Fighters**, Novi Sad; author: Čedomir Radović
11. **Memorial Park “Kraljevo October”** (Lager Cemetery), Kraljevo; authors: Spasoje Krunić, Dragutin Kovačević
12. **Memorial Complex “Slobodište”**, Kruševac (Bagdale); authors: Bogdan Bogdanović, Svetislav Žujović
13. **Memorial Park “Popina”**; author: Bogdan Bogdanović
14. **Memorial Complex “Syrmian Front”**, Šid (Adaševci); author: Jovan Soldatović
15. **Monument to the Soldiers of Revolution**, Valjevo; author: Vojin Bakić
16. **Memorial Center „Boško Buha”**, Jabuka; authors: Mira Letica, Ljuboje Čabarkapa, Drinka Radovanovi

This document presents two out of 16 monuments that were analyzed in detail:

- **Memorial Park “Kadinjača”**, Užice; authors: Miodrag Živković, Aleksandar Đokić
- **Monument to the Soldiers of Revolution**, Valjevo; author: Vojin Bakić

Detailed analyses of other selected monuments have been delivered to RRC.

“Kadinjača” Memorial Complex



BASIC DATA ABOUT THE MONUMENT

Official and/or common name of the monument

“Kadinjača” Memorial Complex

The name and surname of the designer

Sculptor: Miodrag Živković

Architect: Aleksandar Đokić

The basic dimensions of the monument (width, length, height)

The “Kadinjača” Memorial Complex is located on a surface covering the area of 15ha, on which are distributed various sculptural elements of different dimensions, from those shorter than human figure to those exceeding by far the dimensions of the visitors (from 2 to 14m).

Description of the visual characteristics of the monument / memorial complex

The memorial complex consists of a monument and a Memorial Centre, while the monument's sculptural / architectural solution is divided into 3 parts.

The first part represents the amphitheatre of the Užice Republic. The Alley of the Worker's Battalion is the second unit, formed by 21 monolithic white concrete lots from 2 to 5 m in height. The central lot of this complex is the original monument (obelisk) to the Workers' Battalion, erected in 1952.

The third part is *the Plateau of Freedom* containing two white concrete blocks 14m high. "The two blocks of the main composition look as if separated by the explosion of a grenade, while the scattered rustic structure of the inner explosion represents the heads of the fallen soldiers" (Putnik, 2014: 123)

Additional comments

88 trees were planted in 1984 facing the Memorial Complex. This forested part of the site can be considered a part of the Memorial Complex, as well as an element of the memorial practice, relatively often included in the memorial practices of the SFRY period.

LOCATION OF THE MONUMENT

Country

Serbia

Municipality

Užice

City

Užice

Geographic information (latitude and longitude)

43°54'41.9"N

19°44'29.8"E

CONSTRUCTION OF THE MONUMENT

The date when the construction of the monument began

In 1952, the first monument to the Workers' Battalion, designed by Stevan Živanović, was erected. The construction of today's complex started in 1977.

The date when the construction of the monument was finished

The complex was completed and officially opened in 1979.

What historical event / person(s) is the monument dedicated to? Please provide the basic information about the event /person(s).

The Memorial Complex was erected to commemorate the Workers' Battalion of the Partisan Detachment of Užice (200 killed in the First Offensive on 29th of November 1941 and buried at the foot of the original monument).

In addition, the monumental complex was built to commemorate the Užice Republic, the first liberated territory in Europe during the Second World War.

Is there information why the monument was built at the particular time (for example, to mark an anniversary or some other occasion)?

The Memorial Complex was officially opened in 1979, when the Workers' Battalion was assigned a national hero status. The opening was attended by Josip Broz Tito who gave a speech in front of 100,000 visitors.

Who commissioned the construction of the monument? Who financed the construction?

The City Council of SUBNOR Užice, SUBNOR Serbia and the City of Užice

What were the reactions of the expert and general public to the selected design and construction of the monument? Please describe briefly some of the open discussions, comments, disagreements or some other reactions of the expert and general public.

Following the very successful completion of the "Valley of Heroes" Memorial Complex at Tjentište, and the very positive reaction of experts and the general public, Miodrag Živković was presented with a similar task – to create an even more extensive and impressive way of marking the Kadinjača battlefield.

The project was considered an appropriate way of marking the accomplishments and importance of the Workers' Battalion and the Republic of Užice. The reaction of the general public was reflected in the great visitors' flow at the time the monument was first opened (there

were 100,000 people from all over Yugoslavia in 1979), as well as in the following years during which the number of visitors did not decline, reaching 100,000 visitors per year.

As previously mentioned, new interventions were carried out in the vicinity of the Memorial Complex in 1984, including the planting of 88 trees, thus honoring Josip Broz Tito and placing this memorial park amongst memorial sites of great importance to the broader public.

CURRENT STATE, MODES OF USE AND INTERPRETATION OF THE MONUMENT

CURRENT STATE

What is the current physical state of the monument

The monument was restored in 2012, after having been neglected for several decades. It is in a fairly good condition today.

Has the monument undergone any subsequent physical interventions, alterations, additions, etc? If yes, please describe which ones and state whether they, in your opinion, have contributed to or degraded its value.

Besides being neglected for many decades, after the 2012 restoration the monument has not undergone any modification of its original design.

USE

In what ways has the monument been used since it was built? What kinds of activities took place within the monument's complex and which stakeholders organized them?

After the break-up of the SFR of Yugoslavia the monument was neglected, and the number of its visitors dropped significantly compared to the number of visitors during the period after its construction. Nowadays it has been regaining importance, and according to 2015 data, the number of visitors has increased to approximately 20,000 visitors per year. Visits to the Memorial Complex are now part of the elementary school curricula, according to which elementary school students visit the memorial site during their school excursions.

After a long absence from the official State's Commemorative Calendar (the celebration of the anniversary was organized by the National Museum of Užice), the event has been regaining importance, and has been covered by media since 2011. For example, the seventy-fifth and seventy-sixth anniversaries of the battle were celebrated by laying wreaths at the central monument and by military honors. A significant change in marking this memorial site is represented by a direct involvement of the State in the commemorations, so that it is no longer an activity carried out by local self-government and the representatives of the non-governmental sector (such as SUBNOR of Užice or the Organization of the Communists of Serbia in Užice).

What are the present-day dominant activities related to the monument? (Please specify the types of activities and stakeholders who carry them out – excursions, tourist visits, commemorations of its anniversary or some other gatherings/events, etc.).

In addition to school excursions and official commemorations, the Memorial Complex is part of different tourist visits, as well as part of the monumental heritage of the Tourist Organization of Užice, consistent to tour operators' offers which bring the foreign tourists to Serbia. *Eco Hostel Republic* offers a trekking tour that leads to the "Kadinjača" Memorial Complex – the Republic of Užice hiking tour, thus combining the ideas of eco-tourism and the historical context of the Užice region.

INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF THE MONUMENT

Is there any PR and educational material related to the monument (printed and digital) – brochures, souvenirs, films, vide o spots, commercials, etc? Has the monument been used as scenography for an event? Please specify which materials, who creates them and in which way they represent the monument.

The "Kadinjača" Memorial Complex is the subject of research of the academic community, as well as the NGOs active in the field of architectural heritage.

In addition to research activities and the information offered in resulting publications, it is featured in the official presentations of the Tourist Organization of Užice, as well as on the platforms dedicated to tourism (it is featured as a landmark on the official websites of restaurants within the Užice region).

Along with traditional promotion, the Memorial Complex was also used as a location for different types of projects (that received a more or less negative publicity).

The New York band *The Teachers* shot a music video at the location of the Memorial Complex in 2017, while the fashion house *P.S. Fashion* shot a fashion editorial at the same location a year later.

Some segments of the feature film *Unburden*, by Anouk and Pavle Jovović, were shot at the memorial site of the Kadinjača complex with the permission of the National Museum of Užice, as the institution responsible for the management and preservation of the memorial complex.

In what ways the information boards, official maps and infographics found at the site represent the monument? What are the key data and narrative they present?

The information regarding the narrative of the Battle of Kadinjača is provided in multilingual texts at the entrance to the Memorial Complex, as well as in the Memorial Museum. The

narrative includes the history of the Workers' Battalion, and an exhibition on the Užice region during NATO's 1999 military intervention.

Are there any narratives about the site that have not been told through an official presentation? Please state the key alternative narratives and the key stakeholders related to them.

There is no narrative on the fall of the Užice Republic, or on the counter-narratives which have been, up to the last decade, an essential part of the process of revisionism in Serbia's public discourse.

In addition, there is no potential anecdotal narrative concerning the reasons for Josip Broz Tito's not showing up in Užice after the end of the war (there is a sort of an anecdote about the origin of the song "Druže Tito bela lica"/ "White-faced Comrade Tito", as well as an unverified piece of information that the President visited Užice only twice during his life.)

NATURAL SURROUNDINGS

Is the monument situated in or near a protected natural area (a national park, etc.). If yes, please specify which one.

The Monumental Complex is located nearby the Tara National Park.

What are the specific features and values of the monument's natural surroundings/landscape?

It is a mountainous forest terrain, with plenty of springs and the Perućac primary forest ecosystem. The Tara National Park represents one of the main centres of Serbia's mountain tourism.

SPATIAL-PLANNING AND STRATEGIC DOCUMENTS

Is the site encompassed by the spatial-planning documentation? If yes, please provide the documentation in an annex.

The monumental park area is covered by the General Urban Plan of Užice until 2020, by the Directorate for Construction (the document is provided in the Annex).

Is the site recognized in national or local strategic documents (those related to development, tourism, business plans, etc.)? If yes, please specify in which way.

The Memorial Complex is covered by a tunnel construction project, planned to pass under the complex, with the aim of better connecting the towns of Užice and Bajina Bašta. The project is expected to be completed in 2019.

The Strategy for the Development of Tourism of Serbia 2016-2025 may involve all monuments included in this research, depending on the interpretation of cultural and historical heritage at the local level, which will be defined by individual master plans. In most cases, master plans have not been developed yet (the document is provided in the Annex).

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK: PROTECTION STATUS, MANAGEMENT AND FUNDING

PROTECTION STATUS

Does the monument have any status of protection? If yes, please specify which one.

Immovable cultural property of exceptional cultural importance – cultural monument

If the monument is protected, please indicate from which year it has been protected.

In April 1979, the complex was included in the Central Register of the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Belgrade. The same year it was recorded in the Register of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Užice (prior to its addition to the Central Register).

Which institution is responsible for its protection?

Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Kraljevo

MANAGEMENT AND FUNDING

Which institution is responsible for managing the monument or the site?

National Museum of Užice

Is there a management plan for the monument? If yes, please provide the basic information (validity period, etc.).

No such information.

Are there Monitoring reports related to protection or management of the monument? If yes, please indicate who prepares them, to whom they are submitted and for what period of time they are produced?

No such information.

Does the institution responsible for the management or care of the monument have a budget allocated for its protection or management? If yes, what is the budget amount?

Based on the 2017 Annual Report of the National Museum of Užice, the amount of 118,000 dinars was allocated from the budget of the Town of Užice for the maintenance of the monument and the amount of 3,000,000 dinars was allocated for the woodwork in the Memorial Centre, allocated by the Ministry of Trade, Tourism and Telecommunications of the Republic of Serbia.

The annual report is not available to the public yet.

Are there any plans to make additional investments in the monument or its surroundings in the future?

According to the available data, a similar amount can be expected for the maintenance of the Memorial Complex, whereas larger maintenance and reconstruction initiatives have not been announced.

Is there information about the current costs of maintenance, protection or restoration of the monument?

The maintenance costs (including the organization of the anniversary celebration of the Battle of Kadinjača) in 2017 amounted to 488.118,00 dinars. A similar amount for standard maintenance can be expected for 2018, and is also projected for the year 2019.

Is there information about the amount of total revenues deriving from the use of monument (including donations, etc.)?

No such information.

TOURIST VISITS, OFFER AND PERCEPTION

Is there information about the annual number of visitors to the site? If yes, please provide the information and the sources of information.

About 20,000 visitors in 2018, according to unofficial information of the National Museum of Užice. According to the data from the 2017 Annual Report, the total number of visitors reached 24,278 (the complete report is attached in the additional documentation).

Is there information about the structure of visitors? If yes, please provide the information and the sources of information.

Besides local visitors, the main group of visitors come from the region, predominantly from Slovenia. In 2018, there was an increase in the number of visitors from abroad, especially from China.

Is the admission to the site charged? If yes, please state how much?

No.

Does the current tourist season have a distinct seasonal character? If yes, please specify what periods it covers.

Spring and summer months are the essential part of the tourist season in terms of the visits to the "Kadinjača" Memorial Complex.

Are there any tourist attractions in the surroundings (tangible and/or intangible heritage)? If yes, please state which ones.

There are various tourist sites in the vicinity of the Memorial Complex, from the National Park Tara, Đetinja Canyon and the Potpečka Cave as natural sites, the city of Užice with its rich mediaeval history and monastery as a tangible cultural heritage, to Zlakusa and its particular pottery production as an intangible cultural heritage (recognized as such by the State, and also recorded on the UNESCO Tentative List).

Is there currently a defined tourist offer for the mentioned monument? If yes, please describe it, specifying what it includes, who provides it, for which target groups and provide a link to additional information.

The Eco Hostel Užice Republic offers three organized tours around the Užice area – trekking, hiking and biking tours, which also cover the location of the "Kadinjača" Memorial Complex (*Trekking through the canyon of Đetinja, Užice Republic hiking and Đetinja - Kadinjača biking*

tour). Furthermore, tour operators from abroad have included the visit to the Memorial Complex into tourist visits to Serbia, especially within the visit to the Tara National Park.

Based on the conducted analysis of online platforms and social networks (Foursquare, TripAdvisor, Airbnb, Facebook, Instagram, etc.) what is the impression of visitors about the monument? (Please state the key words they mentioned, the key positive and negative comments, how they use hashtags, etc.).

A review of comments on social networks and specialized online platforms shows general satisfaction and often an admiration for the Memorial Complex. Usually, the very word "Kadinjača" is associated to Brutalist architecture and the internationally-popularized coined term "spomeniks".

Based on the online community interest, it is possible to clearly define the future target group of the WWII tourist route. These are primarily visitors from abroad who are interested in the monumental production of Yugoslavia and Brutalist architecture.

The most commonly used hastags are: #spomenik, #užičkarepublika, #partizani, #antifasizam, #yugoslavia and #sloboda

In your opinion, what kind of tourism would be optimal for this monument? Please describe briefly.

Taking into consideration the fact that the monument is located in a mountainous region, and that the infrastructure itself offers possibilities for outdoor tourism activities, it is suggested to make the visit to the Memorial Complex a central part of the hiking or cycling tours that offer affirmative interpretations of this area in the context of WWII and the anti-fascist fight.

Also, having in mind the characteristics of foreign tourists who show initial interest in the monuments covered by this research, as well as their lifestyle which often emphasizes the importance of environmental issues (influencing, for example, the selection of the means of transport), the already developed eco-tourism infrastructure in this area represents a natural, strategic partner for the potential creation of new tourist routes.

TOURISM INFRASTRUCTURE

Is there a parking lot near the monument for private cars, bicycles and buses? Please describe it. Please specify its distance from the site.

There is a parking lot at the foot of the Memorial Complex.

Is access to the monument well-designed and safe? Please describe.

The architectural solution of the monument initially included access paths to the monument, as an integral element of the monumental unit. These paths were reconstructed in 2012, and are well maintained. There is also a circular road to the Memorial Complex intended for motor vehicles. Trekking and hiking trails leading to the Memorial Complex are marked.

Is there access for disabled visitors to the monument, i.e. to all the areas accessible for other tourists? Please describe.

There are no access paths for the disabled. Furthermore, the position of monumental units didn't predict access in this case.

Are there toilets on the site? Please specify their distance from the monument and if their condition is satisfactory or unsatisfactory (physical condition, maintenance...).

There are toilette facilities within the Memorial Centre.

Is the site equipped with urban furniture, benches, litter bins, etc. Please describe.

There are no planned rest areas within the monument itself, but the amphitheatre space is intended for this purpose. There are no litter bins.

Is the site equipped with infographics, signs, inscriptions, etc. in different languages? Please describe.

The Memorial Centre offers information in foreign languages. Besides the board placed at the entrance to the Complex (with a multilingual text) there are no other inscriptions.

Is there a source of drinking water on the site or in its vicinity (please state where)? Please describe whether it is a natural source of water, whether it is situated within a building, etc.

There is a source of drinking water at the Memorial Centre, at the entrance to the Complex.

Is there lighting at the site? Please describe.

In addition to the decorative illumination of the Monument itself, the lighting of the access paths has been installed, whereas street lighting illuminates the motor vehicles access road only to some extent.

Is the site covered by a mobile network, WI-FI, etc?

Yes.

At what distance from the site there can be found a coffee bar, a restaurant and accommodation facilities?

The closest catering facility is less than one kilometer away, and the closest catering facility with accommodation capacity is 9 km away.

STAKEHOLDERS

City of Užice

Tourist Organization of Užice

Tourist Organization of Serbia

Zlatibor Regional Development Agency

Ministry of Labour, Employment, Veteran and Social Policy

Ministry of Trade, Tourism and Telecommunications

National Museum of Užice

Užice Cultural Centre

National Park Tara

Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Kraljevo

Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Belgrade

Eco Hostel Užice republic

Faculty of Hotel Management and Tourism, University of Kragujevac

Faculty of Architecture, University of Niš and University of Belgrade

Centre for Museology and Heritology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Elementary schools in Užice and its surrounding area

SUBNOR RS

Europe Nostra Serbia

DOCOMOMO

Group of Architects

Centre for Applied History

Alliance of the Anti-fascists of Serbia

CEJUS

The Union of Architects of Serbia

Inappropriate Monuments

Rutizam.com

Ciklonaut

CultureTrip

Monument to the Soldiers of Revolution



BASIC DATA ABOUT THE MONUMENT

Official and/or common name of the monument

Monument to the Soldiers of Revolution

The name and surname of the designer

Vojin Bakić

The basic dimensions of the monument (width, length, height)

Height of the monument: 16m

Description of the visual characteristics of the monument / memorial complex

The Monument to the Soldiers of Revolution is located on the Vidrak Hill above Valjevo, on the location where the old Serbian and Austrian cemeteries were situated in the past. In addition to the Monument to the Soldiers of Revolution, the park also features the Ossuary of the Fallen Soldiers in the battles of Cer and Kolubara.

Surrounded by a park, the monument can be reached by a stairway. There is a plateau in front of the monument, dominated by the 16m high sculpture made in aluminum (frequent material in Vojin Bakić's works). The monument faces Valjevo and overlooks the town. Being located at the highest and most prominent point of Vidrak, and due to its dimensions and the material selected, it can be seen from the town of Valjevo.

Vojin Bakić's inspiration, or model, for the chosen formal solution was the image of Stjepan Filipović (killed on May 22nd, 1942) raising his hands in the air and inviting people to fight, moments before he was to be hung.

In spite of being anthropomorphic in character, the monument deviates from the stylistic tradition of Socialist Realism for its sharp and cubic masses, as well as the selected material – polished aluminum.

Additional comments

This photograph has become a symbol of the fight for freedom, similar to the photo of Ljubo Čupić from Nikšić and his defiant smile moments before his execution by firing squad. The photo can be seen at the entrance to the UN building in New York.

LOCATION OF THE MONUMENT

Country

Serbia

Municipality

Valjevo

City

Valjevo

Geographic information (latitude and longitude)

44°15'50.2"N

19°52'49.5"E

CONSTRUCTION OF THE MONUMENT

The date when the construction of the monument began

The construction of the monument began in 1953 (while the first mention of the erection of the monument dates back to 1948).

The date when the construction of the monument was finished

The monument was officially inaugurated in 1960 (initially planned for 1955). The date was postponed due to a fire in Bakić's atelier, which slowed down the process of model making and the construction of the monument, but also due to a controversy regarding the monument site in Valjevo.

What historical event / person(s) is the monument dedicated to? Please provide the basic information about the event /person(s).

The monument is dedicated to the soldiers of the Revolution and to Stjepan Filipović

Is there information why the monument was built at the particular time (for example, to mark an anniversary or some other occasion)?

The monument was opened on the 23rd of October 1960, as the first major activity of the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the NOB (People's Liberation War).

The inauguration of the monument was attended by the Vice Presidents of the Federal Executive Council Edvard Kardelj and Rodoljub Čolaković, President of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia Jovan Veselinov, President of the Executive Council of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia Miloš Minić, member of the Federal Executive Council Marijan Brecelj, member of the Executive Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia Spasenija Cana Babović, member of the Executive Council of Serbia Đoko Pajković and President of the Executive Council of the National Assembly of Autonomous Province of Vojvodina Geza Tikvicki.

Who commissioned the construction of the monument? Who financed the construction?

The Valjevo District Committee of the Union of Fighters of the People's Liberation War launched the construction initiative in 1948. After two years (1950), the District Committee for the Construction of Monuments was formed and it included the representatives of all former districts: Valjevo, Rađevo, Azbukovica, Podrinje, Tamnava, Posavotamnava and Ljig. The

construction was funded by the Government of the People's Republic of Serbia and several social and economic organizations. A significant part of the funds was provided through the fundraising of voluntary contributions made by the population.

What were the reactions of the expert and general public to the selected design and construction of the monument? Please describe briefly some of the open discussions, comments, disagreements or some other reactions of the expert and general public.

The decision on the proposed design of the monument was unanimously approved, and the main controversy regarding the construction was to determine its location. Two locations were proposed - the town market (as the place where Stejpan Filipovic was hanged) and the present location on Vidrak (advocated by Vojin Bakić himself).

CURRENT STATE, MODES OF USE AND INTERPRETATION OF THE MONUMENT

CURRENT STATE

What is the current physical state of the monument

The Monument proves to be in a relatively acceptable state, although its base is covered in graffiti.

Has the monument undergone any subsequent physical interventions, alterations, additions, etc? If yes, please describe which ones and state whether they, in your opinion, have contributed to or degraded its value.

The monument was subject to "vandalism" on two occasions. In 2009 and 2011, the representatives of the District Committee of the Association of Fighters painted the monument on their own initiative as a form of protection and preservation since the base of the monument was covered in graffiti. In 2009, criminal charges were brought against Milić Petrović, the president of the organization.

By whom and when were the additional interventions carried out?

The District Committee of the Association of Fighters (SUBNOR Serbia) - Užice.

USE

In what ways has the monument been used since it was built? What kinds of activities took place within the monument's complex and which stakeholders organized them?

The monument has been used as the location for holding commemorative ceremonies, such as the Wreath-Laying Ceremony during the celebration of the anniversary of the beginning of the

Uprising, as well as the anniversary of the liberation of Valjevo and other state holidays, such as the celebration of the Fighter's Day (4th of July).

What are the present-day dominant activities related to the monument? (Please specify the types of activities and stakeholders who carry them out – excursions, tourist visits, commemorations of its anniversary or some other gatherings/events, etc.).

Today, it is also used for holding commemorative ceremonies, such as the Wreath-Laying Ceremony marking the anniversary of the liberation of Valjevo, as well as during the celebration of 9th of May. It is also a place of tourist visits and excursion activities.

INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF THE MONUMENT

Is there any PR and educational material related to the monument (printed and digital) – brochures, souvenirs, films, video spots, commercials, etc? Has the monument been used as scenography for an event? Please specify which materials, who creates them and in which way they represent the monument.

Information on the monument can be found in monographies and tourist guides belonging to the period of the SFRY.

It is also part of the promotional material of the Tourist Organization of Valjevo (both in terms of content, and as the graphic solution on the brochure itself).

It is subject of the academic research, publications and exhibition catalogues regarding Vojin Bakić's oeuvre, and regarding the SFRY monuments/sculptures in public spaces, such as:

Petra Donadić, (2015) Vojin Bakić's Monumental Sculpture Work (bachelor thesis)

Igor Zidić, (2017) Vojin Bakić (catalogue).

Olga Manojlović Pintar, (2008) Space and Ideology: World War II Monuments and the Creation of Collective Identities.

Olga Manojlović Pintar, (2014) The Archeology of Memory, Monuments and Identities in Serbia 1918 – 1989.

Zvonko Maković, (2013) Vojin Bakić's Memorial Monuments

A retrospective exhibition dedicated to Vojin Bakić was shown at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb in 2013, during which the Monument to the Soldiers of Revolution in Valjevo was also presented. It is featured at the official website of the Museum of Yugoslavia, as well as in the newsletter of Valjevo Tourist Organization, in addition to the newsletters of local self-government.

The exhibition "Freedom is Beautiful when it is Sang" was opened at the Center for Cultural Decontamination in May 2016 in Belgrade. The exhibited works were created by the "Found in Translation" art colony, which were inspired by the personality and actions of Stjepan Filipović, along with Vojin Bakić's monument:

<http://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/354561/Kultura/Izlozba-Sloboda-je-lepa-kad-se-o-njoj-peva>)

The monument was also used as the filming location for by Irena Škorić's documentary "Unwanted Heritage" from 2016.

It is also mentioned within the project Spomenik Database, as well as on the Rutizam.com platform.

The "vandalism" cases were broadcast by the media, along with being the subject of wider social debate on web portals such as Peščanik and in Belgrade weekly magazine Vreme.

In what ways the information boards, official maps and infographics found at the site represent the monument? What are the key data and narrative they present?

Apart from the inscription, there are no other information boards on the site.

The inscription reads:

„To Partisans, to communists, to patriots, to all those fallen in the battle against the fascist enslavement and against the traitors of the people. 1941-1945. So that only free people may walk across Yugoslavia, so that a new world may be born, the brave ones with socialist ideals have erected for centuries to come.”

NATURAL SURROUNDINGS

Is the monument situated in or near a protected natural area (a national park, etc.). If yes, please specify which one.

No.

What are the specific features and values of the monument's natural surroundings/landscape?

The monument was built on the Vidrak Hill, within a forested park area with a panoramic view on the whole town of Valjevo. It is also an excursion destination.

SPATIAL-PLANNING AND STRATEGIC DOCUMENTS

Is the site encompassed by the spatial-planning documentation? If yes, please provide the documentation in an annex.

The monument is included in the General Urban Plan of Valjevo and its separate section dedicated to immovable cultural property (document provided in the Annex).

Is the site recognized in national or local strategic documents (those related to development, tourism, business plans, etc.)? If yes, please specify in which way.

The Strategy for the Development of Tourism in Serbia 2016-2025 may include all the monuments covered by this research, depending on the interpretation of cultural and historical heritage at the local level which will be defined by individual master plans. In most cases, the master plans have not been developed yet (document provided in the Annex).

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK: PROTECTION STATUS, MANAGEMENT AND FUNDING

PROTECTION STATUS

Does the monument have any status of protection? If yes, please specify which one.

Immovable cultural property - cultural monument

If the monument is protected, please indicate from which year it has been protected.

It was designated as cultural property on November 13th 1981.

Which institution is responsible for its protection?

The Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Valjevo.

MANAGEMENT AND FUNDING**Which institution is responsible for managing the monument or the site?**

Town Administration Valjevo

Is there a management plan for the monument? If yes, please provide the basic information (validity period, etc.).

No.

Are there Monitoring reports related to protection or management of the monument? If yes, please indicate who prepares them, to whom they are submitted and for what period of time they are produced?

No.

Does the institution responsible for the management or care of the monument have a budget allocated for its protection or management? If yes, what is the budget amount?

The line institution allocated some budgetary resources, but they are not listed in the financial plan within the total budget intended for the protection of cultural heritage in the amount of 4,640,000.00 dinars (the precise sum intended for the preservation of the monument is not stated).

Is there information about the current costs of maintenance, protection or restoration of the monument?

In 2005, complete conservation and restoration was carried out on the monument. In 2012, spatial arrangement and design works were carried out. The amount allocated for these works was 6,500,000.00 dinars (out of which 4,000,000.00 dinars provided by the then Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, while 2,000,000 dinars were provided by the Directorate for Reconstruction and Development of the Kolubara District affected by the earthquake).

Is there information about the amount of total revenues deriving from the use of monument (including donations, etc.)?

No.

TOURIST VISITS, OFFER AND PERCEPTION

Is there information about the annual number of visitors to the site? If yes, please provide the information and the sources of information.

No.

Is there information about the structure of visitors? If yes, please provide the information and the sources of information.

No.

Is the admission to the site charged? If yes, please state how much?

No.

Does the current tourist season have a distinct seasonal character? If yes, please specify what periods it covers.

Considering the fact that the monument is located in a forested / park environment, the visit is recommended during spring and summer months, when the town of Valjevo hosts the largest number of its events – e.g. the *Valjevo Jazz Festival*. It is possible to attract many visitors to the town in this way, even though such seasonal criteria do not have to be necessarily respected since Valjevo is a town of urban tourism which does not follow necessarily seasonal criteria).

Are there any tourist attractions in the surroundings (tangible and/or intangible heritage)? If yes, please state which ones.

The District of Valjevo was an important urban center in the 19th century and its city's urban core represents a cultural property, with buildings such as the Muslim Konak, the National Museum, the Nenadović tower and the old urban settlement of Trešnjari.

Along with the buildings within the city, there is more cultural and historical heritage to be explored near Valjevo, such as, for example, the Cabin Church in Miličnica, or the monasteries Pustinja and Ćelija. A centre of mountain tourism, Divčibare, is situated in the immediate vicinity of Valjevo.

Is there currently a defined tourist offer for the mentioned monument? If yes, please describe it, specifying what it includes, who provides it, for which target groups and provide a link to additional information.

No.

Based on the conducted analysis of online platforms and social networks (Foursquare, TripAdvisor, Airbnb, Facebook, Instagram, etc.) what is the impression of visitors about the monument? (Please state the key words they mentioned, the key positive and negative comments, how they use hashtags, etc.).

On social media, this monument is most often linked to the name of Stjepan Filipović. Also, online accounts dedicated to tourism in Serbia also describe it as a tourist destination.

The most commonly used hashtags are #revolution, #monument, #antifascism, #yugoslavia, #monuments and #valjevo.

In your opinion, what kind of tourism would be optimal for this monument? Please describe briefly.

A tourist offer that includes a visit to the Monument of the Soldiers of Revolution and that focuses on WWII history and anti-fascist struggle in Yugoslavia, since its narrative can also provide a universal meaning.

Bearing in mind that this monument is the work of one of the most significant builders of its time, Vojin Bakić, the visit may be integrated into thematic routes dedicated to the style and development of monumental sculpture arts in Yugoslav public space (e.g. a tour dedicated to the most prominent builders, or a tour dedicated to Vojin Bakić, which can be of local and/or regional character).

TOURISM INFRASTRUCTURE

Is there a parking lot near the monument for private cars, bicycles and buses? Please describe it. Please specify its distance from the site.

A parking lot for motor vehicles and buses was built during the reconstruction work done in 2012.

Is access to the monument well-designed and safe? Please describe.

Access paths and staircases leading to plateau were renovated in 2012, and are currently well-maintained.

Is there access for disabled visitors to the monument, i.e. to all the areas accessible for other tourists? Please describe.

No.

Are there toilets on the site? Please specify their distance from the monument and if their condition is satisfactory or unsatisfactory (physical condition, maintenance...).

No.

Is the site equipped with urban furniture, benches, litter bins, etc. Please describe.

No.

Is the site equipped with infographics, signs, inscriptions, etc. in different languages? Please describe.

No.

Is there a source of drinking water on the site or in its vicinity (please state where)? Please describe whether it is a natural source of water, whether it is situated within a building, etc.

No.

Is there lighting at the site? Please describe.

A decorative lighting has been placed on the monument itself, and the access paths have also been illuminated. The access road is under streetlights.

Is the site covered by a mobile network, WI-FI, etc?

Yes.

At what distance from the site there can be found a coffee bar, a restaurant and accommodation facilities?

The nearest catering facility is at a distance of 300m, while the closest catering facility with accommodation capacities is at a distance of 1.4km.

STAKEHOLDERS

Town of Valjevo

Tourist Organization of Valjevo

National Tourism Organization of Serbia

Historical Archive of Valjevo

National Museum of Valjevo

Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Valjevo

Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia Belgrade

Ministry of Trade, Tourism and Telecommunications

Ministry of Labor, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs

Primary and Secondary Schools in Valjevo

Petnica Science Center

Faculty of Architecture, University of Niš

Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade

Center for Museology and Heritology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Europe Nostra Serbia

DOCOMOMO Serbia

The Union of Architects of Serbia

A group of architects

CEJUS

Center for Applied History

SUBNOR Serbia

Alliance of Antifascists of Serbia

Inappropriate Monuments

Rutizam.com

Ciclonaut

CultureTrip

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