



Multimodal Analysis of two Anti-Semitic Posters in the Independent State of Croatia

Damir Bešlija

International Burch University

d.beslija@gmail.com

Abstract: Drawing on the researches of Rotim (2012) and Macut (2012), two posters of the same kind published by the State Reporting and Promotion Office under the Prime Minister's Office (Državni izvještajni i promičbeni ured pri Predsjedništvu vlade; Further in the text: DIPU) are analysed from the perspective of critical discourse analysis as well as multimodal analysis. Thus, the analysis of the text as well as images of the two posters was conducted and different linguistic and non-linguistic devices employed in this type of an advertising poster were identified and explained. The poster is observed as a social practice and different Discourses used in the text are identified. Thus, the use of a masculine man who represents the Croatian people and ideas in this image and the non-human, animalistic representation of the Jews are clarified in terms of dominant ideology of the period in question and vividly portrayed through the poster. The paper also points to the unavoidable impact such posters and the promoted ideologies have on the society's perception of the Jews.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse Analysis, Anti-Semitism, Anti-Semitic propaganda, Ideology.

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1. INTRODUCTION

With the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia on April 10, 1941, and the adoption of racial and anti-Semitic laws, the persecution of Jews, Serbs, Roma people, communists, as well as all those who opposed the Croatian policy, began. The totalitarian regime had the task of creating a homogeneous state and the Croatian authorities took Nazi Germany as their role model. In order to convince people of validity and desire to enforce anti-Semitic laws, the government launched a vigorous propaganda that was very similar to the one in national-socialist Germany and fascist Italy.

When the supporters of the Independent State of Croatia came to power, they put under control all media that could be exploited for informing the public about their current affairs. This media control allowed them to reach out to every citizen and expose their policies, as well as glorify the Fascist movement and leader. In the early days of the Independent State of Croatia, the central institution for the control of the media-promotion system, known as the State Secretariat for National Education was founded, and finally, in January 1942, the State Reporting and Promotional Office under the Prime Minister's Office was established. The establishment of these offices only proves the fact that propaganda played a large role in NDH (Goldstein, 2001).

Its anti-Semitic rhetoric having its role model in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the Independent State of Croatia invested large amounts of money into promotion and advertisement of newly created theories that supported the Holocaust and the most significant person who endeavoured to proliferate different kinds of art exhibiting anti-Semitic ideas, was Joseph Goebbels, the president of the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (German: Propagandaministerium). Advertisements of different events, including the "Exhibition on the development of Judaism and their destructive work in Croatia before 10/6/41. The solution to the Jewish question" (Croatian: Izložba o razvoju židovstva i njihovog rušilačkog rada u Hrvatskoh prije 10. IV.1941. Rješenje Židovskog pitanja; translated by the author) were meant to appeal to emotions of common people and to assert the State's ideology (Jareb, 2009).

As different ideologies have intertwined in these areas for centuries, some of which have had a significant impact on human lives, this paper draws attention to devastating anti-Semitic propaganda, in particular to the posters for the exhibition held in 1942 in Zagreb and Sarajevo, and seeks to establish a link between the way posters convey information and the socio-political context in which they are created. Furthermore, the paper analyses the posters in terms of formal, functional, and social approaches to advertisement discourse and points to the ways in which the use of multimodal discourse practice can project a particular ideology. Finally, it seeks to point out how the impact of a not-so-clearly visible ideology can be devastating.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Advertisement genre is usually used to promote and eventually sell certain products or ideas (Jones, 2012) and advertisements are believed to be one of the most useful persuasive devices prominently displayed in newspapers, leaflets, posters and nowadays mainly on-line. Thus, they are used as an effective tool aptly exploited for promoting dominant ideology and accomplishing one's aims through different linguistic and non-linguistic devices. They might or might not attract the people's closer attention, but they surely indicate how people think and what they believe in (Cook, 1996).

Karlsson (2015) analyses advertising as a process of persuasion and identifies several steps in the process, including comprehension, acceptance, attitude change and retention of the message that is being conveyed. Namely, the product or idea that is being advertised needs to be comprehensible enough for a viewer to accept it and, consequently, change his attitude. Finally, research has shown that our perception of the message being advertised is rather subconscious, which is contrary to the belief that our acceptance (or refusal) of the product is a matter of choice (Karlsson, 2015).

Since advertisements are very influential and might possibly sway one's opinion, they are usually considered a very controversial genre. Two most prominent characteristics of advertising material is that it uses language in a way that is appealing to the target audience, and that the language used is usually followed by some visual aids in order to make it more memorable or to dramatize the content. Thus, it is of considerable importance that both linguistic and non-linguistic properties of advertisements be systematically analysed (Cook, 1996).

An additional dimension that advertising carries is ideology. Ideologies are proliferated by constructing specific versions of reality adopted by followers of certain beliefs, who are interconnected and share common customs and ideas (Jones, 2012). Hence, these subliminal ideological messages in advertisements are frequently the focus of the modern linguistics analysis conducted by a close observation of the text's linguistic features and their relationship with the context that surrounds them. Judith Williamson (1978), for instance, claims that advertisements have two main functions: the economic one which makes us potential buyers of certain products and the ideological function which gathers people around certain idea and produces the feeling of unity (Chong, 2017).

The theoretical background of the current paper needs to be based on critical discourse analysis and multimodal discourse analysis due to the fact that language is combined with other modes of communication, i.e. images and visuals, and they are exploited as the main tools politics exploits for promoting its own ideologies and accomplishing its goal.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis refers to the field that unites linguistic disciplines and social science and aims at studying and analysing written and spoken texts in order to find and understand the discursive sources of power,

dominance, inequality and bias (Dijk, 1998). Furthermore, as Rogers claims, critical discourse is always “socially, politically, racially and economically loaded” (Rogers, p. 6). Its main focus is examining the relationship between the usage of language and the contexts (either social or political) in which it occurs. Moreover, critical discourse analysis explores issues such as gender, ethnicity, cultural differences, ideology and identity and how these are constructed and reflected in texts.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) define principles of critical discourse and state the major four as following:

A Social and political issues are constructed and reflected in discourse. Critical discourse analysis addresses political and social issues and examines ways in which these are constructed and reflected in the use of discourse.

B Power relations are negotiated and performed through discourse. Critical discourse analysis conversational interaction, and aims at defining who controls, i.e. who allows the person to express themselves and how they allow that.

C Discourse both reflects and reproduces social relations. Social relations are both established and maintained through the use of a discourse.

D Ideologies are produced and reflected in the use of discourse. Critical discourse analysts claim, that ideologies are what represent and construct society. They are usually focused on forming relations of power which are based on gender, class and ethnicity. Critical discourse studies aim to make connection between social and cultural practices and the values and assumptions that underlie the discourse. They try to reveal what people say and do in their use of discourse in relation to their views of world, themselves and relation of each other.

Any analysis of any text that contains linguistic elements is based on four main assumptions, which revolve around the facts that (1) it is never absolutely clear what is expressed by a certain expression; that (2) what language means is the matter of place and time in which it is used; that (3) we use language to display different social identities we possess; and that (4) linguistic features of languages are always combined with some non-linguistic elements (Jones, 2012).

Multimodal discourse analysis

Modal discourse analysis refers to analysing how certain types of advertisement use different modes of communication in order to convey their message (Martinez Lirola, 2016). The posters which this paper analyses combine both visual and textual modes. We could say that the textual basis of the posters is rather strengthened by the images which are supposed to attract readers' attention. However, the posters need to be observed as a whole together with all the modes used in order to fully comprehend the message they send.

Much research has focused on political and ideological advertising primarily through electronic media (Shäffner & Bassnett, 2010) or interviews conducted for purposes of political advertising (Chen, 2007). However, to our knowledge, there are not many papers which have focused on the posters as overly influential means of proliferating political and even ideological beliefs. In

such papers, analysis similar to this one was done and posters were analysed from the perspective of modal discourse analysis with their potential ideological influence further clarified (Aulich & Sylvestrová, 1999; Johnston, 2006; Popova, 2012).

The current study

Through the analysis of the two aforementioned posters, observed as a social practice, the present paper aims to communicate the socio-cultural situation of the period and how social and power relations were established through the use of both linguistic and non-linguistic devices, visual elements in particular. Thus, relying on two theoretical constructs, namely critical discourse analysis and multimodal analysis, the current paper seeks to show how ideology promoted by the image on the poster is identified and explain its influence on the society's perception of Jews. Due to the fact that posters, advertising posters in particular, send different subliminal messages and sometimes skilfully conceal some strong political ideologies, this paper is an attempt to help readers recognize and understand how such messages are conveyed, which might lessen the devastating effect different ideologies might have on them.

3. METHODS AND DATA

Two advertising posters of the same kind published by the State Reporting and Promotional Office under the Prime Minister's Office (Croatian: Državni izvještajni i promičbeni ured pri Predsjedništvu vlade; translated by the author) were selected from the book *Media and Promotion in the Independent state of Croatia* (Croatian: *Mediji i promidžba u Nezavisne Države Hrvatske*; translated by the author) written by Jareb (2009). They can be found in a private collection which belongs to professor Eli Tauber who lives in Sarajevo. The posters are presented and analysed by the use of textual analysis methodology, which involves the analysis of linguistic (i.e. grammatical and lexical) and non-linguistic (i.e. images, symbols) features in the posters. Finally, ideological functions of the posters are presented and explained together with a possible effect they might have had on the discourse community to which they had been presented.

The posters may be found in Appendix section and due to the fact that the posters are originally in Croatian, the original texts as well as their translations are presented below.

1. Original text:

ŽIDOVI
IZLOŽBA O RAZVOJU ŽIDOVSTVA
I NJIHOVOG RUŠILAČKOG RADA
U HRVATSKOJ PRIJE 10IV1941
RJEŠENJE ŽIDOVSKOG
PITANJA U N.D.H.

1.V.1942 1.VI.1942

Translation:

JEWS

EXHIBITION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF JUDAISM
AND THEIR DESTRUCTIVE WORK
IN CROATIA BEFORE 10IV1941
THE SOLUTION TO THE JEWISH
QUESTION IN N.D.H.

1.V.1942 1.VI.1942

2. Original text:

ŽIDOVI

IZLOŽBA O RAZVOJU ŽIDOVSTVA
I NJIHOVOG RUŠILAČKOG RADA
U HRVATSKOJ PRIJE 10IV1941
RJEŠENJE ŽIDOVSKOG
PITANJA U NDH

6.-20. RUJNA 1942

FERHADIJA ULICA BR. 11 (BIVŠA BOGOSLOVIJA)
ULAZNICA KN. 10.-ZA SKUPINE KN. 5 PO OSOBI

Translation:

JEWS

EXHIBITION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF JUDAISM
AND ITS DESTRUCTIVE WORK
IN CROATIA BEFORE 10IV1941
THE SOLUTION TO THE JEWISH
QUESTION IN NDH

6.-20. SEPTEMBER 1942

FERHADIJA STREET NO. 11 (FORMER FACULTY OF THEOLOGY)
TICKET KN. 10.-FOR GROUPS KN. 5 PER PERSON

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The posters from Zagreb and Sarajevo contain several linguistic and non-linguistic elements that are analysed in the following sections. The first notable non-linguistic feature that grabs readers' attention is the image of a snake wrapped around a muscular man who is trying to kill it. In the poster from Sarajevo (Figure 2) this image is even more influential due to the fact that it is colourised and it vividly portrays certain ideologies that are represented through colours.

The most significant linguistic elements that are analysed are the text, its form and content. As it could be seen in the previous section, the texts from Sarajevo and Zagreb slightly differ in word choice, however that does not majorly influence the conveyed message.

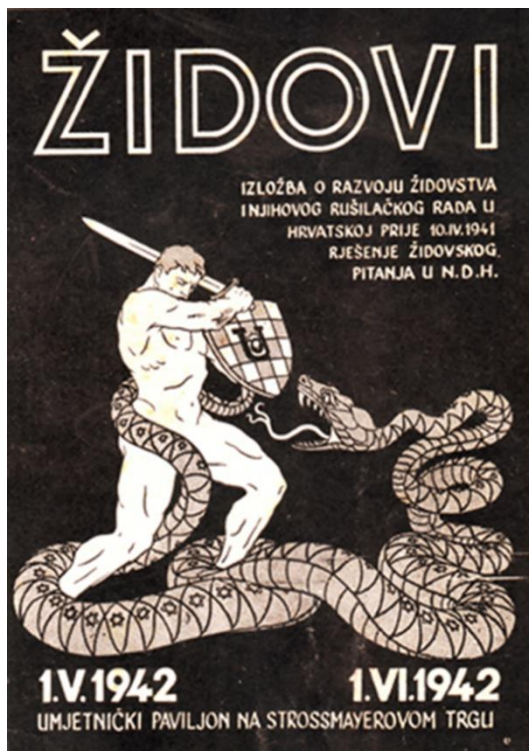


Figure 1: Poster from Zagreb

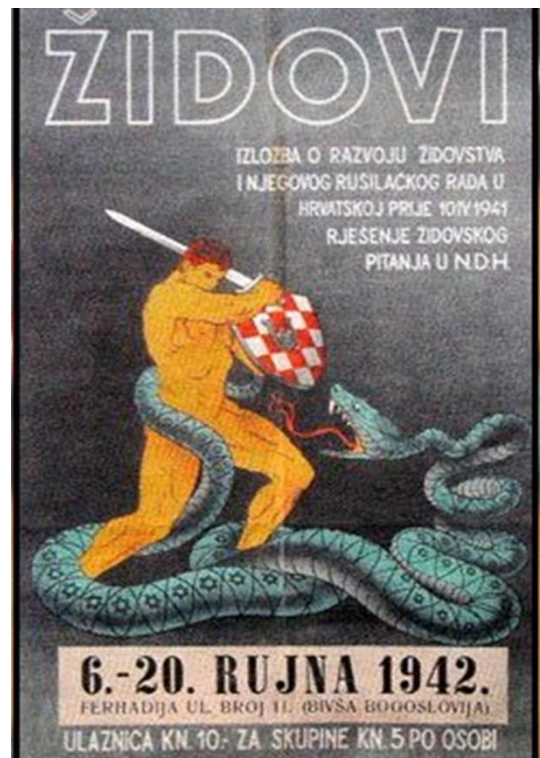


Figure 2: Poster from Sarajevo

The first part of the analysis will focus on the language of the two posters. The very first property of language to be discussed is its ambiguity, i.e. the same message that is being conveyed by certain linguistic or non-linguistic devices might be understood differently. In these posters, ambiguity can be observed in the phrase “exhibition on the development of Judaism”, which, on its own, indicates that there is an exhibition in which some posters showing how Judaism has developed are displayed and thus anyone seeing the poster and reading only the first line without knowing the context and focusing on the image presented on the posters would possibly conclude that this exhibition was about Jewish tradition and culture. Even though this situation is highly improbable, taken all the historical context and developing anti-Semitic beliefs of that time, it shows how a single sentence can be seen and understood differently.

The second property of language is that it is placed in the world. This means that language is always used in the material world, it is situated in time and reflects its circumstances, it exhibits some kind of a relationship between people who use it, and it can always be compared within a relation towards other languages. The language of two posters, therefore, is placed in the material world of Zagreb and Sarajevo streets during The Second World War and it exhibits the relationship of three participants: The State, ordinary people and the Jews.

It is also rather interesting to observe how phrases and sentences are put together to form a coherent and cohesive text, while possibly referring to some

other source of information. When it comes to the analysis of the posters, one might conclude that the text present on them is coherent because it follows a generic framework which sets certain expectations about how advertising should be organised and what kind of social actions will follow. A reader will understand that there is an exhibition on the development of Judaism at certain place and time, and that everybody is invited. In addition, Sarajevo's poster suggests that the exhibition is not free, but that group visits can get a discount.

Furthermore, the posters' text exhibits both lexical and grammatical cohesion. There is an obvious lexical chain between Jews, development of Judaism and the solution to the Jewish question. Grammatical cohesion, on the other hand, is seen in the use of a conjunction and (figure 1):

EXHIBITION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF JUDAISM AND THEIR DESTRUCTIVE WORK

After reader's attention was caught by an 'ordinary' event that might present Jewish culture, and adds a new piece of information that tells more about the exhibition which will actually present the Jews as a destruction force.

Another element that adds to grammatical cohesion is the use of referencing. In the poster from Zagreb (figure 1), the pronoun their refers to the Jews from the title. By this the creators of the poster mark a whole group of people, as if destruction were something naturally inherent to the Jewish population.

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In the poster from Sarajevo (figure 2), the reference is different and, instead of referring to the title, it refers to Judaism. By this, the creators of the poster rather blame ideology and religion for destruction than their followers.

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Moreover, the third property of language refers to its function of showing who are the people (or participants) who use it. The posters show that The State was publicly expressing its fascist ideology, but that, at the same time, the audience consisting of ordinary people shared government's political views and was interested in such an event. This element is closely related to ideological behaviour that has been previously defined and exemplified and clearly portrays how the Fascist Nazi ideology was being used to represent one group of people (Jews) in contrast to the other (the Aryans).

The last assumption is that language is never used in isolation, i.e. it is always followed by certain non-linguistic elements. These elements might be facial expressions, gestures, tone of voice, different fonts or graphics. In the case

of the posters, image plays rather central role because it most vividly depicts the power relation between Jews and Croats. It sends a very strong message: the monstrous snake which has stars of David all along its body represents Jewish people attacking a very masculine man who, on the other hand, represents all that is Croatian.

Furthermore, the title "Jews" is written in much larger letters than the rest of the text in order to attract readers' attention. However, it does not necessarily mean that it is the most important part of the poster. Actually, the whole text is written with capital letters which might mean that all the information present on the poster is, if not of the same, then of almost equal importance.

The poster from Zagreb is much simpler in terms of colour than the poster from Sarajevo. While the first one is just black and white, the second one depicts the colours of the Croatian Chessboard and that of a stereotypical Aryan Caucasian man with ginger hair. More interestingly, the snake on the second poster doesn't only have the stars of David on it to suggest its Jewish identity, but is also coloured in blue which is one of the biblical colours of Israel (both nation and country).

Finally, another interesting observation is that the snake wrapped itself around the man's waist and covered his genitals. Taken the context in which Jews were condemned on the basis of their genetics and their physical appearance was scientifically analysed as rather unhealthy, this probably implies that the Jews not only ruled over economy and politics, but that they began to infiltrate traditional families, thereby "polluting" them (Jareb, 2009).

The posters that are analysed in this paper clearly have the aim to inform people about the events that will take place in Zagreb and Sarajevo, as well as give further information about the time and entrance fee. However, informing or advertising is done in a way that undermines the Jews, who are presented as evil. The Jews are believed to have been a main destruction force and the exhibitions will, therefore be about "the Jewry's destructive work" in Zagreb and "Judaism's destructive work" in Sarajevo (as analysed before).

Moreover, at the end of the posters' text, the authors suggest that at the exhibition there will be given a "solution to the Jewish question". Back then "The Jewish Question" was a common way of addressing the Jewry and everything connected to it. However, a choice of words is interesting because the event will give a solution to, or will solve the Jewish Question as if it were a good deal of misfortune or a problem that is to be solved. Finally, the poster from Sarajevo informs people about entrance fee and a discount that is to be given for group visits. By this, it clearly communicates two things; it shows that the event is prestigious and only for the people who can actually pay for it but it also encourages institutions and individuals to organise groups and come in large numbers.

All these linguistic and non-linguistics elements are combined to portray different ideologies through the posters and point to specific social and political issues, as well as (in)directly assert the authors' opinion (Aulich & Sylvestrová,

1999). There are two ideologies which are present in these two posters and which will be discussed further.

Firstly, the ideology of anti-Semitism which was a core of the NDH, found its place in all the media, and the highlight of it is certainly the aforementioned exhibition organized by the DIPU at the Art Pavilion at Strossmayer's Square in Zagreb from May 1, 1942 to June 1, 1942. Apart from Zagreb, the exhibitions that aimed at promoting aforementioned ideologies were staged in Osijek and Sarajevo, and very similar posters were exploited in advertising these events. The content of the posters accused Jews of exhausting the Croatian nation, the economical and ideological occupation of Croatia, and all of this was usually justified by the belief that the existence of the Jewish people threatened the survival of any state wherever they lived. It is through this exhibition, which was created in 1942 after severe and cruel persecution of the Jews, that the Facist regime ultimately convinced the Croatian people of the correctness of their decisions (Gitman, 2012).

Yet another ideology that is found in these two posters, and that was very often used to empower the message being conveyed is the ideology of masculinity. Nowadays, sexuality is often used in advertising for the purpose of making the process more appealing to the opposite gender. Nudity is usually manifested in the form of visuals, although it can be expressed through verbal, musical, or scent elements (Gould, 1994). However, the elements of masculinity presented through nudity in these two posters for their primary aim have to show how strong and handsome is a man who is to protect the Croatian nation. The ideology present in the posters helps people create a shared worldview but also limits their ways of looking at reality. That is way many people were not aware of the atrocities that were done to the Jewish population (Zuckerman, 2010).

In regards to ideology, it is clear how both posters openly support two of them which were present in the NDH politics, fascism and anti-Semitism, and exemplify their functions. The first function is ideational, meaning that the Jews were chosen as a specific subject around which revolves a new worldview that represents them as evil characters. The second function of the ideologies of the posters is interpersonal, and its main task is to create a relationship with readers who, if not yet, might become followers of that idea. This function is especially significant for forming a certain discourse community which might later on participate in creation of new advertising materials. The last function is purely textual, and takes care of how the text itself is structured.

Finally, several different discourses might be found in the posters. Discourse of advertising is a primary discourse because both posters are advertisements of a kind and intend to inform readers about the exhibitions. In addition, discourse of politics is also very obvious since the posters speak about "the solution to the Jewish question", which is, as already stated, a political phrase used by the NDH government. Ultimately, unlike two aforementioned discourses which are rather textual, another discourse present in a form of image is discourse of art. Namely, through this artistic depiction of the Jewry and a

Croatian man, the authors send a strong message which tells that this exhibition is a cultural event.

The current study is of great importance because it exemplifies and analyses how the NDH employed a variety of devices, both linguistic and non-linguistic, in order to proliferate the ideology and institutionally assert anti-Semitism as well as make ordinary people blame the Jews for all problems in the society. One can also see how the government makes a difference between a pure Croat who is represented as a masculine man, and a Jew who is depicted as a snake. Both posters rely on the linguistic and non-linguistic structure, but also on emotion and feelings.

Moreover, these posters have an enormous influence on the society in a sense that they establish a certain sort of a relationship between the readers who share the government's opinion and the Jews. The advertisements of the exhibition clearly communicate the fact that the Jews are an evil, destructive force and that the exhibition will provide some kind of a solution to the Jewish Question. Nevertheless, we have to take into consideration that only two posters of the anti-Semitic propaganda were analysed in this paper. In order to get a complete image of the NDH propaganda and its influence on society, an analysis of a larger number of advertisements needs to be done.

Ultimately, taken the unprecedented analysis of such posters from the modal discourse analysis perspective that is presented here, this paper might be useful for future studies on the topic of Croatian anti-Semitic politics, in terms of defining and exemplifying the ways in which different advertising and ideological discourses might be used to sway public's opinion. It also might serve future researches as a reference for evidence of anti-Semitic presence in spheres of culture and public life in the Independent State of Croatia.

5. CONCLUSION

Two advertising posters published by the State Reporting and Promotional Office under the Prime Minister's Office display all four properties of language: (1) language is ambiguous, (2) it is always in the world, (3) it displays different identities of its users and (4) it is never used in isolation. They also might be observed from a perspective of three different ways of looking at discourse and analysed as a part of Critical discourse analysis.

Furthermore, the authors of the posters used a variety of linguistic and non-linguistic devices in order to make them more cohesive, coherent and to include some outside references, which is an instance of intertextuality. In addition, both of these posters make use of different discourses, such as discourse of advertising, discourse of politics and discourse of art. The primary purpose of the posters is to make readers perform an action of visiting the exhibition. It is important to emphasise how both of them contain the same anti-Semitic ideology with rather no hidden agenda: The Jews are a destructive force and an evil power that needs to be eliminated.

The analysis provided in the paper relies on Critical Discourse and Multimodal Analysis and it points to a blend of specific vocabulary and word choices as well as concrete and vivid imagery employed to create textual and visual meaning in order to show how discourses are constructed and what is their purpose, as well as how ideologies are promoted and how they shape readers' ideology. Thus, the political message clearly sent through the posters at the time was that one nation, e.g. Jews, depicted in a non-human, animalistic shape, fighting a brave Croatian warrior, represented a destructive force that needed to have been dealt with and then, at the time, needed to have been continually warned against. Without any doubt, such a vivid imagery combined with the appropriate text contributed to shaping the ideology of the readers and exhibition visitors at the time.

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