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THE STONE FLOWER IN PANNONIA:  
COLLECTIVE TRAUMA, MEMORY, AND WAR

Abstract: This paper is an attempt to analyse the relationship between commemorative celebrations and problems of social remembrance, taking as examples the Stone Flower monument of Bogdan Bogdanović and the Memorial Museum permanent exhibition, both situated in Jasenovac Memorial site in Croatia, on the Bosnian border. Jasenovac Concentration Camp was organized in 1941 by the Fascist government of The Independent State of Croatia. It was open until 1945, and in accordance with racist regulations, it operated as a place of killing and torturing Serbs, Roma people, Jews and anti-fascist Croats. The data gathered show numbers of more than 80,000 victims, predominantly Serbs. After liberation and the establishment of The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the question of a memorial centre at the camp location stimulated debate on traumatic historical relations between the two largest nations in Yugoslavia, Serbia and Croatia. Bogdan Bogdanović's monument was erected in 1966 and the Jasenovac Memorial Museum was opened in 1968. Very soon after, the monument became a symbol of reconciliation, not just for the camp victims but for their descendants, as well as for advocates of the former Quisling state. The Memorial Museum exhibition was changed several times, under the pressure and influence of the ruling political ideologies. Today’s exhibition, opened in 2006 created controversy especially for its multimedia representation form. During my research on various forms of remembering and symbolic perception of the place itself I have conducted several interviews with Leonida Kovač, the art historian and author of the Memorial Museum’s permanent exhibition, as well as with members of the Anti-Fascist movement and members of Serbian and Jewish communities. I have also used Lelow’s Jewish community centre in Poland as a reference point in my comparative fieldwork. This community was wiped out during the Holocaust and the post-war Socialist period. Its history and culture can be compared to that of the Serbian community in Croatia. Both communities shared a complex space, impossible to define by national or generalized historical narrative.

Keywords: Jasenovac, memory, remembrance, monument, ideology.
Jasenovac Memorial Site, Croatia
Photo courtesy of Josip Zanki

Stone flower, Jasenovac Monument, Jasenovac, Croatia. Bogdan Bogdanović, 1966
Photo courtesy of Josip Zanki
INTRODUCTION

To travel the road leading from the industrial suburbs of Sisak through Lonja Field to the City of Jasenovac is to become reconciled with the horizon. You find yourself in a landscape in which you can define the distance neither by the blue contours of mountain peaks nor by the width of the open sea. The space is endless and monotonous, a plain multiplying all of its elements. The remains of wooden Posavina houses line the road to the city of Jasenovac, some simply rotting and decaying, while others assuming a Bavarian ambience. This horizontal line and a matrix-like repetition stop in Jasenovac Memorial Site, announcing the Bosnian Mountains. There, amidst the plain, rises a concrete vertical structure, representing a stone flower. Bud-shaped, it consists of six large petals that open to the sky in the Golden Ratio\(^1\). It is hard to say why the author of the Jasenovac monument, Bogdan Bogdanović chose six petals rising above the octagonal base of the monument. According to some, the six flower petals symbolize the six Yugoslav Socialist republics. The answer is shrouded in the fog of history, and the story of Jasenovac is the story of the people, politics and ideology.

THE MONUMENT, THE AUTHOR AND THE SYMBOLS

I have used a variety of sources for my research on Jasenovac, not only as a symbol of great evil driven by Nazi ideology, but also as a place of memory. In addition to the cited references and Internet sources, I have also conducted many interviews with the art historian Leonida Kovač, the author of the exhibition at the Jasenovac Memorial Site Museum. But most important was definitely my fieldwork, which consisted of interviews with the members of the anti-fascist movement, members of the Serbian minority and, especially, with the residents of the Polish towns of Lelow and Żarki. That area was one of the centres of the Jewish community in Poland, which was exterminated during the Holocaust, and completely disappeared during post-war Socialism. Its history and culture can be compared with that of the Serbian community in Croatia. Both communities existed in a complex space, which cannot be defined through a national or universal historical narrative. One of the most important sources for my work was the film Circle of Memory, which analyses the memorial sites in the former state\(^2\). In the movie,

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Bogdan Bogdanović talks about the establishment of the Jasenovac Memorial Site and points out that the construction of the centre was long awaited. According to his theory, the construction of the memorial site was a sensitive issue for inter-ethnic relations in Yugoslavia. He also adds that the problem with constructing the memorial site “was that it was a reminder of the crimes of the Croatian fascists, which could have resulted in equating the fascists with the entire Croatian nation, and that was something the Communist Party did not want”\(^3\). Obviously, the idea of the Party was to construct a memorial site that would not provoke inter-ethnic tensions, but evoke sympathy in the visitors and awaken hope for new life. The archival information about the establishment of the monument, the memorial site and the entire complex of the Jasenovac Memorial Site shows that the first steps to mark the area of the concentration camp were taken in the 1950s. In September 1960 the Central Committee of the Federation of Veterans Associations of the People’s Liberation War of Yugoslavia invited the architects Zdenko Kolacije and Bogdan Bogdanović to present their proposals for commemorating the Jasenovac concentration camp. It was clear from the invitation itself that, as always, the national question was taken into account: one of the architects was of Croatian and the other of Serbian nationality. However, the veterans accepted the proposal of the architect Bogdan Bogdanović. In Bogdanović’s words, “The Serbs were not very sympathetic towards the fact that a Serb was creating a monument to Ustasha crimes. However, after the monument was accepted, the Serbs were proud of the fact that the author of the monument was a Serb”\(^4\). Similarly, the Soviet military cemetery in Treptower Park in Berlin was opened in 1949, designed by the architect Yakov Belopolsky, to commemorate 5000 Soviet soldiers who fell in the Battle of Berlin. Treptower Park is still exclusively Russian territory in Berlin. It is the place where Russian delegations glorify the victory in World War II. Such a situation was unimaginable in the former Yugoslavia for two reasons; a large number of the Croatians were members of partisan units, fighting against the Ustasha regime. Many Croatian leftists were among the victims of the concentration camps, so the monument in Jasenovac needed to be dedicated to them as well. Bogdanović’s solution was a flower-shaped monument, meant to symbolize eternal renewal. In his statement on the Concentration Site’s website, the author states that the flower is an edifice that, as a superstructure facing two ways, should represent the duality of light and darkness. The locations of former camp buildings are marked by earth mounds, and the graves and torture sites by shallow hollows. The path which the camp visitors

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3 Rossini, op. cit.
4 Rossini, op. cit.
follow, leads to the Flower Memorial and is paved with railway sleepers, a symbolic reminder of the railway track by which prisoners were transported to the camp. The monument was officially unveiled on 4 July 1966. The north side of the crypt bears a bronze relief with a fragment of “Jama” [The Pit], a poem by Ivan Goran Kovačić, a Croatian poet and anti-fascist, killed during World War II by the Serbian fascists, the Chetnici. The fragment describes the dreams of people facing tortures and the proximity of death: “That simple happiness, the window’s glint; a swallow and its young; or windborne garden sweet – where? – The unhurried cradle’s drowsy tilt? Or, by the threshold, sunshine at my feet?”5. The stone flower and the poem brought the inter-ethnic relations between Croats and Serbs into apparent harmony.

Jasenovac Memorial Site Museum, Jasenovac, Croatia
Photo courtesy of Josip Zanki

THE MUSEUM EXHIBITION

In 1986 the Jasenovac Memorial Site Memorial Museum was opened near the original site of the former Concentration Camp III, Brickworks, Jasenovac. The museum exhibition was renewed and changed in 1988, just before the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of history. During the Homeland War, part of the museum collection was transferred from occupied Jasenovac to the Archives of the Republic of Serbia in Banja Luka (Bosnia and Herzegovina). Immediately after the end of the war, the Ministry of Culture and Jasenovac Memorial Site sought the assistance of international institutions in urging the return of the missing museum inventory. Following the agreement between the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, part of the museum and archive inventory belong-

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ing to Jasenovac Memorial Site, which was then being kept in the archives in Banja Luka, was sent to the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. The museum and archive inventory was returned to Jasenovac Memorial Site in 2001. Before the old inventory was returned to Croatia, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia appointed a Commission in 1998 to prepare a provisional museum exhibition. The final proposal for a museological concept for a new permanent exhibition in Jasenovac Memorial Museum was submitted to the Ministry of Culture on 3 December, 1999. The Jasenovac Memorial Site Memorial Museum with the new exhibition was formally opened in November 2006. The author of the exhibition’s concept and scenario was Nataša Mataušić, the author of its design was art historian Leonida Kovač, and the architectural design of the exhibition was prepared by Helena Paver Njirić. Since it was impossible to display all the museum and archive material stored in the Jasenovac Memorial Site in the space of only 350 m², the authors of the exhibition decided to adopt a multimedia approach. The exhibition contains prints of photographs and documents, glass cabinet displays, digital presentations on screens and audio-visual presentations of testimonials and memories of the prisoners who survived. This method of presentation, using the new media, was meant to enable the visitors to the Jasenovac Memorial Site Memorial Museum to gain access to more information and it allowed for the presentation of considerably more museum items than would have been possible using traditional museum displays. Along with this a database was created in which various topics were chronologically and thematically compiled in detail. An integral part of the Internet database and the new permanent exhibition of the Memorial Museum is a list of the individual victims of the Jasenovac concentration camp, killed and deceased during the camp’s operation between 1941 and 1945. The list was compiled using various sources, including books, documents, photographs, statements from relatives and friends of Jasenovac victims, field researches, and it currently contains 80914 people. This number of victims was questioned in various political manipulations. While the Croatian nationalists and revisionists played it down to several thousands and exaggerated the number of people killed in Bleiberg, the Serbian nationalists exaggerated that number to a million of executed Serbs. Neither of them took as a starting point Osho’s allegory that a human life is unrepeatable, and that “it can make the whole earth green just like one seed”\footnote{O. Rajneesh, \textit{Jedno zrno zazeleni zemlju}, Lokot, Zagreb 1997.}. The author of the exhibition, Leonida Kovač explains that “The concept of the exhibition is based on the meaning of the term memorial site, where the emphasis shifts from the memory of the crimes, the concept of the earlier exhibitions in
Josip Zanki

Jasenovac, to the memory of the specific victims of those crimes. The author makes it clear that the victims are personalized because in the face of torture and death, religion, ethnicity and caste disappear. The victims are individuals with their own stories and names, and not, as the author writes, “an anonymous mass under the common denominator of ‘the dead ones’”. In one of our interviews, Kovač said that the main reason for this multimedia approach was due to the lack of museum space and the perception of museums and history today, along with the fact that today’s cyber-generation is capable of processing much more content and information than the previous generation before the arrival of the Internet. What the visitor can perceive in this exhibition are the materials selected by the artist: glass and rubber. The author gives the following explanation for the use of glass in the concept: “It symbolizes both fragility (of human life) and potential danger (if a person hits a glass pane or if it falls on him, the consequences may be fatal)”.

9 L. Kovač, op. cit.
The names of all the victims of the concentration camp were written on glass plates and put up on the ceiling of the museum, like guillotines. In the same interview Kovač told me that rubber is one of those materials that, with its smell and colour, and its tactile experience, can evoke disgust and fear in most people. We can see that such allegories are justified because rubber padding is used for the walls in solitary confinements, in psychiatric hospitals and for the venues of fetishist orgies. Rubber used as a flooring also symbolizes totalitarian hygiene; it is easy to wash human blood off it after torture. As the visitor, following the railway line to the Flower, relives the experience of a newly arrived camp inmate, in the exhibition hall s/he experiences the pain of torture and fear before the execution. This procedure is best described in Paul Connerton’s book when, describing commemorative ceremonies, he writes of their distinctive characteristic: “We may describe this feature as that of ritual re-enactment, and it is a quality of cardinal importance in the shaping of communal memory”\textsuperscript{10}. Indeed, such ceremonies

go back to archetypal images and events, such as the evil that took place in Jasenovac. In shaping the memory of the Serbian community, Jasenovac certainly plays an important role, precisely due to the fact that the majority of the victims were Serbs. Although the second place in the number of victims belongs to the Roma people, one cannot say that the Jasenovac concentration camp played a similarly important role in shaping their memory as it did with the Serbian community. The reason for that is very simple: the information about the Serbian victims and their commemoration are often placed within the ideological and mythological context. It is because of this process that the Croatian people were often characterized as genocidal in nature, when this was needed for everyday politics. The Serbs emphasized the mythological image of the Croatian genocidal nature before the breakup of Yugoslavia and during the Homeland War. Smilja Tišma, president of the Organization of Survivors and Descendants of the Genocide Concentration Camp Inmates in the Independent State of Croatia 1941-1945, answered the question of whether the exhibition contained the weapons that the Ustasha used to kill people, such as knives, with the following words: “The physical tools the Ustasha used to murder people are nowhere to be seen. I was at the Croatian Government’s earlier exhibitions. Those exhibitions were the same as this latest exhibition. They never display the artefacts the Ustasha used to murder people, this evidence was never presented”\(^{11}\). To show the genocidal nature of the Croatian people it was necessary to show that the Croats had different methods of killing than their German models, and that they improved on the industry of death in their own way. This is why the original aesthetics of the Croatian method of killing was insisted on. It was to show their genocidal nature, but also to get justification for the Serbian crimes; in her interview the president of the organization did not mention the Srebrenica genocide. Similarly a typical Croatian nationalist will not mention Jasenovac in an interview about Bleiburg. This is the only way to turn the circle of memory into a circle of revenge. The history of human civilization is also the history of specialized torture. The only thing the victims can hope for is not revenge after their death, but liberation from that evil. This is described in the famous novel by Edgar Allan Poe *The Pit and the Pendulum*. When the swinging pendulum was about to cut open a heretic’s stomach, it suddenly stopped, and only then did the heretic hear the cries that the Inquisition was over\(^{12}\).


Jewish Cemetery, Czestohowa, Poland
Photo courtesy of Josip Zanki

Jewish Cemetery, Zarki, Poland
Photo courtesy of Josip Zanki
Totalitarianism was also aware of that; therefore it first eradicated those who saw the futility of the repression. Otto Dix painted the images of starving soldiers in muddy trenches. He was the first artist whom the Nazis banished from the public life. The negative reactions to the exhibition at the Jasenovac Memorial Museum took various forms. Thus, Efraim Zuroff of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Jerusalem expressed his disappointment and described the concept of the exhibition as ‘postmodernist trash’. The former member of the Governing Council of the Memorial Site Jasenovac, Julija Koš, stated in her letter published on the website of the Margel Institute that the permanent exhibition blurs the historical truth about the crimes committed in Jasenovac, which is reflected in the systematic avoidance of the clear presentation of the basic information about the Ustasha regime as the organizer and enforcer of the crimes and stated the amazing fact that “At the same time, the museum exhibition shows the organizers and executors of the crimes in a neutral way, even with respect”\(^\text{13}\). As we can see, the common feature of all criticism is inadequate representation of the crimes based on the racial laws of the Independent State of Croatia and the Ustasha methods of execution. The representatives of the communities that were the victims of the concentration camp talk about it and emphasize remembrance, so that the crime would not be repeated. However, in the example of the last homeland war we saw that ethnic crime can not only be repeated, but also technically improved. Therefore, we should ask ourselves: does emphasizing the crimes ensure they will not be repeated?

**RITUAL, SPACE, AND TIME**

In the beginning of July 2012 I visited the old Jewish cemetery in Zarki, a place near Czestochowa in Poland. The cemetery was completely unkempt, partly overgrown with trees, and partly destroyed. It spreads over the huge area of a slightly hilly and sandy terrain. The tombstones are varied: some contain only names and prayers, and others have beautiful reliefs. Later, talking to a person of Jewish origin, I learned the story of the Jewish community in the city. Zarki was once inhabited exclusively by Jews. The few ones that survived the Holocaust moved to Israel in the 1960s. While listening to this sad story and looking at the destroyed cemetery, I was thinking about the mythical *Land of Urlo*, as it was called by the Polish poet

Czeslaw Milosz. This land unites the territories of Poland, Ukraine, Slovakia, Belarus, the Czech Republic and Lithuania, gathering within itself the domicile cultures of those countries mixed with Judaism and Hasidism\(^\text{14}\). Together with my interlocutor we concluded it was a shame that the Polish government has not restored this cemetery, as it was an integral part of Polish culture and history. However, the reason is rather obvious. It is more important for the Polish government to take care of Auschwitz as it is the place of pilgrimage for the deceased and a monument to historical memory. It is a place of a mass disappearance and departure, something that all the Jews coming to the monument at Auschwitz ‘re-live’. Zarki is a place of individual deaths and only the descendants of the people buried there visit them. It is not a place shaping the collective memory of a community. The community has completely disappeared and we can only follow the traces of its memory. When, in the town of Lelow, we were looking for the grave of the Hasidic master Tajik David Biderman (David from Lelow, as Hasids call him), to which people still pilgrimage on the anniversary of his death, we did not manage to find it. It turned out that during socialism a supermarket was built on the location of his grave, so today, the grave is located in a very strange space, apparently the remains of the former store. Although we saw the Star of David on the building, there was no way we could conclude that it was a grave. Something similar happened in the Serbian community in Croatia. The state will certainly take care of Jasenovac, but one may wonder whether it will take care of the ruins in Smoković or Žegar, of a couple of old people living in the villages in Lika or of the overgrown cemeteries in western Slavonia. Unfortunately, the Croats banished from Bosnia have also moved into the bigger cities inhabited by Serbs, and the ethnic makeup of Knin, Gračac, Benkovac and Obrovac has irrevocably changed, in the same way as the ethnic makeup of Rovinj, Pula, Umag and other cities on the Istrian coast changed after World War II. Therefore, the fate of a small Orthodox church in Bukovica will be similar to that of the cemetery in Zarki. The survivors and descendants of the refugees are left with the right to remember and to assemble in associations. To raise the awareness of the symbolism of Jasenovac in Croatia it is important to recount the processes that took place in the 1990s. As Nevena Škrbić Alempijević writes in the collection *Tito as Myth*: “In the nineties the Homeland War in Croatia was conducted not only against the former heroic Yugoslav People’s Army; it was aimed against a certain kind of political imagery, and against the icons of popular culture”\(^\text{15}\).


\(^{15}\) N. Škrbić; Mathiesen Hjemdahal, Kristi, ‘*O Titu kao mitu*’, Filozofski fakultet, Srednja Europa, Zagreb 2006, p. 179.
And indeed, a large part of the popular culture of the Socialist era, as the author states, fell silent overnight. In her text, Nevena Škrbić Alempijević draws an interesting analogy with the burning of a puppet on the last day of the carnival in Bol, in order to kill, in a ritual way, an entire historical period in the life of a nation, in this case the Croatian nation. That analogy is not innocent at all, because rituals open up the processes of remembering and emphasize certain processes in the society. Let us only remember the period before the war in the former Yugoslavia, when the clergy of the Serbian Orthodox Church carried the relics of Grand Duke Lazar around the territory of the former state, from Knin and Vukovar to Sarajevo and Podgorica. This ritual did not only strengthen the national feeling in the Serbs, but it also prepared the ground for a new sacrifice, which took the form of the Serbian exodus from Croatia. In the same way, in the Republic of Croatia, photographs of the Jazovka pit were published and commemoration ceremonies in Bleiburg were emphasized, precisely to change the state of peace into the state of war. Unfortunately, despite its traumatic war experience, Croatia is still not ready to see the period of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as part of its national culture. This in no way excludes the right to identity or the right to remember all the bad things that happened during that community of states, not only to Croats, but to every man with his past, his name, and his story. This is the only way to break the circle of memory that keeps producing the same mistakes. Berlin is one of the places where some memories have been preserved and new ones have been added. If you approach the Reichstag from former West Berlin, you will see a sculpture of a woman shouting something. It is a symbol of a divided city and a cry to the ones on the other side of the Berlin Wall. A few metres away there is a monument to the Soviet Soldier – liberator. Near the Reichstag you will see some remains of the former wall. There is the historical Brandenburg Gate which Adolf Hitler triumphantly passed through celebrating the beginning of his reign, but also the monument to the Holocaust – the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, designed by the artist Peter Eisenman. The monument consists of a field with 2711 monoliths of different heights. According to the author, it was meant to produce an uneasy, confusing atmosphere and to represent an ordered system, like the Nazi one, that has lost touch with the human reason (the monument caused controversy among both the Germans and the Jews). This story about history and memory is completed by the Reichstag dome designed by the famous British architect Norman Foster. The glass dome is meant to symbolize the transparency of the new Germany after its unification. From the dome the visitors can see the work of the parliament. In this way Germany had closed one and opened another, completely new chapter in its history. In 1995, the American artist of Bulgarian origin,
Christo V. Javacheff, wrapped the whole building of the then unreconstructed Reichstag in a silver fabric. Nobody was burned, there were no relics, and nobody was damned.
MEMORY AND BREAKING THE CIRCLE

In his prophetic book *Black Skin White Masks*, Frantz Fanon writes about the attitude of the ‘blacks’ towards history, and claims that the ‘blacks’ prefer to talk and think about the present. Talking with black working-class people in Paris, he tried to ask them about their Negro past, however their answers were rather indifferent. Frantz Fanon ironically states: “They knew they were black, but, they told me, that made no difference in anything, in which they were absolutely right”\(^\text{16}\). The position of the present moment, which for the blacks sublimated devastating historical and exploitative experiences, would be restorative for the memories and symbolism of the communities in Croatia and in the wider Balkans. To think in the present means to wrap the Reichstag in silk fabric. That annuls everything the parliament was and could have

been. The future has thousands of possible beginnings, which are not defined by the religious concepts of fate or by the economic determinism of banks and the economies that generate hate and conflicts in order to sell weapons and humanitarian aid. I have discussed this issue with the sociologist Vjeran Katunarić. He claims that there is the economy of war and the economy of peace. When preparing for war, the economy needs war; everything goes in that direction and this is why war is inevitable. When entering a period of peace, everything leads to that inevitability through the economy of peace. Sociologists must have their reasons for this kind of analysis, but this does not take away the right of the others to think ideistically of a better society. Regardless of the inevitability of conflict, it is up to us to believe in the golden age of humanity and a flower emerging from an execution site.

KAMIENNY KWIAT W PANONII: ZBIOROWA TRAUMA, PAMIĘĆ I WOJNA (streszczenie)

Artykuł jest próbą zanalizowania zależności między upamiętnianiem traumatycznych wydarzeń a czczeniem pamięci narodowej; analizowane przykłady to projekt pomnika Bogdana Bogdanovicza Kamienny Kwiat i stała ekspozycja wystawiennicza w Muzeum Pamięci w Jasenovac w Chorwacji, graniczącym z Bośnią. Obóz zagłady w Jasenovac został założony w 1941 roku przez zdominowany wówczas przez faszystów rząd niezależnej Chorwacji. Do roku 1945 było to miejsce zagłady i tortur Serbów, Żydów, Chorwatów oraz innych mniejszości sprzeciwiających się faszystowskiemu reżimowi. Według danych obozu, w Jasenovac zginęło ponad 80 000 osób, w tym głównie Serbów. Po wojnie, w powstałej na tych terenach Socjalistycznej Federacyjnej Republicze Jugosławii, w związku z próbą utworzenia centrum miejsca pamięci narodowej na terenie obozu, wybuchła debata dotycząca problemu traumatycznych stosunków między Serbami i Chorwacją. Pomnik Bogdana Bogdanovicza został wzniesiony w 1966 roku w Muzeum Pamięci w Jasenovac otwarto w 1968. Wkrótce miejsce to stało się symbolem rekonciliacji nie tylko dla ofiar obozu, ale również ich rodzin. Wystawa w muzeum była wielokrotnie zmieniana pod presją i wpływami zmieniających się rządów i ustrojów politycznych. Obecna ekspozycja od jej otwarcia w 2006 roku wciąż wzbudza kontrowersje dotyczące prezentacji czy reprezentacji multimedialnej. Podczas moich badań dotyczących form upamiętniania i symboliki miejsc pamięci, przeprowadzałem wywiady z Leonidą Kovać, historykiem sztuki i autorką wystawy stałej w Muzeum Pamięci w Jasenovac, członkami zgrupowania antyfaszystowskiego, oraz z przedstawicielami społeczności Serbów i Żydów. W celach porównawczych nawiązuję również do przykładu nekropoli żydowskiej w Łelowie w Polsce. Lokalna wspólnota z Łelowa w większości wywiezona lub wymordowana w czasie wojny była celem prześladowań również w okresie powojennym. Trudnej do zdefiniowania przeżycia społeczności żydowskiej w Polsce czy Serbów w Chorwacji nie da się zaprezentować próbami uogólniania historii i budowania na tej podstawie monolitycznych narraций.

Słowa klucze: Jasenovac, pamięć, czczenie pamięci, pomnik, ideologia.